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OR.

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

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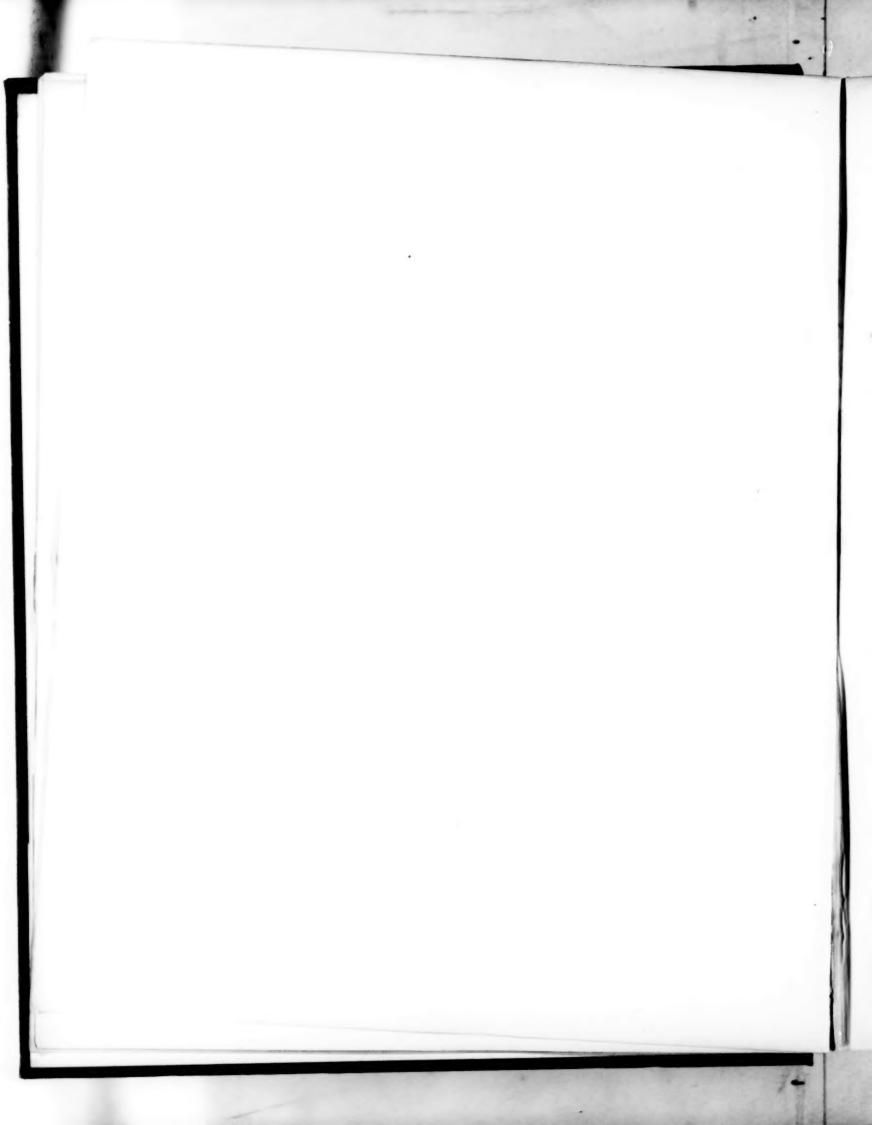
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&C.

I.—Notices of the Last Great Plague, 1665-6; from the Letters of John Allin to Philip Fryth and Samuel Jeake. In a Letter to Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., Director, by William Durrant Cooper, F.S.A.

Read 22nd May, 1856.

Guildford Street, Russell Square,
 London, 21st May, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,

Among the MSS, which once belonged to Samuel Jeake, the well-known editor of the Charters of the Cinque Ports, now in the possession of Morton Frewen, Esq. are 190 letters written in the years 1664 to 1674 to Mr. Philip Fryth, a solicitor at Rye, and a few to Mr. Samuel Jeake, by Mr. John Allin, sealed with the device of a pelican and its young, or the death's head and cross bones, or the arms, a chevron between three talbot's or leopard's heads, and the crest a talbot's or leopard's head. Many of these letters relate to the last grievous visitation of London by the Plague (the history of which De Foe compiled). They are very interesting, and I am enabled, by the kindness of T. W. W. Smart, Esq., M.D., to lay extracts before our Society in continuation of the paper of Mr. Samuel Pegge, in the sixth volume of the Archæologia.

The writer, John Allin, was originally vicar of Rye, to which benefice he was presented in 1653, on the resignation of William Russell, and continued vicar till

a See also the Diaries of Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn. For the best scientific notices of the Plague see the works of Dr. Nathaniel Hodges' Loimologia, sive Pestis Londinensis Historia, 1665. Lond. 1671; an English translation was published in 1720; Dr. Thomas Sydenham's Practical Method for the VOL. XXXVII.
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December 1662, when he was ejected under the Bartholomew Act. On leaving Rye he came to London and studied physic, for on the 2nd March, 1664, he writes, that he had spent three days "upon an anatomie." During this year, when the Plague again broke out, he resided at Horsleydown, and seems to have practised physic, and also to have performed duty as a minister. Whilst the disease was raging most fiercely, he wrote almost weekly, and sometimes more frequently, the particulars of its progress. At first he was desirous of secrecy, and told his correspondent not to direct any letters to him by name; but on the 7th December, 1665, he writes that he is about to get a provincial licence to practise, and he hopes to obtain it, "though of late they are loath to make any so fully universall, but for 2 or 3 dioceses only;" and on the 2nd March, 1664, he says, "I next week expect an universal license—ad practicandum; and this week I met with an offer to go to Oxford with a friend for one year, to work in the University chemical elaboratory: if my friend take the mastership of the work, I shall get his assistant." He failed, however, to obtain the licence from his scruples about the renunciation of the covenant, saying on 8th March, 1666-7, "A physitian hath nothing at all to do either with abrenunciation of ye covenant, nor with ye adopting of ceremonyes, and so I left them." He then went to Woolwich and practised without a licence, till December 1669, when, the world having "gone very hard" with him, he returned to London, residing near Moorfields; and I find little further trace of him.

He was son of John and Margaret Allin, of Wrentham, in Suffolk, and was born 13th October, 1623.^b It is certain, from the correspondence, that his father had emigrated to New England, and was dead before the close of the year 1673.^c

The subject of the Plague would be very interesting to Allin's former parishioners at Rye, where there was, as appears by these letters, so great a dread, that he scarcely knew to whom he could address himself. Nor was this

Cure of the Plague, 1665; Dr. Hodgson's Journal of the Plague Year; London's Remembrancer, by John Bell, Clerk to the Company of Parish Clerks, 1665; and Dr. R. Brookes's History of Pestilential Distempers, 1720.

- a Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 693, where he is called Thomas.
- ^b Jeake's MS. Schemes of One Hundred and Fifty Nativities.
- ^e Searches, endeavouring to identify his father, have been made for me in Boston by the Hon. Judge (C. H.) Warren and the zealous antiquary Mr. James Savage. John Allin, the first minister of the church of Dedham, in Massachusetts, went over to New England in 1637, after being disquieted by Bishop Wren when he preached in his diecese. According to Cotton Mather (Book iii. p. 133) he was appointed to Dedham in 1638, and continued minister till his death, 26th August, 1671. Mr. Savage states that his first wife, Margaret, died in April, 1653, and that he married in November following the young widow of old Governor T. Dudley, and had three children by her; but Mr. Savage thinks he had no son John.

dread unfounded, for the town of Rye had suffered grievously in former visitations. From the register of burials there, I find that in 1544 the disease raged mostly in the months of July, when 92 persons died; of August, when 128 died; and of September, when 54 died; the whole number of burials in the year being 462. In 1563 the town was again wasted by the Plague; in August 105 died, in September 290, and in October 168, or 536 persons in three months, and 765 during the year. Seventeen years only elapsed and there was another visitation, 592 dying in the year 1580; the usual number being about 80. And so lately as 1625 (only forty years before these Letters), the town had been once more visited by this scourge, though in a less virulent form, since 198 only died within the year. No wonder, therefore, that the inhabitants of Rye should have felt great dread lest the disease should again reach their town; as indeed, according to a letter from Elizabeth Goff to her brother, Samuel Jeake, dated from London on 7th August, 1665, it was reported to have done; and Kent had at that time been slightly affected.^a

Allin set great store by a plant, which he described under the general term of "Materia prima." It was to be gathered with great mystery, and preserved with much care, for the purposes of distillation; and he intended, in September, 1665, to set up "divers chemical stills and one furnace for the main worke." He was a disciple of Paracelsus, who says that "the saline spirit unites with the earthy principle, which always exists in the liquids, but in a state of materia prima." The plant was the Nostock commune (Vauch.), Tremella nostock (Linn.), and formerly known under the name of cælifolium, as the popular belief was that it fell from heaven in the night. Paracelsus gave to it the name of nostock or cerefolium. It appears to be like a species of jelly, sometimes clear, sometimes

a In a letter in the State Paper Office from Sir Thomas Peyton, dated from Knowlton, 7th August, 1665, to Joseph Williamson, he says, "At Canterbury there were four houses shut up, but are all upon opening againe, there dying but one person of all diseases in that citty the last weeke. At Dover I hope the danger is ended, the family infected being removed to the hills, where the remnant is become sound agen. One parish in the countrey, being the minister's owne house, is infected, about three weekes since, which standing alone will I hope prevent the spreading, and wee have taken all the care possible wee can in it, but being harvest time wee find it difficult without good watches to keepe people in good order. God I hope will stay it here. That one parish of St. Giles at London hath done us all this mischiefe:" and Mr. Carew writing to Mr. Williamson from Dover on 12th August, 1665, hopes the Court as free from infection as they are there; "only one house wee keep shutt upp, yet not one dead out of itt these three weekes, nor sickness near us but at Sandw^{ch}; one house shutt upp at Eastey near Sandw^{ch}; one house at the Earle of Winchelsees Park, called East Well House; and West Well one house; and att Canterbury seven houses shutt up, yet but a few dead out of them."

greenish, and agitated with a tremulous motion so long as it is fresh. It generally appears between the vernal and autumnal equinoxes after rain, in dry, parched, and sandy soils, and must be gathered before sunrise, since by the heat of the sun's rays it is so dried and shrivelled up that nothing of it remains except some membranes of a brownish colour. By distillation it gives a dark fetid oil, an alkaline liquor containing acetate and carbonate of ammonia, or volatile urinous spirit; the residuum burnt gives phosphate and carbonate of lime. The alchymists took it to contain the universal spirit, and an extract to be the solvent of gold. It was also accounted excellent in cancers and fistulas. A Swiss physician reduced it to a powder, of which he exhibited two or three grains, in order to lessen and allay internal pains, and he used it externally for the cure of ulcers, which it is said to cure, however "obstinate and rebellious they may be." Hence, possibly, its use during the Plague. The ammonia was the chief ingredient of its utility for this purpose. Allin, however, must have been dabbling in alchymy.

This "materia prima" was collected by one Shoesmith, who was afterwards requested by a London correspondent of Jeake the younger (Tho. Miller) to collect and send some of the "moss that grows on dead men's sculls and bones," since his "father saith he has formerly seen a greate deale at Winchelsea, in or neare the church."

Allin, like his friend Jeake, was a great astrologer, and the correspondence commences with accounts of those blazing stars, which were looked upon as so ominous. On 20th December, 1664, Allin, writing to Fryth, says, "Ye cheife discourse is of a blazing starr, as famous as that in November, 1618, I thinke: ye city was last night setting up to see it." It was looked on as propitious to England, but ominous to France and Holland, rising about east, and setting south-west, about two or three in the morning. On 27th December it is described as of a great deal higher altitude than the former, and was to be seen all the evening, about seven o'clock, south-east of about 60° altitude, whilst the former was never seen "above 12° high in our horizon." And on 31st March, 1665, it is said that a new blazing star had appeared every day since Monday morning, rising about north-east, at one or two o'clock in the morning, and so continuing till daylight hid it: "it is more famous than ye last was seene here in the evening;"

a James's Med. Dict. (1725), vol. ii. title, Califolium: Merat and Lens' Dict. Mat. Med. (1835), title Nostock: Notes and Queries, vol. xi. pp. 219, 294.

b This was the Usnia barbata.

whilst on the 6th January Allin declared that Mr. Secretary Morris's cistern of water was turned into blood in one night, and so continued for two or three days, when the next neighbours had no such accident; which ominous matter, as well as the fact that the Royal Mary was not able to swim, but sunk her lower tier guns under water, "troubled their heads at Court."

According to Graunt's bills of mortality, the first case of the last Plague in London occurred on 27th December, 1664: there were some cases in February and the next two monthis; but a "hard frost lasted from Christmas till the middle of April, when the Plague began to break out, a little after the breaking up of the frost." The disease spread in St. Giles in May: it then extended itself rapidly over London in June and July; was at its height in August and September; and continued with more or less intensity during the remainder of that year.

On 8th April, 1665, John Allin writes to Philip Fryth, "Or fleete is sickly, and ye sicknesse increases at Yarmouthe; about 3 or 4 died last weeke, and about 4 or 5 familyes in ye pest-house." On 27th April, he says, "I heard yesterday there are 2 houses shut up in Drury Lane for the sickness;" and a month afterwards, on 26th May, he writes, "Ye sicknesse is set to encrease in Holland, as it also doth here; ye bill mentioned 3 last weeke, and 14 this weeke, but its rather beleived to bee treble the number. At ye upper end of the towne posons high and low are very fearfull of it, and many removed; one house, if not two, are lately shut in Chancery Lane, and one about Cripplegate."

a On 24th February, 1664-5, he gives an illustration of the strange stories then afloat. "Some strange appearances have beene lately in Scotland. At a greate towne within this month appeared a greate army of men, web came to the towne and demanded free quarter. Ye officers of ye towne demanded of the soldjers to shew why yey came and what order they had for free quarter, to we's they replied, 'Yey' neither shew ym one nor the other, but worded it so wth ym that free quarter was granted them; but before morning about 2 of ye clocke appeared a light as large as the sun (ye reports say ye sun itselfe), and continued a greate while together, till at last both light and soldjers together at ye same time vanished. Since yt, at Northampton, we the walls are taken downe, ye castle remayning, in ye night, many being upon ye watch, the castle-gates opened of themselves without hands; at went they all admired and endeavoured all they could to shutt the gates agayne, but all the strength they could make was not able to prevayle for the shutting the gates;-after sometime that were thereby, as it were, p'pared for we might follow, there came this voice, itterated three times over, 'Warr-warr, such as never was yet;' after that ye gates were pliant to open and shutt as at other times. On Monday last was sennight, at night was seene by (some say) hundreds for about an houre together flames of fire as it were throwne from W. IL (Whitehall) to St. James, and thence backe agains to W. H. and then disappeared. Upon ye top of this came yesterday the sudaine newes of the Dutch tyeing, as 'tis s4, about 1,500 tyed backe to backe and throwns over board."

^b Autobiography of Dr. Symon Patrick, Oxford, 1839, p. 51.

See note post, p. 8.

In June the "remedies and medicaments" for preventing the spreading of contagion and disinfecting houses infected, propounded by James Angier, and stated to have been tried with success at Lyons, Paris, Toulouse, and other cities, was, by order of the Council, tried in the house of Jonas Charles, in Newton Street, St. Giles's, in the presence of the justices of Westminster; and, on their favourable report, Lord Arlington, on the 26th June, authorised advertisements to be issued naming places where these remedies could be bought. The number of deaths from Plague within the bills of mortality during this month was 590.

In the month of July the pestilence spread rapidly, and on 1st July Allin speaks of the state of the city for sickness, and the increasing bill, "web makes many flee out of towne."

At a Court holden at St. James's on the 6th July, a proclamation was issued stating that the spreading of the disease into remote parts of the kingdom seemed to threaten a general and most dreadful visitation, and appointing as fast-days the 12th July and 2nd August, and the first Wednesday in every subsequent month. Mr. Robert Cole has also furnished me with a letter, found among the mutilated Exchequer records, from Sir Robert Long, Auditor of the Exchequer, to his clerk Burgess, dated 5th July, in which, after alluding to the payment of Tom Killigrew's pension and other financial matters, he thus concludes: "I pray vse all possible care to preserve yourselves and my house. Send for things to burne, and make vse of them dayly; lett noe body stirre out, nor any suitors come into the house or office. Lett euery one take euery morning a little London treacle,° or the kernell of a walnutt, with five leaves of rue and a grayne of salt beaten together and rosted in a figg, and soe eaten; and neuer stirre out fasting. Lett not the porter come into the house; take all course you can agaynst the ratts, and take care of the catts; the little ones that will not stirre out may be kept, the great ones must be kiled or sent away." Allin, writing to Jeake on July 7th, 1665, says, "Ye sicknesse increaseth dayly much about ye city: ye generall bill yesterday was 1,006, and of ye Plague 470, but rather feared to be nearer 700."

The Court left town, and the councils were held at Syon House on 19th July, and at Hampton Court on 24th and 26th July. On the latter day a proclamation was issued for removing the receipt of the Exchequer from Westminster to

^a MS. State Paper Office, Domestic, June 1665.

b A form of prayer was issued. The fasts were kept regularly, except on All Souls' Day, 1666, till the Plague was stayed.

[&]quot; This was a favourite preventative.

Nonsuch. On the following day the Court removed to Salisbury, and thence in September, when the Plague had broken out in Salisbury, to Oxford, from which city a proclamation was issued on 26th September, adjourning thither Michaelmas term in the law courts.

The disease continued to increase in London, and in the letter from Allin to Fryth, dated July 26th, 1665, the following account is given: "I confesse the sicknes doth encrease and spread, though none very neere mee yet; thanks bee to God. I heare ye generall bill this weeke wilbee about 2,500, and the pticular of ye Plague neere 2,000, but I know not the certainety till the morning. I thanke God I goe about my buisines without any slavish feare of it; yet my body too apt for such a disease, which proves very mortal where it comes: many whole familyes of 7, 8, 9, 10, 18 in a family totally swept away. I thinke there is no fleeing from God's hand, and truely this sicknes so highly pestilential in some places speakes it to be more a judgment than any thing else, and true repentance is the best antidote, and pardon of sin the best cordiall."

The whole number of deaths from pestilence in July was 4,119.

It appeared to be a little on the decrease, for Allin writes to Fryth on August 5th, 1665,—"Through mercy I am yet well, and the sicknes not very neere me, though in the parish (St. Olave's). This last weekes bill of mortality, through mercy, did not increase like the former weekes, beeing but 229 in all increase, and y* sicknes in some places then decreased; though this wee feare (as wee then also did) an higher increase. Now looke for some materia prima."

The holding of many fairs was prohibited.

Allin's fear was but too well founded, as we shall see by subsequent letters written by him to Fryth. He writes on Aug. 11th, 1665, in answer apparently to a suggestion that he should leave town,—"I shall not thinke myselfe safer there (Rye) then here, whilest my call is to stay here; yet I am troubled at the approach of the sicknesse neerer every weeke, and at a new burying place w^{ch} they have made neere us, and wth some piece of indiscretion used in not shutting up, but rather makeing greate funeralls for such as dye of the distemper; which yet I thinke God will not putt an end to till sin be left and suppressed more then

^a On 14th June a proclamation was issued not to hold Barnwell Fair on 24th, for fear of infection at Cambridge, which was then free and clear. Proclamation was likewise issued at Salisbury on 7th August, prohibiting Bartholomew Fair, London; Stourbridge Fair, Cambridge; and all other fairs within fifty miles of London; all citizens and inhabitants of London were also prohibited from attending any fairs till the infection should cease; and, to prevent a concourse to places yet free, Howden Fair, and all other fairs in the county of York, were prohibited as well; as also on 21st September was Wantage Fair, in Berks, "to which there was usually extraordinary resort;" and on 26th December Saint Paul's Fair, Bristol.

it is: but God seemes to psue a designe weh doubtlesse Hee will efect before Hee hath done. 4,030 in all; 2,817 Plague. 142 in all, 64 Plague, in our parish." Again, Aug. 18, 1665, "Through mercy I am hitherto well, and all our next neighbours, but the sickness increaseth: 5,319 this weekes bill in generall, and 3,880 in the bill of the Plague, of which disease Mr. Symond Porter, Mr. Miller's brother-in-law, dyed last Tuesday: I am afrayd to write to Mr. Miller of it, least hee should bee afrayd of my letter; but pray let him know of his brother's death." On Aug. 24th, 1665,—"I am, through mercy, yet well in middest of death, and that, too, approaching neerer and neerer: not many doores off, and the pitt open dayly within view of my chamber window. The Lord fitt mee and all of us for our last end! Surely, if my friends be afrayd of my letters, I would not be afrayd of theirs. The sicknes yet increaseth: this bill is 249 more then ye last, viz .of all diseases, 5,568; of the Plague, 4,237: but rather in verity 5,000, though not so many in the bill of ye Plague. Here are many who weare amulets made of the poison of the toad, which, if there be no infection, workes nothing, but, upon any infection invadeing from time to time, raise a blister, weh a plaister heales, and so they are well: phaps I may by ye next get the true prparation of it, and send you. The sickness at Yarmouth, Dover, and Southampton I heare is much increasing yet: 3 houses last weeke shutt up in Dover. I saw this day some 'prima materia' in or streetes."

August 29th, 1665.—"Ye sicknes here is very much increased: this weeke I feare ye bill wilbee neere double the former; and truely I know not how to thinke it should lessen, when as the greatest thing done to stoppe it, vizt. takeing ye phanatickes out of their owne houses, and sometimes caught meeting and carrying them to infected prisons, of we wee have none free, wilbee found in the end to heighten it, though its sd one major of ye soldjers hath threatned by that meanes

No less than 2,500 died in Yarmouth of the Plague in this year, including both ministers of the church.—Swinden, p. 950. One of these ministers was another John Allin, who came over from New England, having taken his bachelor's degree in Harvard University in 1643.—Ex inf. Mr. James Savage. The disease had abated at the end of November, and on 4th December the Oxford Gazette announced that the whole bill of Yarmouth was thirteen, and only one of the Plague.

b In consequence of the loss of the registers the Rev. Edmund Kell, M.A. has not been able to give me the mortality in Southampton. Mr. John Buller's Hist. Particulars of Southampton (1820) states that the tradition was that the disease was introduced through infected child-bed linen. The poor were nearly starving; the King on being petitioned for pecuniary and medical relief promoted a subscription to which he gave 50l.; the Earl of Southampton 50l.; Salisbury and Bristol cities also contributed; in the whole nearly 2,000l. were raised.

^c It was brought to Dover by a young person who had been in service in London, and 900 at least died of it.—Hasted's Kent, iv. 97. See also note, ante, p. 3.

quickly to drive that plague away:—remember that there wilbee little 'prima materia' found after a rainy, but most in a dry night after a rainy day or weather, the wind south-west."

On August 30th a proclamation was issued commanding Parliament to meet at Oxford on October 9th, instead of Westminster on 3rd of the latter month.

No less than 20,046 had died in August, and yet it was not the most fatal month.

On September 2nd, 1665, Allin says,—"Ye sicknesse encreased very much last bill, viz. 1,928 increase; y totall, 7,496; of y Plague, 6,102. Since that bill I have not pticularly heard anything whither still increasing or not, but feare, by the dolefull and almost universall and continuall ringing and tolling of bells, it doth increase. I am sure it approacheth to mee, I meane my concernem: for it hath pleased God to take from mee the best friend I have in y world, and one wherein my children stood as much concerned as in myself w reference to what they should have expected from the relations of my wife: it is my brother, Peter Smith, who was abroad on Lord's day last, in the morning; towards evening a little ill, then tooke something to sweate, w right brought forth a stiffness under his eare, where he had a swelling y could not be brought to rise and breake, but choacked him; he dyed Thursday night last. I blesse God I am well; was not with my brother after wee see what it would bee, as little else upon every distemp here can be expected: it is a greate mercy now counted to dye of another disease."

On September 7th, 1665, he tells Fryth of the remedy attempted for the purification of the streets:—"The increasing sickenes hath now drawne very nigh mee, and God knoweth whither I may write ony more or no: it is at the next doore on both hands of mee, and under the same roofe; but I have no place of retireing, neither in the city nor country; none in heaven nor earth to go unto but God onely; the Lord lodge mee in the bosom of his love, and then I shall be safe whatever betides. . . . There is in my deske a little booke new written, I intituled it 'Liber Veritatis:' it is the true use of the elixir magna for phisicke, pfitt, or delight, given by a true master of the arte to a friend, whence I transcribed it. I would have Mr. Jeake to have that, and you to transcribe it; but bee sure to keepe it both of you as a secrett. If I live I hope to have some materia prima from you; if you could inclose a little dust in a letter I shall be glad to receive it. This weekes bill is increased 756: the wholle is 8,252; of the Pl. 6,978; and in our parish 439, about 120 increase in our

a He had three children, John, Elizabeth, and Hannah.

parish, and it is truly still increasing. These 3 dayes hath bene sea cole fires made in the streetes about every 12th doore, but that will not do ye worke of stopping God's hand; nothing but repentance will do that, of weh no signe yett, but oppressions, &c. yet increasing."

At length, as in the recent visitations of cholera, though the number of cases increased the per-centage of recoveries was larger. Allin writes on September 14th, 1665,-"This sicknes, though more dye, because more are infected, yet, thankes bee to God, is not so mortall as at the first, for more recover of it now then formerly. It is increasing in our parish about 39, this weekes bill beeing 478. If wee knew how to trust the bills, it is decreased in the generall. The generall bill is 7,690 buryed this weeke, whereof of the Plague 6,544; yet in the City it did increase, beeing 1,154, of the Plague 896; ye last weeke 1,118, Pl. 854. Our friend Dr. Starkey is dead of this visitation, wth about 6 more of them chymicall practitioners, who in an insulting way over other Galenists, and in a sorte over this visitation sicknes, which is more a judgment then a disease, because they could not resist it by their Galenical medicines, went they were too confident y' their chymical medicines could doe, they would give money for the most infected body they could heare of to dissect, which yey had, and opened to search the seate of this disease, &c.; upon ye opening whereof a stinch ascended from the body, and infected them every one, and it is said they all are dead since, the most of them distractedly madd, whereof G. Starkey is one. I heare also y' above 7 score dm, apothecarys, and surgeons are dead of this distemp in and about ye City since this visitation. God is resolved to staine the pride of all glory; there is no boasting before Him, and much lesse aget Him."

During this pestilence there lived as rector of St. Paul, Covent Garden, Symon Patrick, who was afterwards successively Bishop of Chichester and of Ely; he returned to town in July, and thenceforth performed in his parish all the offices of religion, visiting the sick, and burying at night those who had died of diseases other than the Plague. On 19th August, 1665, he published "A Brief Exhortation to those who are shut up from our Society, and deprived at present of Public Instruction;" and on the 1st September he printed "A Consolotary Discourse, persuading to a cheerful Trust in God in these times of Trouble and Danger." He also kept up an active correspondence with Mrs. Gauden, a transcript of which is to be found among the Cole MSS.: b it gives many details of the Plague in his

a Both reprinted by Pickering in his Christian Classics, 1847.

b Wife of Dr. J. Gauden, minister of Bocking, Essex.—Add. MS. 5810, fol. 289, &c. See also his Autobiography.

own parish, where his conduct procured him the esteem of all; and it also adds to Allin's particulars relating to the medical men the names of the ministers of religion who fell victims to the faithful discharge of their duties. Writing on Saturday night, September 30th, 1665, Dr. Patrick says, -- "You inquire what ministers were dead. Mr. Peachill and Mr. Mandrill, who were lecturers, dyed a good while ago: one of them lectured at St. Clement, the other at St. Benet Fink. Since, there dyed one Mr. Austin, minister, I think, of St. Mary's Stanings; the minister of Alphage, whose name I think was Mr. Stone; one Mr. Bastwick (son to the famous doctor of that name), who was preacher of the Counter, in the Poultrye: Mr. Welbank, one of the ministers of St. Saviour's Southwark; Mr. Throgmorton, curate of St. George's Southwark; and a gentleman who officiated for Mr. Hall, in Basishaw , whose name I think was Phillips The minister of Kentish Town hath had it, and is recovered. I think I have heard of another or two who were curates, but no more ministers." In his letter of 7th October he says,—"I must correct an error in my last but one; Mr. Welbank is not dead, as was reported: it is the curate, one Mr. Knightley, who they say did not die of the sickness neither. This was the occasion of the report that Mr. Stillingfleet was dead, the reader of St. Andrew Holborn dying a good while ago; but, as for Mr. Stillingfleet, he hath not been here a long time, but gets his place supplied by somebody."

The death of a mutual friend of Allin and Fryth affords occasion for the most interesting letter of the series, giving a full description of the mode in which the Plague attacked parties, and of its varied symptoms.

" September 20th, 1665.

"Loveing ffriend,—Yo" of the 16 instnt I have rec^a, and give you hearty thankes for that particular accompt you gave me of yo affayres. If I can possibly get time I thinke to write to you againe on Thursday; but I thought it not amisse, for the inclosed's sake, to write a few lines now, and to give you my thoughts of the death of Tolhurst's sister. According to yo description of her, there hath not one of those thousands yet dyed here with all the signall characters of this psent Plague more evident than she had, we this inclosed will in parte confirme to you; I shall onely add a little of my owne thoughts in generall as to the first seizing of this distemper upon one, and then give a word about the curative parte. For the 1st. If the infection be taken by the scent or smelling, and ariseth from the ill and more grosse savour of a foggy infected aire, or the corruption of an infected person or place, then it ordinarily seizeth onely at the first upon the meninges of

the braine by y meanes of the pressus mammillares or papillares, as the exterior parte of the smelling nerves are called, and so suddenly afflicts ye party with an inveterate headache, which suddenly also creepes all over; but if the vapour or aire by the scent rec⁴ as afores⁴ be more subtill, thinn, and spirituous, ye infection then not onely afflicts as afores wh headach, but is by the very rootes of the smelling neerves carryed into the substance of the braine, and immediately putts the party into a kind of frenzy, which is very difficult to reduce, especially if the vigour of the infection be poured or heightened by a melancholy feare, sudden fright, or strong imagination. If the infection be received by the halitus, or breath, it now immediately afflictes the hearte, ye root of the vitall spirits, and some time kills before any external and generally believed symptomes of that distemper can appeare, either spotts or tumors, but allways invades ye party with sudden and sharpe fainteing fitts; and for that nature, which is never idle, but always buisyed about its owne pservation, attractes all the heate (y' nature can afford) towards the hearte to resist the venom of the infection, hence ariseth that universal chillnes yt invades the external and extreme parts of the body like an ague, and must be attended with all speedy and wary proceedings. If any one contracts the infection to himselfe by a sudden or over heateing of the blood, as by over hott or too much strong liquors, or too sudden and violent motions, or yet over chill the blood by cold or small liquors, or too fast cooling after such violent motion, one whereof exhausts the spts, the other suffocates ym by contraction, both which I may call a surfett of spts rather then of humours, then the liver is first afflicted, and the natural spts principally hurte, hence want of appetite to eate, and want of concoction if they eate. When it is by ye blood over heated, then sharpe choler abounds in the gall, and that overflows; and yt afflicting the mouth of the stomacke causeth a nauseousnesse and procation to vomitt; and in peesse of time, though but in a very short time, is this acute disease; by the communication of the veines and nerves, the diaphragma comes to be afflicted, and, by its consent with the braine, a kind of furor or madness doth ensue, besides a difficulty of breathing, the diaphragma being one organ y' assists the breath; then also, by the communication of strings from ye diaphragma to the pericardium, that and the hearte is also speedyly afflicted, and hence also (as very quickly in any infection wth the Plague which way soever happening) arise greater fainting flits. If this infection bee contracted by chilling the bloud as afores, then is there bread a kind of choler adust, or yt kind of melancholy, which the spleene beeing the cheife receptacle of and thereby swelling, there thence arise a greate difficulty of breathing, and as if it were a narrowness

of the breast by the dilation of ye parts within; and as it were a kind of weight there pressing doune and oppressing yt parte, and almost suppressing both the breath and the spirits at once. If the infection be bred in one through the putrefaction of tumours abounding in the body, as sometimes it is-and allways this distemp tends speedyly to such a putrefaction, through corrupt aliments or want of digestion,-then are the stomacke and gutts primaryly afflicted, whence ariseth a greate looseness, which quickely wasts and consumeth all, and carry life away too in a shorter time. Concerning ye external effects of this internal infection, there are these 3, with one or more or all of weh this distemp is usually attended, botches, blaines, and carbuncles, to which I may add a fourth, spotts comonly called the tokens, and are very symptomatical, never ariseing till the full state of the disease, even when deathe stands at the doore; for very few or none live that are so markt. For the botches or pestilential bubos, they usually arise but in 3 places, whereof the principal emunctorys of the body are;—behind or under the ears when the braine is afflicted; under each arme when the heart or vitalls are inflicted; in the groynes principally when the liver is afflicted. The blaines and carbuncles may and doe arise generally in any parte of the body, necke, face, throate, backe, thighs, armes, leggs, &c., and all of them very hard and obstinate to be dealt withall, and must have severall peedings with them; and if any of them, after once appearing, either fall or retire backe againe, it is a very bad and dangerous symptome. The botches sometimes rise to a very greate buiggnes, especially under the armes and in the groines; if so under the ears they quickly choake or kill with paine, there being no roome for them to bee extended: if they rise something in an oblongish forme, and red at the first, it is so much the better then if round, though as they grow to more maturity they will tend to a more round forme, as they come to ripen, especiall on the topp; if they rise white it argues coldnes and want of heate and spt to drive them out, and must bee yo more carefully helpt forwards with internal drivers and externall drawers. The blaines rise first like blisters, but not puffy, as if sweld with wind or water, but hard, not vielding to the touch; but if they come forward to any maturity (we't they are very difficult to bee brought to, and many dye if they have blaines), there wilbee a very hard and knotty bunch of corrupt matter in them. The carbuncles, though yt it may bee rise onely like a pinn's head, yet psently rise up to a pointed boile, very hard; sometimes firey red, sometimes black, and sometimes blewish in places; red the best, ye others worst. All of these riseings, if they bee accurately observed at the first (but especially the carbuncles and blaines), have a particular symptome annexed to them, viz., they are generally circled about with red or blew circles,

sometimes with both; sometimes they are broader then a bare circle, one within another: ye red colour argue the small blood affected or choler abounding; the blewish argue the arteriall blood from the hearte affected; the blacke choler adust or melancholy; white, the putrefactions of cold and crude humors most. For ye spotts or tokens, weh most generally are fforerunn's of certaine death, they doe more generally this yeare then formerly appeare in divers parts of the body, formerly usually and allmost onely to be found upon ye region of the hearte and liver, or the brest, or agst it on the backe; but now on ye necke, face, hands, armes, almost any where as well as there; sometimes as broad as farthings, therefore called tokens; sometimes this yeare as broad as an halfecrowne; sometimes smaller; but always of more colors than one. If they bee observed at first riseing sometimes with a red circle without, and blew win; sometimes with a blew circle whout and red within; sometimes one more bright red, the other blewish or darker, sometimes blacker; ye blew from ye arteriall, ye red from ye venall blood affected, the blacke from melancholy as is aforesd. Of ye swellings, or mixt as the infection is mixed more or lesse, these usually come forth about the state of the disease, when nature hath done its utmost to expell, but cannot conquer; which endeavours to expel y utmost, send forth these externall symptomes of it; and generally we these come out ye party seemes not so sicke as before, but dye psently, whin a day or 2 at youtmost after. Many times this distemper strikes ye vitalls so immediately, y nature hath not time to putt forth either spotts or blotches, and then it is the highest infection, most pply called the Pestilence, and not the Plague; but done by a more immediate stroake of the destroying Angell. But, if such bodyes bee kept a little length of time after death, sometimes spotts will then arise weh did not before, especially whilst any warmth remayne in the body; but how many are therefore deceived, because either they view the body onely imediately when dead, or bury them whilest warme; others, wickedly to conceal ye hand of God, will drive them in agayne, and keepe them in wth colde and wett cloths."

The foregoing is the whole of J. Allin's account of the disease; his promise of "a word on the curative parte," if performed, does not stand on record as such among these letters, in several of which he subsequently alludes to it, and with the apology of not having time to take it in hand.

Writing on the same day to Mr. Jeake, Allin follows up the subject, and by his expressions shews how great was the fear of conveying contagion, even in letters:

" September 20, 1665.

"It is some refreshing to mee to thinke you are yet willing to receive a line from mee. It was an affliction to mee that I knew not to whom I might send a letter with acceptance (except Mr. Fryth onely). I am afrayd that some of my friends there are this day too much afrayd where no feare need to bee, for were my penn infectious my hand would soone let it drop. Gracious Mr. Cobb (one w^m God sometimes imployed in the worke of comforteing and supporting others in this darke and gloomy day of the Lord), w^o yet fell by this sicknes, and last Lord's Day entered into his father's bosome. . . . Clouds are gathering thicker and thicker, and I thinke veryly the day of the Lord will yet prove more blacke. Whither the Lord will make good that word spoken by a child here concerning the increase of y^e Plague, till 18,317 dye in a weeke (which all indeavours are used to conceale), though still goeth on in reality to increase it: and that word too of a yeares time of greate and sad persecution, spoken by y^e same mouth after death had once cooled it in this visitation, time will show."

Two days afterwards Allin continues his communications to Fryth, and advises a charmed preventative:

" September 22, 1665.

"It is yet increasing. In our parish this bill is raised about 50: ye whole bill is 8,297: Plague 7,165: increased in all this weeke 607. Much rageing now in the city. Freind get a piece of angell gold, if you can of Eliz. coine (yt is ye best), we is phylosophicall gold, and keepe it allways in yor mouth when you walke out or any sicke persons come to you: you will find strange effects of it for good in freedome of breathing, &c. as I have done; if you lye wth it in your mouth wthout yor teeth, as I doe, viz. in one side betweene your cheke and gumms, and so turning it sometimes on one side, sometimes on ye other."

On 27th September, 1665, he says, "I am where ye Lord hath hitherto, amidst 100 dyeing weekely, pserved me, and yet through mercy am in health, the Lord be praysed. The Lord hath decreased this weekes bill 1,837; there dyeing this weeke but 6,400: Pl. 5,533; and in our parish there was 50 decreased; but it is still very hot near me: I fear it will increase with you. If you send any prima materia in a glasse I pray cover it over wth paper, and double seale it that nothing of it bee seene." But on 30th September, 1665, he is forced to admit that "since ye last bill ye sicknes is againe increaseing and very much about us;" and in truth September was the most fatal month; the number of deaths from the Plague being 26,230.

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It then became less serious in London. On October 5, 1665, Allin says, "The sicknes is now still decreaseing about 740, this bill being in all but 5,720, whereof of the Plague 4,929." Nevertheless, it was spreading through the eastern and other counties. On the same day Sir Wm. Clarke, writing from the Cockpit at Westminster to the Court, says, that, though the visitation was ceasing in London, he heard that it spread much in the country, and was in twenty several parishes in Buckinghamshire. And Allin, writing on October 7, tells his friend "The sicknes is now very hot at the next house to us one way, but hath beene neerer, though none of our family hath been ill at all yet, through mercy. What with some imploym on Lord's dayes, at other dayes sometimes, in this scarcity of ministers (many being dead, though more fled), I am streightened in time. At Yarmouth, Colchester, Ipsweb, the sicknes is very much, and now pretty much at Norweb; Southampton reported to bee allmost depopulated. Matters, however, still mend in London. On 14th October, 1665, he writes, ". . . . This

a State Paper Office, Domestic, October, 1665.

b It began to appear at Colchester 14th August, 1665, and continued till 7th December, 1666, during which time there died 4,731 persons, of whom 195 died in the week between 15th and 22nd June, 1666. —Morant's Essex, vol. i. p. 74. In the London Gazette, No. 70, 12th to 16th July, 1666, it is said that the infection was spreading extremely in Suffolk and Essex, and with such violence "as to leave many of those places fit objects for the charitable relief of other parts of the kingdom." This was liberally afforded: 591, 5s. 9d. had been collected by the Mayor of Exeter for the relief of Colchester, and the sum of 1,3111. 10s. was raised from weekly collections in the churches of the metropolis.—Cromwell's Colchester, p. 163. And, in consequence of the certificate of the justices of Essex that many other places besides Colchester were visited by the sickness, the assizes appointed to be holden at Brentwood on 9th August were directed not to be holden.—Gazette, No. 70.

o In consequence of the pestilence no fair was held at Ipswich on 14th September, 1666. So many inhabitants left the town that the rates could not be collected. All public funerals were prohibited, and the bell was to toll only a quarter of an hour before any burial.—Clarke's Ipswich, p. 50.

⁴ From 3rd October, 1665, to 3rd October, 1666, there died in Norwich 3,012 persons; of the Plague, 2,251. In one week, 22nd to 29th August, 1666, there died 203.—Blomefield's Norwich, i. 410. The returns of deaths in 1666 appeared regularly in the London Gazette, in which (No. 81) in August it was stated that Anthony Mingaye, merchant, at the sign of the Sun, in the Poultry, was authorised to receive subscriptions in aid of the town, which, on the 26th September (No. 91) was declared to be in a deplotable condition by reason of the continued raging of the sickness. The deaths from the Plague had decreased to fifteen on 28th November, 1666, and the last notice which appeared was on 2nd January, 1667, (No. 119,) when eight only had died from the pestilence.

Other parts of the south-western counties suffered considerably. At Winchester the school of the college was closed and not re-opened till 1st December, 1666, when "in all human appearance the sickness in that city and the suburbs was extinguished."—London Gazette, No. 109. It had broken out at Salisbury on 6th September, 1665, without great virulence (Additional MS. 5810, fo. 287), but it re-appeared in June,

weekes bill makes 652 decreased; in all, 5,068; Plague, 4,227. There is 104 decreased in our parish this weeke through mercy, yet many sicke about us in or end of ye parish."

In the nine weeks, from 8th August to 10th October, 59,810 persons had died, of whom the Plague destroyed 49,605, as appears by the bills of mortality. On October 19, 1665, Allin writes, "Wee have had this weeke, God be praysed! a very mercifull abatem^t of y^e bill of mortality, viz^t 1,849 decreased this weeke; y^e whole bill being 3,219, whereof of y^e Plague 2,665, but yet it doth creepe into fresh houses still. Y^e Lord fitt mee for what his good will and pleasure is."

In the entire month of October the deaths from the pestilence fell to 14,373. The writer, however, began to feel unwell from his exertions. On November 2, 1665, he writes, "The sicknes, though decreaseing in generall, yet in our parte of our parish (Horsleydowne) I thinke it now encrease again, and proves this weeke very mortall; my head aketh at yet present. Yet Lord fitt mee for what hee intends towards mee. Remember prima materia."

And he sets about his astrological inquiries with no little apprehension. On November 8th, 1665, he writes, "Through mercy I am yet very well, though never without dayly feares, and truly not without cause, if I either consider the

1666, and continued till December, 1666; the election of the mayor on 27th September taking place at an assembly in the close of the cathedral on account of the pestilence.—Hoare's City of Salisbury, p. 455. On 12th October, 1665, it had extended itself into other parts of Wiltshire. (Additional MS. 5810, fol. 291.) At the end of October, 1665, it had also broken out in four houses at Sherburn, Dorset, but it soon ceased; and in a letter dated 5th December it is said that only one person had died of the Plague during twenty days, so that on the last Saturday they had a plentiful market of corn and other provisions, and several who had left the town had come home, and others were preparing for their return.—Oxford Gazette, Nos. 5, 8.

According to the returns, the disease was very fatal in many parishes on the low sides of the Thames. At Lambeth, 537 died of Plague, mostly between July and December, 1665. At St. George the Martyr, Southwark, 1,260, or one-fourth of the population; St. Olave's, 2,785; St. Saviour's, 3,446. At Bermondsey 1,363 died, of whom there died in July 108, August 121, September 263, October 278 (of which number 185 were males), and November 111. In Stepney 8,598 died in the year, of whom the Plague destroyed 6,583, and on one day, 11th September, 1665, no less than 154 were buried. The population of the parish was so thinned that it became a difficulty to man the navy. At Deptford and Greenwich the disease raged with greater violence in 1666 than in the first year. At Deptford, 374 died of the pestilence in 1665, and 522 in the next year. In Greenwich, 416 died in the first year, and 423 in the next year of the Plague. In the upper part of the river it was not so bad. At Chelsea only 78 died of it; at Battersea only 113; at Wandsworth there were 245 in 1665, and 99 in 1666; at Putney, though the traffic was large, only 74 died of Plague; at Mortlake it was more fatal, 197 dying, of whom 122 died in September and October, 1665; at Barnes it was light, 19 only; at Brentford, 103; at Isleworth, 149; and Twickenham, only 21.

will of myne owne hearte, or yet if there bee any truth in ye language of the starrs; for Mars is comeing to my ascendant in my nativity, wh was there lord of the eighth; and in my revolution for this yeare Lord of the Asc.; and in his course of pgresse and regradation hee will continue within the compasse of my ascendant in my nativity till 1st July next. I had thought to send Mr. Jeake the scheames, with ye directions and pfections for this yeare for his judgment, but I have not time now. The bill enclosed will confirm my last about an increase, we'll wonder is no higher, when our procations are so much heightned; ye sicknes increased at Norwell, 42 there last weeke; and at Colchester, haveing beene at neere 200 weekely, there it is this last weeke risen to neere 300. Send as much prima materia as you can get gathered in m (scorpio), by itself; if in my (virgo), by itselfe."

In Allin's letter to Jeake, of 14th November, he declares "It is yet dyeing time with us, though the bill is hoped to have decreased this weeke:" but writing again to Fryth, two days afterwards, he is a little better assured, though he gives us the important fact, that there were second attacks in the same places, November 16, 1665: "You will see a little decrease in this bill, but truly God seemes now in divers familys to visit the 2nd time, after they have beene all well 6 or 8 weekes; and fresh houses in divers places, besides some whole familys, swept away that have returned to ye City allready."

A change of the temperature to considerable cold no doubt aided the general decrease in the mortality of London. On November 23rd, 1665, Allin tells Fryth: "The cold pincheth soarely here, seeing that coales are above 40° p chaldron; but ere long I must bee forced (if I live so long) to a country climate; I thinke it must bee Sussex ward, but where I doe not know. If you can learne some place for me, somewhat above five miles from you, with honest people, you may doe well to let mee know of it, where I may also practice physicke."

On the 6th November the soldiers, who had been quartered in tents in Hyde Park, returned into the City; and the total number of deaths in November from Plague fell to 3,449, though considerable danger still existed.

On December 7th, 1665, Allin says, "Some fresh houses in divers parishes are still visited, besides more of them that come to towne, or are imployed in the aireing of other's houses;" and on 12th December, "Divers psons and familyes at their returne home to the City have mett with what they fled from, in so much that I feare and heare this weekes bill hath an increase. I heare there is a new blazing starr seene last weeke, 4 or 5 nights together, about north-east." And

[·] Additional MS. 5810, fol. 295.

two days afterwards, December 14, 1665: "Ye sicknes is now agayne increaseing, as by ye totalls doth appeare, but yet is increased in the sicknes 33, and wholly in the City; divers fresh houses, since the returne of fresh psons hither, visited and swept."

On 26th December, 1665, Allin thus sums up the year: "The totall of the generall bill this yeare is, of all diseases, 97,306; whereof the Plague, 68,596." The sicknesse, wee feare, is still increasing this weeke agayne."

Nevertheless on 5th January, 1666, a proclamation was issued for the removal back of the Exchequer from Nonsuch to be opened at Westminster on the 20th; and the justices were ordered to see that all bedding and other goods in the several infected houses were well aired, the rooms all new whited, and the church-yards covered with earth two feet thick.^b The Court returned to town; but although on 6th April the pestilence "was almost totally abated," yet, as it might be increased again, parliament was prorogued. The number of deaths within the bills of mortality in the year fell to 12,838: there were 1,998 who died from the Plague; and so late as 20th December three deaths from this cause were entered.^c

The disease extended itself along the sides of the Thames. On 22nd March, 1666, Allin mentions the Plague as being at Barking (where 230 persons died in 1665, and 239 in 1666); at Kingston-upon-Thames (not mentioned by Lysons), where six or seven houses were "lately shut up in one day;" and at Woolwich, whither, however, Allin removed, and whence on 15th Sept. he wrote that the "sicknes is this weeke broken out much about 4 houses in Woolwich, where wee have not had one dyed of y^t disease visibly this 12 weekes." The fair at

^a Stowe gives this number, Book i. p. 226; but does not mention the total number of deaths. The whole population of the metropolis was under 600,000, and many of these had removed out of town.

D Oxford Gazette, No. 16.

⁶ London Gazette, No. 114.

⁴ The registers of this date are lost.

e With the exception of these river-side parishes, the disease did not appear in a very fatal form in the villages round the metropolis. In Middlesex we find at Hampstead indeed that 214, or seven times the average number of deaths, occurred in 1665, but at Hackney 225 persons only died and the pestilence was less fatal than on the former visitation. At Hornsey 43 died of Plague; at Finchley only 38 deaths occurred; at Ealing 224 died between June and December; at Enfield 176 in the year; at Heston only 48 died in 1665; and 61 at Bromley St. Leonard's. It was light at Norwood; and at Kensington only 25 died of the pestilence. In the Essex villages the mortality was not so great as might have been anticipated since the towns suffered so much. At Stratford-le-Bow 139 died in the year; at Walthamstow only 68 were buried; at Woodford only 33; and at Chigwell only 6 died of the Plague in 1666.

The Surrey villages were comparatively free. At Newington the pestilence was very fatal; the registers

Gravesend usually holden on 13th October was in 1666 prohibited, in order to prevent a concourse, till it should "please Almighty God to cease the violence of the contagion, which was very far dispersed into many parts of this kingdom."

Whilst the disease had abated in London at the commencement of 1666, it reappeared in many places, and extended itself to others throughout parts of the midland, and the eastern, southern, and south-western counties. General rules and orders to be observed by all justices of the peace, mayors, &c. for the prevention of the spreading of the infection were therefore issued by Government, and the College of Physicians circulated freely their remedies.

In addition to the places already mentioned in which it raged a second time, we have records of the visitation in other towns.

In King's Lynn, in 1665, on account of this visitation, the gates were shut, and even the mackerel carts were not allowed to enter; and, as it raged in 1666, no mart was held, and the markets were also discontinued.

At Cambridge it first broke out about 12 September, 1665, ceased about the close of February, and broke out again in the summer.^d Allin writes to Fryth on 14th July, 1666, "Ye Plague very hott at Cambridge, their 3rd bill of mortality

are now lost, but the returns give 1,004 deaths of Plague; beyond that place the disease was not virulent. At Camberwell 100 died in the year, and 33 at its hamlet Dulwich, being less than in 1603: at Croydon, between 27th July, 1665, and 22nd March, 1666, there were 141 deaths: but Clapham, Streatham, West Wickham, Carshalton, and Cheam wholly escaped.

In the Kent villages nearly the same exemption occurred. Lewisham was visited slightly, there being only 56 burials in 1665 and 52 in 1666; at Charlton only three or four deaths from the Plague; at Beckenham only 18 deaths in the year; at Chiselhurst only 21; at Eltham only 32 deaths from the pestilence; and at Bromley only 7.—Lysons.

^a The town of Derby so severely suffered that it was almost forsaken, and to procure the necessaries of life the inhabitants erected at Nun's Green, outside the town, a market-stone or headless cross, where the market people, having their mouths primed with tobacco, left the provisions. The stone, with an inscription from Hutton, is now in the Derby Arboretum. In the villages of Derbyshire the disease appeared at one place, Eylam, from whence it did not spread. Archæologia, vol. VI. p. 82. But according to Bailey it was exceedingly bad at Newark, where one-third of the inhabitants died, and the grass grew in the streets.

The northern and western counties almost escaped. The disease did not reach Lancashire (Baines), nor Sheffield (Hunter, p. 6). The last outbreak at Leeds was in 1645 (Whitaker), and at York in 1604 (Drake). The towns, however, on the Tyne were slightly infected. It appeared at Gateshead on 30th July, 1665 (Surtees, ii. p. 122); and on 11th November, 1665, it is stated from Newcastle, "When the sickness appeared first here (which is but of young date) we were not without the apprehension of a severe mortality, but it hath pleased God already to put a stop to its progress, there being not one person sick in the whole town, and those that were sent in the fields well recovered."—Oxford Gazette, No. 2.

^e Richards, Lynn, p. 1203.

⁴ C. H. Cooper's Annals, iii 517, 20.

to the 10th instant gives 55 in their 14 parishes, whereof there was 44 of ye Plague, and 13 more of ye Plague in ye pest-house." A few days afterwards the Vice-Chancellor deputed Mr. Thomas Warren, apothecary, at the Golden Hart and Anchor, in Basing Lane, London, to receive such moneys as should be contributed for the relief of the sufferers. The number of burials in the town, including St. Giles', during the year was 797; and it was not till the Gazette from 21st to 24th January, 1667, that the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houses notified that the scholars might return to their respective colleges.

In September, 1666, the Bishop of Ely prohibited the holding of the fair usually holden in October at Ely, on account of the Plague at Cambridge, Peterborough, and other places near Ely; and on a recent search of the Peterborough Registers I found that the affliction there was sore. It had been raging at Yardly Hastings, in Northamptonshire, where sixty persons died of the Plague between 5th June, 1665, and 5th January following; and it broke out in Peterborough in the month of September, 1665, having been brought, as was supposed, by a travelling woman from London: two persons died of it in that month, and forty more between September and March, 1666. It re-appeared in May, when two died of it, and increased, killing in June 57, July 121, August 96, September 58, and October 49; it then abated, but in the course of the year 500 persons died in the town, of whom 417 died of the Plague, many being buried in their gardens. In the first three months of 1667 eight more died of the pestilence; after March it ceased. Yet it did not spread seriously even to the neighbouring town of Boston.

Of the extension of the disease into Sussex we have no details: but in the London Gazette there is a proclamation in Oct. 1666, stating that the infection being much spread about the town of Battel, though the inhabitants were free, yet, to prevent its further spreading, the fair usually kept on 11th November was directed not to be holden: f and the pestilence must have lingered in the western division of the same county, since, "in regard that the said county in several towns and parishes was still infected with the Plague," it was ordered f that the fair usually kept at Petworth on the 20th November during the space of nine days should not be held in the year 1666.

a London Gazette, No. 72. b Ib. No. 124. 6 Ib. No. 91, Annals of Camb. iii. 520.

d Bridges' North. i. p. 399. He does not mention the Plague at Peterborough.

^{*} The population is only 5,000 at the present day.

f London Gazette, No. 98.

g Ib. No. 103.

The town of Nottingham was about the last place visited. It was free from the disease in 1665, when there were only 149 burials; and in 1666, when there were 180 burials in the town. According to Deering and Furby, it was visited by the Plague in 1667, the greatest ravages being in the higher part of the town, whilst the lower part was more free, a circumstance attributed to the "effluvia from the tan-pits." But the visitation was not heavy, for no particular notice is taken of it in the registers; and the whole number of burials in the year was only 219, most deaths occurring in the month of August.^a

The year 1667 saw the last outbreak of the Plague in this country; for, although its return in the years 1720 and 1780 was much dreaded, it did not reach our shores.

How much more violent it was in the metropolis than the more recent visitations of the Cholera will be seen by the following tabular results:—

Metropolis,	Years.	Duration.	Estimated Population.	Highest number of De Epidemic. In week		Total Deaths from Epidemic.	Per cent. of Deaths to Population.
Plague .	1664-5	13 months	600,000	19th Sept. 1665	7,165	68,596	11-42
Cholera .	1832-3	17 months with an interval of 8 months	1,682,641	27th July, 1832	445	6,729	.39
"	1848-9	15 months	2,206,076	8th Sept. 1848 .	2,026	14,601	.61
11	1853-4	17 months	2,372,728	9th Sept. 1854 .	2,050	10,696	•45

It will be seen that in each of the years 1665, 1848, and 1854 the month of September was the period of the greatest mortality: and a strict investigation of the mortality in the different parishes and districts of London would shew a close affinity between the visitations of the older and of the more recent form of pestilence.

I remain, my dear Sir Henry,

Your very faithful Servant,

WM. DURRANT COOPER.

Sir Henry Ellis, K.H. Director S.A. &c. &c.

a Ex inf. Mr. Thomas Close, F.S.A.

II. Notices of the old Clochard or Bell-Tower of the Palace at Westminster: Communicated by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, one of the Vice-Presidents.

Read 4th Dec. 1856.

Now that the public attention is so much directed upon the Tower at Westminster which is to receive the great clock and bell which are to proclaim the hour to the whole population of London, it appears not unseasonable to draw into notice the ancient and long-lost Bell-Tower which formed part of the buildings of the ancient Palace of Westminster, and stood very near to the site of the more splendid and imposing Tower recently erected.

The erection of this Tower, and the placing in it a clock, and not one but three bells, was the work of King Edward the Third when he made such extensive reparations and improvements on the Palace which in his reign, and long before and after, was by far the most frequent residence of the King and his family. It was considered an appurtenance to the Chapel of St. Stephen. Stowe's account of it is this:—"He also builded to the use of this Chapel, though out of the Palace Court some distance west in the Little Sanctuary, a strong Clochard of stone and timber covered with lead, and placed therein three great bells, since usually rung at Coronations, Triumphs, Funeralls of Princes, and their Obits." Before the time when Stowe wrote the bells had been taken down. He speaks of traditions of their great weight and loud tones. His language is as vague as when he speaks of the precise site of the tower. They had been said to weigh 30,000 lbs. but when taken down it was found that the weight of all three was less than 20,000.

This Tower was built in 1365 and 1366, the 39th and 40th years of King Edward the Third.

We have this exact date from contemporary evidence.

The Surveyor of the King's works within the Palace at Westminster was at that time William de Sleford, clerk. He rendered an annual account of his Receipts and Expenses, and his account for that year still remains, having survived in the destruction of so many documents of the class to which it belongs.

The ancient accounts of works that have come down to us do not afford all that minute information which we might expect from them. We rarely meet with admeasurements, and scarcely ever with such notices of the works as would enable us to draw a plan or represent the elevation of any part of the building. Rarely, indeed, is the name given of any subordinate part of an edifice. The accounts are business-like documents, sufficient for the occasion, which was only to show what money had been received from the Exchequer, and how it had been expended. It was, perhaps, the last thought in the mind of the accountant to provide materials for the history of art, or the gratification of antiquarian curiosity in a distant age. The expenditure being upon work in different portions of the same edifice, and sometimes at different edifices in remote places, as at Westminster, the Tower, Windsor, and Eltham, renders it in most cases impossible for us to arrive at the precise amount of the expenditure on any particular portion of the work, and even to know with certainty what part of the things purchased were used in that particular portion. Yet some few particulars may be collected from them not wholly without interest in respect of buildings which in themselves are but minute points in the whole design of the architect. In the present case, any attempt to ascertain the actual cost of the Bell-Tower is rendered the more difficult, there being at the same time another tower at Westminster in the course of erection by the same architect, which is designated the "Nova turris ad finem gardini Regis."

The terms in which Sleford speaks of the Clock-Tower are "Turris infra palatium pro quodam orlogio facta;" and the first entry in which this Tower is mentioned is a payment of 11l. and 12d. for 26 dolia of stone of Bere at 8s. 6d. the dolium, and 106s. 8d. for 16 dolia of stone of Came at 6s. 8d. the dolium. Four hundred and sixty-nine cart-loads of Reigate stone for the doors and windows of the two Towers, the cost of which was 3s. the load. Above 8,000 feet of ashlar was bought at Maidstone for the Towers and other works, which cost 4d. the foot, including the freight. Between five and six thousand feet of stone called Urnell were bought at 8s. the hundred, without freightage. There were other large purchases of raggstone, which was brought up the Thames from Maidstone.

The Society will bear the recital of a few other entries in this part of the account for the sake of the rare words which occur in them. Fifty corbels were bought at Maidstone expressly for the Clock-Tower at 11d. each. Four pounds were paid for 240 wrought stones of Reigate called Sherches, "pro quadam vice in predicta turri juxta gardinum Regis," and 40s. for 15 wrought stones of Reigate

called Nowels, "pro eadem vice." Two "gressors" for sharpening the masons' tools were bought, which I introduce for the sake of the rarity of the word.

Lime and rough sand were bought to make mortar.

Tiles and timber were bought, part of which may have been used in the Clock-Tower.

Again, under the head of iron work, we read of no use of iron except in the locks. Stock-locks, plate-locks, and clykett-locks are the kind of locks named.

There was paid to John Brampton 105s. 1d. for 4 score and 17 feet of white glass wrought with flowers and a border of the arms of the King, to be placed in the windows of the tower, or towers, for it is uncertain which. The price was 13d. the foot.

I shall easily be excused for passing over the payments made to sawyers, carpenters, plumbers, glaziers, and plasterers, working at 3d., 4d., 5d., and $5\frac{1}{2}d$. a day.

We find nothing respecting the construction or even the placing of the clock, and nothing respecting the casting of the bells, and very little respecting the elevation of them in the Tower. Bell-ropes occur, and in connection with them a vice or engine.

The superintendent of the Tower at the garden-end was Thomas Hardegrey; and he and Maurice Yonge had the superintendence of the construction of the Bell-Tower, or rather for attending to the work on 50 feet in height of the Clock-Tower, "pro facture 50 pedum in altitudine predictse turnis pro orlogio." They received 15l., part of 40l.

In a kind of appendix to his account is an inventory of the things in the custody of Sleford, in which occur "duæ campanæ vocatæ Wyron;" an unusual word, but occurring again in the account itself, "pro 1 corda empt. pro Wyron."

It is to be regretted that we have no account of the expense of the clock and bells themselves. Nor have we any thing respecting them in any later accounts till we arrive at the reign of King Henry the Sixth. We have then accounts of the expense of maintaining the clock and bells in a state of efficiency for two successive years, the fourth and fifth, the fifth and sixth of that reign, delivered both in Latin and English. From these we collect that Thomas Clockmaker received 13s. 4d. a-year as his salary for general superintendence. He also received 8s. for making of the sail (velum) when it was broken; 6s. 8d. for amending of the spring of the barrel; 12d. for the wire of the stobil; 7s. for amending of the note (nut) and spindle. He was also paid for two great ropes, the one weighing 52 lbs. and the other 49 lbs. at the rate of three halfpence the

pound; also for two ropes of thread for the little weight 2s.; and for boards, laths, and matts "bought for to stop the wind fro the said clock," 22d.

These were for the first of the two years.

In the account for the second year we have 5s. for the repair of the extre of the said clock; 3s. for two laches and two pinnes of iron; for mending four pullies of laton, and four bolts and four clenches thereto, that draw the hammer, 3s. 4d.; for three lenkes and a ring and a bolt for the hammer 2s.; 1s. 8d. for amending the lansing of the clock; for two great ropes, the one weighing 51lbs. the other 52lbs. 12s. $10\frac{1}{2}d$.; and for cords for the little weight 2s. 2d.

I can only hope that in the absence of other and more full details of the clockwork of the middle ages, even these particulars may be of some interest, and contribute to the knowledge we possess of the construction of the clocks of those times, concerning which so little information seems to have come down to us.

I ought to add that the person called Thomas Clockmaker appears to have been but a subordinate officer, the account being rendered by Agnes De la Van, the wife of Geffery De la Van, who was himself the deputy of John Lenham, who is designated "Custos orologii domini Regis infra palatium suum Westmonasterio."

III. Observations on Researches in Suabian Tumuli; in a Letter from William Michael Wylie, Esq. F.S.A., addressed to J. Y. Akerman, Esq. Secretary.

Read 5th June, 1856.

Blackwater, May 8, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

OUR zealous Stuttgart correspondent, Captain von Dürrich, to whom we owe the discovery of the Oberflacht^a remains, perhaps the most important of their class, has favoured me with a brief communication respecting some ancient and obscure Suabian tumuli. This I have endeavoured to embody in the following notice, which I would venture to hope may interest our Society. Captain von Dürrich's letter is accompanied by illustrative drawings, now exhibited.

The small territory of Würtemberg is peculiarly rich in this class of historic monuments; and the student of Suabian archæology has before him a wide and richly diversified field of inquiry. The early Kelt,—the Roman, ambitious of conquest,—the free tribes of the great Teutonic movement, have all left here, after their manner, striking evidence of their course. If, as is doubtless true, the early history of all lands is only to be verified by an attentive examination of their sepulchral memorials, tumular research, undertaken for such a purpose, becomes of the very highest interest and importance.

Captain von Dürrich states that groups of very ancient tumuli are found scattered over the plateau—partly forest, partly heath—on the summit of one of the highest points of the Suabian Alps, which bears the name of Heuberg. This mountain-peak was called Jurassus by the Romans, probably after the old Keltic appellation of Jou-rag. The spot is described as peculiarly wild and sterile, hemmed in by precipitous rocks, and nearly 3000 feet above the sea. Here the old inhabitants of the country seem to have sought either a stronghold for their own defence, or a secure resting-place for the sacred remains of their dead. Its very name, Mahlstatten, would seem a reminiscence of those ancient feasts or sacrifices—sacrificia mortuorum—which the heathen were wont to hold at their

a Archæologia vol. XXXVI. p. 129.-Heft 3 des Würtembergischen Alterthumsvereins.

sepulchral tumuli. The mode of sepulture practised by these Suabian mountaineers was that of inhumation. The corpse was deposited in a shallow grave of about two feet and a half in depth, and a tumulus of the adjacent soil raised above it. Layers of rude stones were then added, and these again covered with a slight coating of mould. Hence the term "stein-haufen," or cairns, by which these graves are commonly known in the country.

On an examination of one of these cairns, which Captain von Dürrich has recently made, it was found to contain the remains of a female skeleton: no ashes or burnt bones were to be seen. At the feet was the exceedingly remarkable jar-shaped vessel of thin sheet bronze, shown in the sketch (Plate I.), and also the rims of three more similar vessels. There were, also, the personal ornaments of the deceased, consisting of a bronze torq, three bronze armillæ, and the rare example of a decoration for the neck or breast, drawings of which are given. It consists of a convex plate of bronze, from which a number of pieces of the same metal, of a nearly triangular form, depend by fine chains. These clashed together, and produced a jingling sound—or, in the poet's words, "harmonious tinkled"—on every movement of the wearer; whence, in Germany, this ornament bears the appellation of "klapper-schmuck." The bronze vessel just referred to is of a somewhat enigmatical construction, and merits attention. The plate of which

it is composed is not thicker than very stout paper, and appears retained in form entirely by its own elasticity, not a trace of solder being visible. Neither the form nor ornamentation appear to belong to an early period. There is a difficulty about the other vessels of which only the rims were found. No reason for their decomposition would appear to exist, which would not apply with equal force to the example that remains in perfect preservation. Hence it has been suggested

Captain von Dürrich is inclined to attribute these interesting remains to the Keltic period. An extensive examination of the surrounding tumuli would possibly have furnished better data for a more decided opinion on this point.

that these vessels possibly were of wood, with metal rims.

Nor trinketry on front, or neck, or breast.

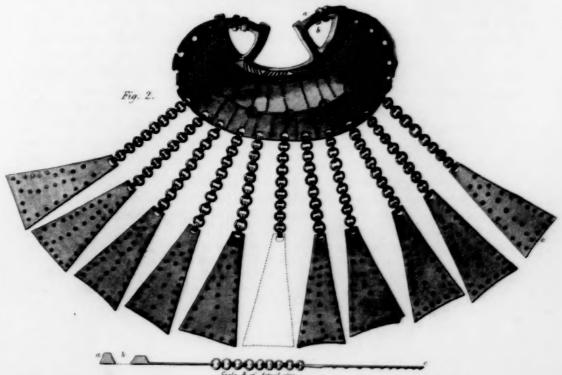
Kehama, c. xiii.

a This custom, derived from Sclavonic heathendom, seems still to linger in Russia in the rites of those popular gatherings said to be held at tombs in cemeteries after Easter, at the festival of Radounitza.

b Southey gives a similar picture of the ornaments of Oriental dress: Ear-drop, nor chain, nor arm nor ancie-ring,

^e Such jingling metal plates are also found attached to hair-pins of the old bronze period in Scandinavia.
—Vide Afbildinger fra det Kongelige Museum. Kjobenhavn, 1854.





BRONZE OBJECTS found in a tumulus on the HEUBERG in WÜRTEMBERG.

Published by the Society of Artiquaries of London At April 1867.

J. Basira, 10.



The largest of the tumuli, in fact, was opened some years ago, and proved to be of similar construction—that is, a mound of earth overspread with layers of stones. It was, however, of the class termed "altar-hügel." These are further found to contain, at the centre of their base, a mass of stones rudely built up without mortar in a cubic form, upon which stand earthen vessels. You will remember having met with a similar cubic mass of rude flints in the large barrow you opened at Wallop a year or two since. Such rude unmortared masonry is of common occurrence in Normandy, in tumuli and substructions of the Keltic age. On the whole, though there may be cause to regret the want of a more extended examination, yet the construction of the tumulus in question—the close vicinity of the so-called "altar-tumulus"—the Alpine locality—all taken in conjunction with the character, form, and ornamentation of the bronze objects found with the body, would appear fully to justify Captain von Dürrich in ascribing these remains to the Kelts. They belong, however, to a late period, when Roman intercourse and influence had become felt in this part of Germany.

It should be remarked that the skull found within the tumulus is of a very singular formation, as will be observed from the sketches it has been deemed of sufficient importance to furnish. A similarly formed skull was also found in another tumulus in a very different locality, which, from the accompanying relics, was unmistakeably of Alemannic origin. These crania, however, vary so widely from the usual Keltic or Teutonic types, that, in the absence of all evidence to the contrary, we may regard them as altogether abnormal and casual, in unison with the opinion already expressed by the distinguished anatomist Dr. Jäger of Stuttgart.

Another tumulus, in a different part of Würtemberg, opened lately by Captain von Dürrich, offers very fresh and interesting matter to our consideration. It is situate in the Rheinerwald, in the Mid Necker district. The tumulus is of red clay, and immediately covers the site of a funeral pile. Here a mass of ashes was found, with fragments of burnt bones, and the crushed remains of coarse black and red pottery. Above these débris some stones were lying; and near them were further traces of cremation, consisting of ashes and the burnt bones of a child, with a fibula, and two bronze armillæ. The tumulus had therefore been opened for this second bustum. Only an inch or two below the summit of the

^a Archæologia, vol. XXXV. A tumulus, raised over a similar cubic pile, formed of turf, was opened in Cumberland in the last century. Archæologia, vol. II. p. 57. The rude outline there given shows it bore the same Mamelon form with this Suabian altar tumulus. It is no uncommon thing to find such piles of turf within ancient tumuli in Germany.

tumulus—in fact, just concealed by the accumulated soil—was a stone rudely cut into an image form, about two French feet in height,

----- truncoque simillimus Hermæ.

This stone Captain von Dürrich imagines to have originally stood on the tumulus, and to have been one of the *todten-säulen*, or tumular memorial-stones, which certain heathen tribes, especially the Sclaves of Southern Russia, were in the habit of erecting over the graves of their kindred.

This custom, however, was not merely confined to Sclavonic nations. We know, indeed, from the history of Paulus Diaconus that the Lombards were wont to set up poles—perticas—as memorials on their sepulchral tumuli; and that, from this circumstance, one of these spots long afterwards bore the name of "Ad perticas." Dr. J. Grimm, in his charming historical essay on the cremation rites of nations, gives a similar interpretation to the obscure cheristado, or aristado, of the old Salic laws.

From this evidence of the existence of memorial erections on tumuli among the Frankish and Lombard nations, and the general similarity of usages which is found to pervade the various branches of the great Teutonic family, the custom may be inferred to have been as universal as it is reasonable. One exceedingly well-defined example of that form of memorial, mentioned by Paulus Diaconus, was met with not long ago in Germany, near Birkenfeld, in the Upper Nahe district. On opening an ancient interment of the cremation period, the numerous decayed ends of oaken poles, with remains of bark, were distinctly visible, deep in the tumulus.

I am not aware of the further existence of any record on the subject in the pages of the old chroniclers. It may seem strange that wood was adopted rather than stone to mark the last resting-place of the dead; but whether such preference for a perishable substance was the result of mere convenience, or

a Juvenal, viii. 53.

b "Ad perticas autem locus ipse adeo dicitur quid ibi olim pertica, id est trabes, erectæ steterant, quæ ob hanc causam juxta morem Langabardorum poni solebant. Si quis enim in aliquem partem, aut in bello, aut quomodocunque extinctus fuisset, consanguinei ejus intra sepulchra sua perticam figebant," &c.—Pauli Diaconi de Gest. Lang. Lib. v. c. 34.

^e Uber das Verbrennen der Leichen. Berlin, 1850, pp. 38—65. Also Grimm's Preface to Merkel's Lex Salica, p. 48.

d "Si quis cheristaduna super hominem mortuum," &c. Leg. Salic. tit. 58, ed. Herold.

^e Erster Bericht des Vereins in den Kreisen, St. Wendel, und Ottweiler.—Abbildungen von Mainzer Alterthümern, No. iv. p 8.

rather, as may be suspected, of some superstitious observance, we know not. From some such fancy, the Teutonic idols—even the famed Irmingsul of the Saxons—seem to have been of wood. The Oberflacht discoveries, indeed, have rendered us aware that wood was very generally used among the German tribes for every purpose of domestic requirement. However, sepulchral memorials on the summits of tumuli, whether of wood or stone, would rapidly disappear, especially in a cultivated country, when the sanctity of the spot ceased to exist on the introduction of Christianity, and the heathen graves came to serve no other purpose than that of landmarks in the charters of the times. Captain von Dürrich's research seems to offer a very valuable and rare illustration of this ancient historical rite: care and observation in exploring tumuli may disclose further examples. In fact, I have just been informed that Mr. Hellier, in his recent researches in the Isle of Wight, found long fragments of stone in the top soil of several tumuli, which bore every appearance of having once been set up after the manner of gravestones.

If English archæologists may claim to have first arrived at a correct discernment of Teutonic antiquities, they are still greatly indebted to their learned confrères of France and Germany, whose zealous researches have afforded the means of establishing a more general induction. Yet our acquaintance with continental archæological discovery is but exceedingly limited and imperfect. What we possess is rather owing to the enterprise of individuals than the regular interchange of communications by societies. If this could be established, and effectively carried out as an essential portion of our duties, we might reasonably expect the greatest advantages would be mutually derived.

Sincerely yours,

W. M. WYLIE.

To J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq. F.S.A.

IV. Note sur des Sépultures Anglo-Normandes trouvées à Bouteilles, près Dieppe, en Mars, 1856; par M. L'Abbé Cochet.

Read June 12, 1856.

Dans le courant du mois de Mars, 1856, j'ai commencé une seconde fouille archéologique dans le cimetière abandonné de l'ancienne église de Bouteilles près Dieppe. Le but de ma tentative nouvelle était encore la recherche de cercueils de pierre et de croix en plomb avec formule d'absolution. Cette fois j'ai trouvé deux croix et six tombeaux.

Cette seconde exploration a principalement porté sur le bas de l'église disparue et sur son ancien parvis. Dans l'intérieur de l'édifice, j'ai trouvé trois ou quatre pavages successifs en carreaux de terre cuite, un tronçon de maçonnerie provenant du fût qui supportait la cuve baptismale, et deux moules circulaires où furent autrefois coulées les cloches de la paroisse. Mais c'est au dehors et devant le portail que j'ai fait mes meilleures découvertes.

Les fondements du pignon de l'Ouest subsistaient encore et ils s'enfonçaient sous terre à plus d'un mètre du niveau de l'ancien sol. Cette vieille construction était en silex avec contre-forts en tuf. La forme des contre-forts, la taille des pierres, et surtout leur nature, montraient évidemment que l'église que nous avions sous les yeux datait du xiie siècle.

On ne saurait toutefois la rapprocher de nous davantage. Ce qui paraît bien certain par la tradition, c'est que l'ancien portail était un ceintre Roman appareillé en tuf. L'église que nous avons vue ne devait pas être la même que celle qui fut donnée ou restituée à l'abbaye de St. Wandrille par notre duc Richard II. dans la fameuse charte délivrée à Fécamp en 1024: b charte qui fut confirmée de nouveau en 1028 par Richard III. son fils.º

[°] C'était autrefois l'usage de faire fondre les cloches dans le cimetière ou dans l'aître de l'église où elles devaient servir. On les fondait jusque dans les églises comme nous l'avons constaté à l'abbaye de Valmont en 1844, où nous avons vu des moules de cloches dans un des transepts. La liturgie Catholique a une bénédiction particulière pour la métal des cloches mis en fusion. Ce fut dans l'aître de la cathédrale de Rouen que Jehan le Machon, de Chartres, fondit la fameuse Georges d'Amboise le 1^{er} Août, 1501.

^b Ecclesiam de Boutellis cum decimis, terris, et hospitibus. Neustria Pia, p. 165.

^e Ecclesiam Sancti Albini de Boutelles. Neustria Pia, p. 167.

Ce qui me fait penser que l'église retrouvée par nous n'est pas antérieure au xii siècle, c'est que nous attribuons à ce siècle même les six tombeaux de pierre rencontrés dans le parvis. Or quelques-uns d'entre eux avaient une portion de leurs pieds engagée sous les fondations du pignon occidental; l'un d'eux avait même été à moitié relevé afin d'asseoir les fondements du mur, comme nous le verrons plus tard.

Toutefois nos six tombeaux en pierre et les deux inhumations sans sarcophages que nous avons rencontrées entre eux, étaient placés devant l'église, les pieds à l'orient, et la tête à l'occident. Ils étaient ainsi rangés dans un passage d'environ deux mètres de largeur existant entre l'église et le mur du cimetière. Ce mur de clôture avait été également construit beaucoup plus tard, puisque ses fondations reposaient sur la tête de nos cercueils qu'elles nous ont parfois empêché de dégager. Ces morts se trouvaient ainsi inhumés sur une place publique qui fut longtemps foulée aux pieds, car le sol supérieur était macadamisé avec de la craie et des vidanges.

C'était évidemment par piété, par humilité, par un sentiment tout particulier de dévotion que ces braves gens avaient demandé à être enterrés dans ce lieu. Beaucoup de saints et de grands personnages de la même époque avaient donné le même exemple, et nous pourrions citer de nos jours et dans notre pays des prêtres qui ont désiré et même exigé qu'on leur accordât ce genre de sépulture, voulant être foulés aux pieds des fidèles, leurs paroissiens.

Voici maintenant dans quel ordre nous avons rencontré nos sépultures.

Le 6 Mars vers l'angle nord-ouest de l'église, à peu près vis-à-vis le contre-fort saillant du portail qui séparait la grande nef de l'allée septentrionale, nous avons aperçu dans le sol naturel, composé d'une couche épaisse d'argile jaune, deux cercueils en pierre assez voisins l'un de l'autre. L'auge était formée de plusieurs pièces de moëllon jointes ensemble au moyen de mortier. Ces pierres du reste étaient fort grossièrement taillées. Les couvercles parfaitement plats étaient formés de cinq ou six morceaux de craie épais de 10°. Ces pièces étaient également liées avec du mortier. La longueur totale des sarcophages variait d'un mètre 90° à 2^m. Ils étaient beaucoup plus étroits aux pieds qu'aux épaules. La tête était moins large encore, le crâne se trouvant emboité dans une entaille circulaire. L'un des cercueils a présenté au fond une couche de chaux, épaisse d'un centimètre: dans l'autre il n'y avait que le sol naturel.

Un des couvercles s'étant effondré, le cercueil s'était rempli de terre, l'autre au contraire était entièrement vide. Les deux squelettes étaient parfaitement

A. Deville, Tombeaux de la Cathédrale de Rouen, pl. xv.-xviii.

en place, couchés sur le dos, la face vers le ciel, et le mains pieusement croisées sur la poitrine. J'ai remarqué sur les os les plus saillants de la tête, et de la poitrine, une teinte violette, qui semblait provenir de plomb décomposé. Pourtant je n'ai recueilli d'autre objet métallique qu'un morceau de bronze près d'une tête, et dans le même cercueil quelques clous en fer qui semblaient avoir fait partie d'une bière. Toutefois la tête a dû être simplement enveloppée dans un suaire, car dans l'entaille il n'y avait pas de place pour un corps étranger.

Le 7 Mars, à la distance d'environ un mètre, un troisième cercueil a été rencontré orienté et construit d'une façon parfaitement identique. Seulement celui-là n'avait pas d'entaille pour la tête; il formait un auge complète. Une chose qui nous étonna d'abord, c'est qu'il n'avait qu'un mètre de long, mais le mystère s'éclaircit bientôt. La partie basse de ce cercueil ayant été rencontrée par les maçons qui bâtissaient l'église, ceux-ci avaient relevé avec soin les os des pieds ainsi que les fémurs et les tibias, et les avaient religieusement replacés dans ce qui restait du cercueil. Aussi tandis que tous les os inférieurs du corps étaient en désordre, la partie haute n'avait pas bougé. Ce mort avait été inhumé sur le dos, les mains croisées sur la poitrine; cependant la tête a été trouvée sur le côté droit. Les ossements indiquaient un sujet grand et fort, décédé dans la maturité de l'âge. Le fond de l'auge a présenté une couche de sable et de mortier épaisse de 3°. Dans le remblai qui remplissait le sarcophage, nous avons remarqué des valves de moules, un coquille de limaçon, et un fragment de vase vernissé en vert, comme ceux du xii° siècle, d'après l'opinion de M. Brongniart.^a

Le 8 Mars, à la distance d'un mètre du 3° tombeau, nous en avons trouvé un quatrième fort singulier. Ici, il n'y avait pas d'auge pour le corps, mais simplement un couvercle pour couvrir le squelette. Ce couvercle était formé de cinq morceaux de pierre calcaire épais de 20 à 25° taillés grossièrement et soudés ensemble au moyen de mortier. Sous cette masse de pierre gisait le corps d'un homme grand et fort agé de 50 à 60 ans. Il était couché dans l'argile, les mains croisées et la face vers le ciel.

Un peu plus loin sur le même alignement, à la distance d'environ 65°, nous avons rencontré dans la terre naturelle le corps d'un jeune sujet qui pouvait avoir de 10 à 15 ans. Il était orienté comme les autres, et paraissait avoir été déposé dans un cercueil de bois dont les planches pouvaient avoir 6 à 7° d'épaisseur. Nous jugeons ceci par les clous que nous avons rencontrés au nombre d'une

A. Brongniart, Traité des Arts Céramiques ou Poteries, t. ii. p. 99, pl. xxix. f. 6.—Brongniart et Riocreux, Description méthodique du Musée Céramique de la Manuf. Roy. de Sèvres, p. 138, pl. xxix. fig 6.

vingtaine. Ils étaient gros et courts, possédaient deux têtes, ou plutôt avaient été rivés par la pointe. Sous les mains de ce jeune homme, pieusement croisées sur la poitrine, se trouvait une croix de plomb, dont nous parlerons bientôt.

Mais achevons ce qui concerne les tombeaux.

Le 11 Mars, 5° cercueil en moëllon fabriqué également de plusieurs pièces, le couvercle en offrant cinq ou six. Placé comme les autres sur un fond d'argile qui n'avait jamais remué auparavant, et qui n'a pas bougé depuis, il était à près de 3^m de profondeur à partir de la crête du fossé. L'épaisseur du couvercle et des parois du cercueil était de 10 à 11°, la longueur intérieure de l'auge était de 1,70°, la largeur prise aux épaules est de 33, à la poitrine de 38, et aux pieds de 26. L'entaille de la tête, mesurée au dedans, nous a donné 22° de profondeur sur 20 d'ouverture. Elle était arrondie comme une tête humaine. Le corps parfaitement entier annonçait une personne de 30 à 40 ans. Les os indiquaient une organisation frêle et délicate. L'orientation était régulière, la face tournée vers le ciel, les mains croisées sur la poitrine, serraient sous elles une jolie petit croix de plomb contenant une formule d'absolution.

Un peu plus loin que cette sépulture lapidaire nous avons trouvé un corps qui pouvait avoir de 50 à 60 ans, bien orienté et présentant autour de lui des clous gros et courts, ayant à un bout une tête forte, et à l'autre un très gros rivet.

Enfin, le 12 Mars, nous avons trouvé notre 6° et dernier cercueil de pierre, entièrement semblable au précédent, présentant comme lui une entaille circulaire pour la tête. Le corps, bien orienté et bien intact, annonçait un sujet peu avancé en âge. Malheureusement il n'avait pas de croix de plomb.

Un peu plus loin, vers le mur de l'église, nous avons rencontré une masse accumulée d'ossements placés là après consomption et exhumation. Nous y avons compté jusqu'à quatre têtes, parmi lesquelles il s'en trouvait une d'un enfant de trois à quatre ans. Tous ces os avaient probablement été entassés ici lors du brisement des sarcophages à l'époque où l'on posa les fondements de l'église.

La date des tombeaux et des autres sépultures dont nous venons de parler, doit être fixée par l'archéologie entre 1050 et 1150. La raison de cette attribution est prise dans les idées, les usages, et la liturgie de ce temps, dans la matière, la forme, et la disposition des cercueils, dans l'orientation et l'assiette des corps, dans les monnaies et les croix qui se trouvent avec eux, ainsi que dans le caractère de l'écriture et la formule des inscriptions. Nous la tirons surtout de la position des sarcophages sous les fondations d'un édifice cintré, et dans le parvis d'une église romane où l'on n'a jamais inhumé depuis. Si l'entaille de la tête et les différents morceaux qui composent nos cercueils prouvent le siècle chez ceux qui

n'ont pas d'indication meilleure, le caractère bien accusé des nôtres devra servir à déterminer l'âge de leurs pareils, lorsqu'ils seront dépourvus des mêmes moyens de reconnaissance.

Nous savons qu'à différentes époques de l'histoire et peutêtre à toutes les périodes, on a composé des cercueils au moyen de plusieurs pièces reunies avec ou sans mortier. Cette coutume a existé chez les Gaulois, et de récentes découvertes permettent de penser qu'elle a été pratiquée par les Gallo-Romains du Bas-Empire. L'archéologie moderne la montre à Allonnes, près le Mans; à Gondreville; et à Rogéville, en Lorraine; à Haulchin, en Belgique; det au Camp de Dalheim, près Luxembourg, au milieu de sépultures Franques des temps Mérovingiens. Mais voici un fait curieux et précis qui nous fait voir le même procédé mis en pratique dans une cathédrale de France un siècle après nos sépultures de Bouteilles. C'est dans l'Essai sur les Sarcophages de M. de Gerville que nous trouvons cette intéressante citation.

Lorsque Nicolas Gellant, évêque d'Angers, mourut, en 1290, on l'inhuma dans sa cathédrale dans un sarcophage composé de différentes pièces de tuf: "in sarcophago de tuffello, ex diversis peciis composito."

Maintenant disons un mot de nos deux croix de plomb.

Toutes deux diffèrent de forme, de grandeur et de poids. La plus petite, celle qui fut trouvée dans le cercueil de pierre du 11 Mars, est aussi la plus élégante par la forme. Longue de 8° et large de 6° elle ne pèse que 62 grammes. Elle n'a pas de pointe, et n'est écrite que d'un seul côté. Malheureusement l'ecriture est à peu près illisible. Cependant on y reconnait les premières lignes de la formule ordinaire de l'absolution: "Dominus Jehesus Cristus qui dixit discipulis suis," etc.

Il ne saurait y avoir autre chose. Le seul point dont nous regrettions la disparution est le nom de l'individu et l'indication de son sexe.

L'autre croix, plus grande, plus épaisse et plus lourde, nous offre un carré parfait de 85 mil. sur tous les sens, avec un poids total de 133 grammes. Un

^a De Gerville, Essai sur les Sarcophages, dans les Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de l'Ouest, t. ii. p. 182.

b M. Ch. Drouet, Notice sur la découverte de neuf Tombeaux ou Sarcophages en pierre. In 8vo. Le Mans, 842.

º Dufresne, notice sur quelques antiquités de Toul dans les Mém. de l'Académie de Metz pour 1849, p. 221-24.

^d M. Schayes, Notice sur la découverte d'un Cimetière Franc au village de Haulchin en Hainaut, p. 3, pl. I. fig. 1, et dans les Bulletins de l'Acad. Roy. de Belgique.

^{*} A Namur, Publications de la Société archéologique de Luxembourg, t. xi. 1855.

^e Ex gestis Guill. majoris Andegav. Episc. dans le Spicilège de Luc d'Achery, t. x. p. 251. De Gerville, Essai sur les Sarcophages, dans les Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de l'Ouest, t. ii. p. 213.

cran presque imperceptible indique à la fois et le sommet de la plaque et le commencement de l'inscription. Cette inscription, au lieu d'être écrite comme toutes les autres sur le champ de la croix, est tracée sur les bords des quatre côtés si bien qu'elle fait le tour de la croix. La ligne n'est doublée qu'à deux endroits, une fois pour un mot placé en surcharge, et l'autre fois pour la terminaison du second vers. Comme toutes les autres, elle a été écrite au moyen d'un instrument aigu. Le caractère graphique de l'écriture a la plus grande ressemblance avec celui des croix d'Edmund's Bury, sur lesquelles on lit ces mots: "Crux Cri[sti] pellit hostem."

Ajoutons que cette croix ne contient pas comme les autres une simple formule d'absolution; mais originale et neuve dans son genre, elle est tout à la fois une indication sépulcrale et une demande de prières.

De ma vie je n'aurais réussi à déchiffrer cette écriture, plus désordonnée que les autres, et pleine d'abreviations. J'ai eu le bonheur de trouver un Œdipe dans la personne de M. Vallet de Viriville, l'un des professeurs les plus distingués de notre Ecole des Chartes. Après lui avoir adressé mes deux croix en le priant de les montrer à ses éminents confrères en paléographie, MM. Lacabane, Delisle, Quicherat et de Wailly, voici quelle a été la réponse de ce diplomatiste aussi obligeant qu'érudit.

"J'ai reçu dimanche dernier (13 Avril) votre lettre, et les deux croix d'absolution qu'elle accompagnait. Bien que fort occupé, je me suis dérobé avec empressement quelques moments de loisir pour examiner ces plaques vénérables. Comme vous le dites fort bien, la plus petite reproduit une formule connue. Je l'ai donc négligée d'autant plus volontiers qu'elle est plus oxydée et plus confuse que l'autre. J'ai commencé par débrouiller l'inscription de la plus grande, et j'ai fait un sens en laissant de côté plus d'un détail.

"Hier mercredi j'ai porté vos deux plaques à la Société des Antiquaires de France, où se trouvaient MM. Quicherat, Lacabane, et Léopold Delisle. Je leur ai soumis les deux petits monuments et mon canevas de lecture. La légion a travaillé séance tenante, et M. Delisle notamment m'a fourni de très bonnes améliorations. Voici le résultat de notre examen au point où il en est actuellement. Il faut placer la croix le cran en haut et lire de gauche à droite. Nous y trouvons les trois vers léonins qui suivent.

Hec b est Gullermi crus c istic intumulati Ergo *Pater noster* quisquis versus legis hos ter Dicas, ut d requiem det sibi Cristus: amen.

^a Proceedings of the Society of the Antiquaries of London, vol. iii. p. 166.

b Ou Hic.

e Pour crux.

d Douteux.

"Ici est la croix de Guillaume inhumé en ce lieu: Donc qui que tu sois qui lis ces vers dis trois *Patenostres*, afin que le Christ lui donne le repos (des justes). Ainsi-soit-il."

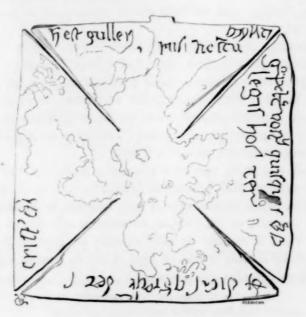
"La lecture du dernier vers ne nous satisfait pas complètement, mais l'ensemble me parait bon. Telle qu'elle est veuillez prendre en gré notre besogne."

Il ne me reste plus qu'à remercier M. Vallet de Viriville et ses savants colloborateurs de leur obligeance et de leur perspicacité. Par la paléographie, ils placent nos croix au xii^e siècle : par l'archéologie nous croyons devoir attribuer aussi les tombeaux à la même époque. Les conclusions, on le voit, sont concordantes. Le lecteur jugera et prononcera.

L'ABBÉ COCHET.

Inspecteur des monuments historiques de la Seine-Inférieure.

Dieppe, le 1er Mai, 1856.



CROIX DE GUILLAUME : DE BOUTEILLES,

M. N. de Wailly, consulté sur nos Croix par M. Vallet de Viriville, a complètement partagé son opinion.

V. Memoir of the Life of Adrian the Fourth, by the Rev. E. TROLLOPE, F.S.A.

Read April 10th, 1856.

NICHOLAS, the son of Robert Breakspear, was born early in the twelfth century at Langley Abbot's, in Hertfordshire.

His father appears to have been a younger son of a family deriving its name from a place situated in the adjoining parish of St. Michael; but was so indigent as to have had recourse to mendicant habits, in which his child probably participated. Upon the death of his wife, Robert Breakspear became first a lay-brother, and then a monk, of the adjacent Abbey of St. Alban's, leaving his young son to provide for himself. Nicholas, thus deserted, very naturally hung about the monastery of which his father was an inmate, waiting among the crowd assembled at its gate for the daily distribution of its broken victuals, and occasionally being employed in fulfilling some of the menial offices of the establishment. Now also he began to receive the first rudiments of his education, through the assistance of his patrons, but appears not to have exhibited much aptitude as a scholar under their tuition, as his father bitterly reproached him for his indolence, and expressed his deep shame at seeing him still, although now grown up, daily among the mendicant throng that waited for the monastic dole, bidding him betake himself to some profession, and earn his bread by the sweat Nicholas, in consequence, applied to Richard, then abbot of St. Alban's, to be admitted to his novitiate in that house; as, however, he had advanced but little in his scholastic learning, the Abbot refused to receive him,

a Stowe's Chronicle, p. 150. Robert Breakspear, whose name is also spelt Break-speare and Breke-spere, has been termed Robert Chambers by Lingard (vol. ii. p. 272), who describes him as "an obscure clerk, and afterwards Monk of St. Alban's." Nicholas, his son, is said to have been born at St. Alban's, in Baker's Chronicle, p. 83, but he was probably born at Langley, before his father removed to the neighbouring town of St. Alban's.

and recommended him to apply himself to his books with greater diligence if he wished to assume the monastic habit." Deeply disappointed at this rejection, and hurt also by his father's reproaches, he fled from the scene of his early humble career, and, shortly afterwards, from the land of his birth. b Crossing the Channel, he wandered from place to place in France, subsisting on the alms of the charitable, until arriving at Paris he entered its university; and now betaking himself in earnest to the acquisition of learning, he received much praise from his instructors there. After awhile, however, not being satisfied with Paris, he resumed his old wandering habits, and at length reached the monastery of the Canons Regular of St. Rufus, then existing without the walls of Avignon, in Provence. There he became a servitor, and by his modesty, obedience to orders, and submissiveness, so gained the good will of the canons, that after a few years they admitted him into their order. He had now a favourable opportunity of prosecuting his studies, and as he undoubtedly possessed great natural ability, to which he now added the most unwearied diligence, he shortly became so eminent for the depth of his theological and philosophical knowledge, that the Canons of St. Rufus elected him first as their prior, and afterwards as the head of their house, upon the death of Abbot William, which occurred A.D. 1137.

At this period the rules of the order had been very widely disregarded in the monastery; so that Nicholas, who had ever observed them himself as a simple monk of the house, felt it incumbent on him to enforce them now, when he was holding the responsible office of Abbot. By so doing, however, he incurred the general displeasure of the Canons, and, upon his perseverance in attempting to effect a reformation in their conduct, they became so enraged against him as to enter into a combination for the purpose of procuring his deposition. Collecting together a series of calumnious accusations against him, they forwarded them to Eugenius the Third, then Pope, hoping that he would be crushed under their united attack; but when he proceeded to Rome to defend himself, he did so with such ingenuousness and acumen, that Eugenius, fully convinced of his innocence, dismissed the discontented brethren of his house, and recommended them to live in peace, submitting themselves, as they were in duty bound, to the government of their superior.

^a Baker affirms that the monastic habit was refused him because he was a bondman of the house.

b Nicholas is said to have been rector of Tydd St. Mary's, a village on the south-eastern border of the county of Lincoln, by Gough, in his Continuation of Camden, vol. ii. p. 341, and is described as an "Antient Rector" of that place, in "Britannia Antiqua et Nova," but he never appears to have revisited his native country after this his early emigration from it as a pauper.

Undeterred, however, by this rebuff, so far from following such just counsel they again approached the pontifical chair, bringing a fresh mass of complaints against Nicholas, under which they still hoped he might succumb. But Eugenius perceiving the animus by which they were influenced, now sharply ordered them to return to Provence and elect another Abbot, with whom they might be willing to live in peace, retaining Nicholas about his own person, whom he shortly afterwards made Bishop of Albano, and a cardinal, A.D. 1146. Two years afterwards Nicholas was sent by the Pope into Denmark, Norway, and Sweden as legate for the purpose of propagating the Christian faith amongst the heathen population of those countries," where his preaching was very highly esteemed, and so successful that the last remains of idolatry were utterly extirpated; and he did much to confirm the then young Christian Church of the North, establishing the first archbishopric in Norway at Drontheim, and in Sweden raising Upsal to be the metropolitan see. Here he continued his labours as a missionary for upwards of four years; but upon the death of his kind patron Eugenius, which occurred July 8th, A.D. 1153, he returned to Rome, where he remained until the death of Anastasius the Fourth, the successor of Eugenius, Dec. 2nd, A.D. 1154, after a short pontificate of one year and five months.' And now the culminating point of his extraordinary career was at hand: Nicholas Breakspear, the mendicant's son of Langley, the rejected of St. Alban's Abbey, the hated Abbot of St. Rufus, being elected as the 167th supreme Pontiff by the unanimous decision of the Cardinals, Dec. 3, 1154, and was forthwith enthroned and crowned, when he assumed the title of "Adrian the Fourth," as being one popular among the Italians. But though now a temporal sovereign, and as the successor of St. Peter possessing vast spiritual power, yet he found himself in a position of great difficulty. At home his own Roman subjects being prepared to struggle with him for his temporal dominion, and an extensive heresy prevailing very widely amongst them, which threatened to bring the whole ecclesiastical order into general contempt; whilst abroad, the German Emperor, on the one hand, having claims upon the

^a The Pope's exact words were, "I know who raises this storm; it is Satan: Go and choose one with whom you can, or rather will live in peace; he of whom you thus complain shall be no longer burthensome to you."—W. of Newburgh, I. 2, C. 6. The circumstance of Nicholas's foreign birth is supposed to have been the cause of this angry feeling towards him by some (see Lingard, vol. ii. p. 272); but as he was popular in his house as a monk, and his election to the abbacy appears to have been unanimous, it seems clear that it was the rigid discipline he wished to establish, and not his Anglican extraction, that excited so much hostility against him.

^b Hist. B. Platinæ de vitis Pontificum Romanorum.

independence of the Papacy, was about to enforce them; on the other, William of Sicily had assumed the title of King without the sanction of the Papal authority, whereby a storm was threatening in the South; and yet he had no party whereon he could lean for support in endeavouring to meet these imminent pontifical dangers, so that after a very short experience of them he observed to his countryman John of Salisbury, "that beholders might esteem the tiara a splendid thing, but that the wearer found it was a burning crown," on the same occasion deeply lamenting his elevation, declaring that at every step in his ascent towards greatness he had been harassed with additional cares, that in his cell at St. Rufus he had tasted real happiness, but that now his whole time was absorbed in fulfilling the numerous duties of his high office. Adrian, however, was not of a disposition to yield under the pressure of any difficulties without a struggle, nor tamely to resign the least of the Papal privileges, so that when his Roman subjects immediately after his elevation, at first by prayers and then by menaces, endeavoured to persuade him to leave all temporal power in the hands of the Senators, he indignantly dismissed their deputies from his presence, although the contest that had for some years been carried on between several of his predecessors and their subjects on this point had occasioned the violent death of one of them, and the repeated flight of another from his capital. Upon this the Romans invited Arnold of Brescia, a celebrated schismatic, who had

^a Newbrig. II. 6. "Coronam et phrygium merito clara videri, quia ignea sunt." Joan Salis. Policrat.

Toward's the close of Innocent the Second's pontificate (1142), Tivoli, Palestrina, Tusculum, and Albano had endeavoured to throw off the papal dominion, and to secure their independence; whilst two years afterwards, when Lucius II. had assumed the tiara, the Romans participating also in these designs, although they acknowledged Lucius as their lawful bishop, rejected him entirely as their sovereign, and assuming the government themselves, elected Jordan, the son of Peter Leo, as their Prince, and appointed a senate. Upon this, Lucius, unable to procure any assistance from the Emperor of Germany, to whom he appealed, boldly collected together some forces, and putting himself at their head advanced to the capitol, where the senate was assembled, intending to drive them out, but his troops were repulsed, and he was so seriously injured by a stone flung at him, that he died a few days afterwards. His successor, Eugenius III., at first contented himself with retaining only the spiritual power, but by force of arms and the assistance of the Tiburtines in the first place, and secondly by that of Roger King of Sicily, having recovered the temporal power twice, he as often was compelled to fly from Rome, and finally returned only through consenting to submit to a compromise with the Romans. Anastasius the Fourth being of an exceedingly conciliatory disposition, and his reign lasting only for one year, although the struggle had not been again renewed, the question still remained undecided when Adrian succeeded to the papal chair.

c Arnold was by no means the first schismatic teacher or reformer of the twelfth century; a series of these having arisen from time to time who strongly inveighed against the lives and doctrines of the

been banished from Rome by Pope Eugenius, to return, and he shortly so inflamed the minds of the people, not only against the clergy in general. but against the temporal rule of the Pontiff, that Adrian felt it prudent to retire from the city to the other side of the Tiber. Nor was this retreat unnecessary, as one of his Cardinals, the Presbyter of St. Pudientia, whilst on his way to the Pope's presence, was shortly after so brutally assaulted by the mob as to be in danger of his life. This act, however, was the means of arousing the Pontiff's anger so deeply, that he put the whole city under an interdict; and for a considerable time every church in Rome was closed, and none of the offices of religion were used, either for the newly born or for the dead. This shortly produced a partial submission on the part of the revolters, but Adrian would not relax his ban until the senators took an oath that they would henceforth obey him as their sovereign, and drive Arnaldo and all his adherents from Rome. To which terms they were forced to submit, and the following day being Maunday Thursday, 1155, the churches were once more opened with much joy, and peace was restored. In the mean time Henry the Second, who had ascended the throne of England on the same year and month as that of Adrian's election, hastened to send an embassy to Rome for the purpose of congratulating him on his elevation, from the feeling of satisfaction which he doubtless experienced that one of his subjects had been selected to fill so highly exalted a position. John, a learned

Romish Clergy. In 1119, when Calixtus II. was Pope, a Reformation was attempted at Toulouse by a party of persons under Peter de Bruis, who condemned the Eucharist, Infant Baptism, Marriages, and all ecclesiastical Orders. In 1134, when Innocent II. was Pope, Henry the Hermit in his preaching condemned Infant Baptism, Cross worship, the Mass, Prayers for the Dead, Altars, and even Churches, as being superstitious, and by the aid of pretended miracles had attracted together a vast number of followers. Again, a little later, Peter Abelard preached in France against the same doctrines, and also against the possession of temporalities on the part of the clergy, maintaining that they ought to possess no property, but be satisfied with the tithes and offerings of the laity, leading sober self-denying lives, and discarding the proud titles they had assumed, as being highly unbecoming the lowly followers of Jesus. And then Arnaldo of Brescia, having studied under Peter in France, began to preach the same doctrines in Italy 1139, where his great natural eloquence, and the support of the laity, enabled him to bring the clergy into much contempt, until at length he, together with his followers, was silenced by a sentence of banishment from Italy. But though absent in person, very many who had embraced his opinions formed a large party, still remaining in Rome, which had doubtless caused the death of Pope Lucius, and the repeated flight of Eugenius.

^a According to "Platina de vitis Pontificum," Adrian assailed the people with such bitter execrations, that they both drove Arnaldo from the city and compelled the senators to resign the magistracy, leaving the power of governing the city entirely in the Pontiff's hands.

b " Codex Vatican. apud Baron. ann. 1145."

monk of Salisbury, two prelates, Robert Abbot of St. Alban's, and other ecclesiastics, were selected for this purpose, bringing a letter and gifts so numerous from the King to Adrian, that he only accepted some of them, whilst upon their presentation he could not refrain from remarking, with a smile, that such profuseness on the part of England contrasted strongly with the refusal of the monastic habit he had so earnestly sought for in his native land, and sought in vain.b The letter contained very wholesome counsel, such as an archbishop might have given with much propriety to one of his bishops, rather than what we might have expected one sovereign would have addressed to another, urging him first to choose only men of piety, justice, and free from covetousness, to be his ministers, instead of mere scions of noble or wealthy houses; and then to do all in his power to assist the Christian cause against the Infidels in the East.° This, however, was not by any means all that Henry wished to effect through the agency of his mission, for he was most anxious to obtain from Adrian two very important concessions. He had solemnly sworn to renounce the earldom of Anjou in favour of his brother Geofrey, should be ascend the throne of England, in accordance with the will of his father Geofrey Duke of Anjou; but so far from fulfilling that oath, he had not only retained the earldom, but had seized the towns of Chinon, Lodun, and Mirabel, with which his brother had been invested by his father before his death, granting him instead only a pension of £1000 English, and 2000 Angouvin, and now he sought to obtain an absolution from his oath, declaring that he had sworn under the influence of force, and without a due knowledge of the consequences. Upon which grounds the Pope granted his

a Afterwards Bishop of Chartiers, or Chartres. Stowe, p. 150.

b This observation was probably especially directed towards Abbot Robert, the successor of that Richard who had rejected him from St. Alban's; but he bore no ill will towards him or his abbey, and, as a sign of his favour, exempted that house from all episcopate jurisdiction, placing it immediately under the Holy See. Rose's "Life of Hadrian." The abbot presented his holiness with gold and silver of no small weight, and other precious gifts of great value; also three mitres and sandals of admirable work, which the Lady Christian, Prioress of Margate, had diligently made. The Pope viewed the mitres and sandals, and commended greatly his devotion and courtesy, but merely said, "I refuse thy gifts, because thou once denied me shelter under the wings of your religious house when I craved your charity and begged the monastic habit." To which this Abbot readily answered, "My Lord, it was not in our power to receive you when the will of God opposed it, whose great wisdom had designed you to serve him in a higher station." Then the Pope, applauding his witty and ingenious answer, added, "Dear Abbot, ask boldly what thou desirest, for nothing shall be wanting to the blessed Alban." Then the Abbot, encouraged by the leave of the Pope, disposed of all those gifts.—Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire, by Sir Henry Chauncy, p. 434. Gathered from Matthew Paris.

e Petrus Blesens. Ep. 163.

petition. A second concession he was desirous of receiving was Adrian's sanction to an enterprise he had begun to contemplate immediately upon coming to the throne, namely, the conquest of Ireland. Having no title whatever to that island, nor any pretext to wage war against its inhabitants, he sought to cover his ambitious design by an assumption of pretended religious zeal. Affecting, therefore, to look upon the whole Irish people as heathens, although Christianity had long been established in Ireland, he applied to the Pope to ratify a scheme he proposed of conquest, mingled with conversion, and as such an application could not but be flattering to the Pontiff, inasmuch as the See of Rome, amongst other outrageous pretensions, had arrogantly assumed the right of sovereignty over all Islands as soon as they had embraced Christianity, Hadrian wrote thus to Henry in reply: "There is no doubt, and you acknowledge it, that Ireland, and all the Islands which have received the faith, appertain to the Roman Church; but if you wish to take possession of that island in order to banish vice from it, to enforce the observance of the Christian doctrines, and with an intent of paving the yearly tribute of St. Peter's penny for every house, we with pleasure grant you our permission to conquer it." At the same time sending back to the King. with this licence, a gold ring, as a token of investiture, both of which were carefully preserved in the arches of Winchester.

Adrian, having now in a great measure subdued the rebellious turbulence of his own subjects, was called upon to meet another danger from without, which threatened to be of a very serious character. As an Englishman he could not expect to attract the sympathy of any of those great nations lying near his own state, upon one or other of which the Pontiffs of the twelfth century usually relied for support when assailed by another, such as Germany and Sicily, whilst at the commencement of his reign he could not but have been uncertain as to whether their intentions were pacific towards his Government, or the reverse. At such a time, then, he must have heard of the advance of Frederic Barbarossa (who had

a This prince was shortly afterwards elected by the people of Nantes to rule over them.—Lingard, vol. ii. p. 272. Hume seems to doubt the truth of this claim on the part of Geoffrey, vol. i. p. 293 (Hughes's Edition, and Note on the passage, p. 374): but it rests on the authority of William of Newbridge, p. 383; whilst the request on the part of Henry for a dispensation from the Pope in reference to this claim appears to be strongly indicative of its justness.

b This licence or bull is contained in the "Topographia Hibernize," by Giraldus Cambrensis, dedicated to Henry the Second, and in Rymer's Fædera, tom. I. p. 15. Henry meant to have given Ireland to his youngest brother William ("Chron. Norm. ad ann. 1154"), but he deferred the execution of this design until 1172.

lately been elected Emperor of Germany) towards his territory with considerable alarm, and particularly as he was accompanied by a very large army. Frederic had passed over the Alps, for the purpose of reducing several cities of Lombardy that had thrown off their allegiance to him, such as Milan, Asti, Tortona, &c., and had fully effected his intention; after which, entering Pavia, he was there crowned by the bishop of that diocese as King of Lombardy, and was now beginning to march towards Rome, with the avowed intention of being also crowned as Emperor by the Pope. The first step Adrian took upon the approach of the Emperor attended by so alarming a force, was to fortify the towns of Viterbo, Orvieto, and Civita Castellana, &c., as well as to stir up a martial spirit in the hearts of their citizens, hoping that they might be able to offer some resistance to the coming host, should be be severely pressed. But, placing still greater confidence in the power of diplomacy, he sent two Cardinals, as commissioners, to meet the Emperor, for the purpose of discovering his intentions, and if possible of treating with him. These Frederic received with all due honour at St. Quirico in Tuscany, where they found him encamped, and at once granted their first request, that Arnaldo, the troublesome schismatic of Brescia, who had escaped from the custody of the Cardinal of St. Nicholas, should be delivered up to them, but declined to treat with them on any other points until he had ascertained how his own ambassadors, the Archbishops of Cologne and Ravenna, had been received at Rome, whom he had previously despatched to Adrian. These unfortunately had met with the same reception on the part of the Pope at Civita Castellana, whither he had retreated for the sake of security. But both bodies of envoys meeting accidentally on their return to their respective courts, agreed to repair to Frederic, then at Viterbo, who, upon their introduction, solemnly swore that he had no hostile intentions either towards them or the Pope, but, on the contrary, that he was ready to pay all due honour to the See of Rome; so that when the Cardinals bearing this report reached Adrian, he at once consented to crown Frederic, but expressed a desire to have a personal interview with him previously. In compliance with this request, Frederic advanced to Sutri, whilst the Pope, attended by a vast escort of Cardinals, hastened from his strong hold to meet the monarch. But now a contretemps occurred which might very readily have utterly thwarted all these pacific overtures, for, although Adrian was very honourably received, and

a In 1152, having previously been Duke of Suabia.

^b The wretched Arnaldo having been taken to Rome was publicly executed by order of the prefect or governor of that city, and his body was burnt, and the ashes thrown into the Tiber, lest they should be worshipped by the people as relics of a saint,—Otto Fris. I. i. c. 12.

conducted with much state by the chief princes of the empire to Frederic's tent, as that monarch did not appear to hold the papal stirrup, nor lead the mule on which Adrian was mounted, the Cardinals and the greater part of his retinue rapidly retreated back to Civita Castellana, leaving their lord to shift for himself. Upon which, although naturally alarmed and agitated by the flight of his suite, he entered the Emperor's tent, when having seated himself in a chair of state provided for his use, Frederic prostrated himself before him and kissed his foot, expecting in return to receive the papal kiss of peace, which, however, Adrian declined giving, as the Emperor had not previously complied with all the forms of etiquette claimed by the Court of Rome on such occasions. But after a whole day of discussion on this point, Frederic, wishing to secure the friendship of the Pope, consented to lead the papal mule for a short distance in the sight of his whole army, when the desired salutation was bestowed upon him, and the two potentates began to advance together towards Rome with a view to the coronation of the Emperor. Hearing of this, the people of Rome, affecting to assume a regal character independent of their sovereign pontiff, sent deputies to Frederic offering him in their name the imperial crown if he would engage to restore to them their Senate, the Equestrian Order, and their ancient privileges: by whom, however, they were most indignantly rejected, Frederic reminding them how they had been conquered by the Lombards and afterwards by the Franks, through whom he had inherited their territory. "Rome, therefore, (said he) is mine, not yours to give, and it does not become subjects to exact oaths from their sovereigns." The Roman deputies thus rebuffed hastily retired; after which, Adrian being well aware how deeply the party they represented in Rome would resent such a contemptuous dismissal, strongly recommended the Emperor to provide against the revengeful anger which he knew would now certainly be latent in their hearts, if not openly exhibited by their actions. Frederic, accordingly, that very night sent forward a body of a thousand horse, under the direction of Cardinal Octavian, to take possession of St. Peter's and the portion of Rome lying on that side of the Tiber, which was successfully effected without any opposition, and the next morning (June 18th, 1155) both potentates, attended by the army, entered the

^a The precise distance claimed was nine Roman paces; but Frederic had regarded this demand as an indignity to which he was unwilling to submit, Lothario, of all his predecessors, alone having consented to observe it in the Pontificate of Innocent the Second.

^b The rejection of such overtures by Frederic was doubtless very pleasing to the Pontiff, although the total want of any recognition of the Papal power over Rome must have been extremely galling to Hadrian's feelings, if he was cognisant of this at the time.

Basilica, where the ceremony of the coronation was celebrated before the altar of St. Peter and St. Paul, amidst the acclamations of all present. No sooner, however, had the Pontiff placed the crown on Frederic's brows and the sceptre in his hand, than the Roman people, rushing wildly out of their city over Hadrian's bridge and from the Castle of St. Angelo, boldly attacked the guards stationed to protect the entrances of the Transtiberine City and the Vatican, killing all the Germans they encountered, including some almost in the presence of Adrian himself. Enraged at this assault, the Emperor, who had retreated to his camp in the Neronian fields, immediately commanded a portion of his forces to advance, and a contest ensued lasting for some hours, but at length the Romans were routed, driven out of the Vatican and across the Tiber with considerable slaughter, taking refuge within the walls of Rome, and leaving many prisoners in the hands of the Emperor, by whom however they were, for the most part, eventually released at the intercession of Adrian. Yet neither the severity nor the leniency of Frederic had succeeded in abating the hostile spirit of the Romans; for shortly after this he appears to have been in some danger of personal violence from them, when, accompanied by the Pope, he was proceeding on his way to the Lateran, and was obliged to make a considerable detour to reach that church in safety. Owing to the great heat of central Italy at this time, which had affected the health of his army, the Emperor began to retire northwards, accompanied by the Pope, but halted at the Ponte Lugano, where the Festival of St. Peter was celebrated by the two monarchs, with the greatest solemnity. Hither the citizens of Tivoli sent a deputation to Frederic, placing their city at his disposal, of which they presented to him the keys. These he accepted; but when he found that Tivoli was included within the limits of the Papal States, he afterwards, for fear of offending Adrian, returned them to the deputation, and delivered a letter to them, in which he recommended the people of Tivoli to obey the Pope as their lord and fathersaving in all things the imperial right.4 Advancing hence, Frederic took Spoleto by assault, which had refused to submit to him; and after suffering it to be plundered by his soldiers, levelled it to the ground. Thence he marched to Ancona, where the ambassadors of the Greek Emperor Manuel Comnenus waited upon him, and offered him an immense sum of money on the part of their master, if he would enter into an alliance with him in opposition to William King of

a Otto Frising. I. i. c. 22.

b Hist. B. Platinæ de vitis Pontificum Romanorum.

d Codex Vatican. apud Bar. ad ann. 1155.

Sicily (who had lately succeeded his father Roger), and would march his army towards the south against him. The sickness, however, amongst his forces having increased by this time, the Emperor could not accede to their proposition, but retired back into Germany. Thus terminated the Emperor's expedition to Rome in a manner at once so highly conducive to the honour of Adrian, and the exaltation of the Papal See. No sooner, however, had the Pope established these friendly relations with Frederick, than he was called upon to meet another danger, which had for some time been gathering in the south.

William, King of Sicily and Apulia, was crowned by Hugh, Archbishop of Palermo, on Easter-day, 1154; and upon Adrian's elevation shortly afterwards, had sent ambassadors to congratulate him upon the occasion, and to obtain a renewal of the usual Papal privileges in his favour; but this request was not granted, because he had assumed the title of King, and had been crowned as such without taking the oaths demanded by the Court of Rome as a vassal of the Church; whilst afterwards, when William was visiting Apulia, the Pope sent a letter containing a formal complaint to him on this head, by two of his Cardinals. This he had received at Salerno; but perceiving that it was addressed to him as only "Lord" of Sicily, he angrily returned it to the bearers, and ordered them instantly to quit his dominions; an act which was so highly resented by the Pope, that he proceeded to pass sentence of excommunication against William, declaring him to be a rebel and an enemy to St. Peter and his Church, and absolving all his subjects from their oath of allegiance. At this critical juncture, William was obliged to return to Sicily, for the purpose of quelling some disturbances there; but he commanded Ascletinus, the Governor of Apulia in his absence, to raise an army, and to lay siege to Benevento, the great southern Papal stronghold at that time. In compliance with these orders, having drawn together what forces he could collect, that officer advanced to Benevento, and destroying all before him with fire and sword, laid close siege to the place. But despairing, on account of the vigorous resistance he met with from the inhabitants, of being able to reduce it with the troops he had then with him, he abandoned the enterprise, and marching into the teritories of Rome, took and burnt Cepperano, Bacano, Frusinone, and Acre, and on his march back into Apulia levelled with the ground the walls of Aquino, Pontecorvo, and of several other castles belonging to the monks of Monte Cassino. But now an event occurred that completely altered the aspect of affairs, and soon put an end to such successes on the part of William's deputy. A report

a Bowers' Hist. of the Popes, vol. vi. p. 86.

reached Italy that the King had died; upon which all the nobles banished by his father immediately returned, and being supported generally by the people, they seized all the cities and open country of Apulia, Calabria, and Abruzzo, with the exception of Naples, Salerno, Amalfi, and a few castles. This movement had doubtless been fostered by Adrian, and he now advanced to Benevento in person, still further to countenance the enterprise. Here ambassadors from Manuel Emperor of Constantinople waited upon him, offering to enter into an alliance with him against William, proposing to give five thousand pounds' weight of gold and a supply of troops for the purpose of utterly expelling that monarch from Italy, on condition that three maritime cities of Apulia should be delivered up to the Greek forces on their landing.4 This offer Adrian gladly accepted, and at the same time forwarded a communication to the Emperor of Germany, in which he invited him to join the confederacy. Such a combination so alarmed William, that he was now most anxious to obtain peace almost on any terms, and, through the medium of ambassadors, proposed not only to restore to Adrian all the cities he had taken, but to add three others of his own to the patrimony of St. Peter, to force the Pope's turbulent Roman citizens to obey him, and to pay him the same sum that had been offered by Manuel, asking only in return to be absolved from excommunication, and for the investiture of the kingdoms of Sicily and Apulia. These terms Adrian would have readily accepted, but a majority of his Cardinals most rashly determined on a contrary course, and that the contest should be vigorously carried on until William was entirely driven out of Italy. Reduced to desperation by the rejection of his pacific overtures, William, having assembled an army in Sicily, in an incredibly short space of time, embarked from Messina, and, suddenly landing at Salerno, now advanced against the Greek forces stationed in the vicinity of Brindisi. These he completely routed, and shortly after took the town itself, in which he was so fortunate as to find the treasure sent by the Greek Emperor to the Pope for the prosecution of the war, and several of his own rebellious barons. After which brilliant and perhaps but little-expected success, advancing to Bari, he utterly destroyed it, although it offered no resistance—an act of severity so intimidating to the rebels, that all his subjects with one accord immediately returned to their allegiance. Flushed with victory in his own dominion, William now entered that of the Pope, and laid siege to Benevento, where Adrian, his Cardinals, and the remaining leaders of the Apulian revolters had taken refuge, which he prosecuted with so much

^{*} Hist. B. Platinæ.

earnestness that the Pope, perceiving the city walls and gates could not resist so furious an attack much longer, sent three of his Cardinals to propose terms of peace. William assenting, after some negotiations on the part of the two potentates' commissioners, it was agreed that the Pope on his part should withdraw the excommunication from the King, and that he should invest him with the kingdoms of Sicily and Apulia, and the principality of Capua, as well as acknowledge him to be lawful lord of the dukedom of Naples, of the principality of Salerno, of the march of Ancona, and all other cities, &c. of which he was then possessed. Also, that no appeals should be made to the Pope without the King's sanction, nor any legate be sent to Sicily without his permission; and that the clergy should be free to elect whom they would as ecclesiastical dignitaries in his kingdom, subject only to the King's approval, without reference to the Pope. On the other hand, William engaged to refrain from all further hostilities; to swear allegiance to the apostolic see; and to pay a yearly tribute to the Pope for Apulia, Calabria, and the March, as feudatory of the Roman church. This treaty having been confirmed by a bull, William was received by Adrian in the church of St. Marcian, outside the walls of Benevento, and there absolved from the excommunication that had rested upon him for upwards of a year. At this time Fulcher patriarch of Jerusalem and six eastern bishops, who had first landed at Otranto, and followed the Pope when on his way to Benevento, came to remonstrate against the privileges that had been granted to the Knights Hospitallers by the late Pope Anastasius IV., and which they had greatly abused; but they do not appear to have succeeded in gaining their point, no positive decision having been pronounced. Adrian, however, seized this opportunity of endeavouring to bring about a reconciliation between the Eastern and Western churches; and either now, or shortly afterwards, sent legates to the Emperor Manuel for the purpose of effecting so desirable an object, which, however, was prevented by his rupture with the Emperor of Germany, with whom he continued at variance during the whole remainder of his pontificate, and which must have absorbed his continual attention. After the treaty had been concluded with William, Adrian made a progress through a portion of his realm, and was so pleased with Orvieto that he continued to remain there, much to its advantage. But here his hopes of enjoying a peaceful retirement for awhile must very shortly have been dashed to the ground, for a serious collision between the Emperor and himself now appeared imminent. Although, as we have seen, Adrian had invited Frederic to join in

^{*} Guill. Tyr. I. 18, c. 8.

b Adrian. Epist. vii.

e Hist. B. Platine.

the league against the King of Sicily, and had been forced to make peace with him by the extremely critical position he was in, without having the power of consulting the Emperor's wishes, Frederic was so indignant at this pacification that he would not allow any of his prelates to resort to Rome, but invested Albertus de Mercy with the bishopric of Verdun himself; whilst, in addition to this, he had suffered the Swedish archbishop of Lunden, on his return from Rome, to remain a captive in the hands of thieves, who had previously robbed him of all that he possessed in the imperial territory. And now Adrian on his part was exasperated against the Emperor to such a degree that he unfortunately forwarded to the imperial court not only a letter of remonstrance, but one assuming a tone of boastful superiority, which was very nearly occasioning a most fatal result, in addition to the very serious consequences that actually did arise from the wording of this missive. The two Cardinals who brought it were respectfully received, but when the letter was publicly read before the Emperor, in the presence of the German princes and all his court, and it was found to contain this passage, "That the holy Roman Church had conferred the imperial crown upon the Emperor, with the plenitude of all power and honour, and that he (the Pope) should rejoice had he conferred greater benefits upon him," the assembled lords broke out into the most indignant anger, as well as Frederic himself. Upon which one of the Cardinals, instead of prudently endeavouring to quell the rising storm, haughtily exclaimed, "Of whom then does your Emperor hold the empire, if he holds it not of our lord the Pope?" and would immediately have been pierced by the sword of Otto, Count palatine of Bavaria, had not the Emperor himself held back that enraged prince, and thus prevented such a fearful act of violence." He, however, immediately dismissed the legates from his presence strongly guarded, and the following morning ordered them to return directly to Rome without the slightest delay in any part of his dominion. His next step was to appeal to the German bishops, thinking, perhaps, that, should sentence of excommunication be passed upon him, it would be prudent to conciliate the prelates of his own realm, and in a general letter to them set forth the insolence of the legates, one of whom he states he had with difficulty saved from death; that he had reason to suppose they meant to plunder the German churches, as he had found papers upon them sealed and signed ready to be filled up according to circumstances; and finally, declaring that whoever should say he wore the imperial crown as a benefit or gift of the Pope was a liar. In the mean

^{*} Roderic in Frideric. I. i. c. 8.

time, the legates had arrived in Bome, and had indignantly poured forth their bitter complaint as to the manner in which they had been dismissed by the Emperor before Adrian and his Council, when, after much discussion, the Pope wisely determined to address a letter on his part to the German bishops, in which, after complaining of the indignity cast upon his legates by the Emperor, and his not suffering any of his subjects to come to Rome, he begged them to demand reparation in his name for the violence thus offered to him and the holy Roman Church on the part of Reinold Chancellor of the Empire and Otto of Bavaria, not in a hostile but in a conciliatory spirit, and thus to heal the difference that had arisen between the Emperor and himself. In reply, the bishops very openly expressed their opinion respecting the unfortunate and very serious rupture that had arisen, declaring that the whole German Empire, as well as the Emperor, was indignant at the contents of his letter; that the Emperor did not mean to prevent pilgrims nor persons having business at Rome from going there, but merely papal encroachments; that their lord was justly indignant on account of a picture that had publicly been exhibited at Rome, representing the Emperor Lothario on his knees before Pope Alexander the Second, holding his hands between those of the Pontiff (which was the distinguishing mark of vassalage), with this inscription :-

"Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores:

Post homo fit papæ; sumit quo dante coronam."

That he had made peace with the King of Sicily, entered into other treaties without any reference to the Emperor's wishes; finally, that the chancellor, from whom he demanded reparation, was then in the act of preparing for an Italian campaign on the part of the Emperor,—concluding by entreating the Pope to write once more to their lord in a conciliatory spirit, so that there might be peace between the Empire and the Church. And as Frederic was really on the point of advancing southwards, Adrian very readily followed the bishops' advice, and sent two Cardinals renowned for their judicious character to the imperial court, bearing a letter, wherein he stated his regret that he had given offence by his former one, and explained away the first and natural meaning of those expressions he had made use of in the best manner he could. These messengers of peace, however, soon after they had passed Trent, were seized by two robber counts of that district, who stole from them every thing they possessed and threw them into irons until the brother of one of the captives came and gave himself up as a hostage for the ransom demanded by their captors, after which they pursued their journey to

Augsburg, where the Emperor then was surrounded by his assembling host, to whom they delivered the letter with every mark of the deepest respect. Upon reading which Frederic expressed himself satisfied, and bestowing the kiss of peace upon the envoys in token of reconciliation, dismissed them honourably from his presence.

It was not long, however, before another cause of difference arose between Adrian and Frederic. The Emperor, upon his entry into Italy, had demanded of all the ecclesiastics endowed by him, as well as of the nobles of the Empire, homage, and certain supplies of forage, in accordance with the ancient usages of their respective tenures; but this demand exasperated the Pope to such a degree that when Frederic shortly afterwards sent the Bishop of Vercelli requesting him to confirm the appointment of Guido as Bishop of Ravenna, to which see he had been duly elected by the German clergy, Adrian declined to do so, on the ground that the election was invalid, because Guido, being a subdeacon of the Roman Church, could not be translated to any other benefice without his (the Pope's) previous consent. Upon this the Emperor sent a letter of remonstrance to Adrian by the hands of one of his bishops, pressing him to concede the point; but, so far from yielding, the Pope now wrote a letter full of reproaches to Frederic, and sent it by an ordinary messenger, who quickly retired as soon as he had ventured to deliver the despatch; in consequence of which indignity the Emperor directed his ministers to place his name before that of the Pope in all future communications with the See of Rome, and to addresss the Pontiff in the singular number instead of in the usual courtly plural style; an act which once more urged Adrian to remonstrate with the Emperor in an indignant epistle, wherein he reproaches him with want of reverence for St. Peter and the Church, for the non-observance of his coronation oath, and for having expelled his legates not only from the Church, but from the cities of the Empire, concluding with threats touching the safety of his crown. This, however, only elicited another lofty communication from Frederic, wherein he repeated his former contemptuous style of address, and declared that he had excluded the papal legates from his territory because they were robbers instead of preachers, concluding with the offensive remark that he perceived pride ruled in the See of St. Peter instead of meekness and humility.* At this critical juncture some of the German bishops interfered, who, addressing Adrian, besought him to send a conciliatory embassy to the Emperor, so as to prevent an open rupture between the two courts, which

would be so destructive to the peace and interest of the Church; acting upon which suggestion the Pontiff sent four Cardinals, in all due form, to the Emperor in Lombardy, but they were charged with such proposals as he could not have hoped would be accepted. These were five in number, viz.: -1. That the Emperor should send no officers to act for him in Rome. 2. That no forage should be demanded of the Italian bishops, except when the Emperor came to Rome for his coronation. 3. That in Italy the bishops should not be asked to do homage to the Emperor, but only to swear allegiance to him. 4. That the imperial envoys should not be lodged in the bishops' palaces. 5. That the Emperor should restore certain possessions of the Roman Church, and pay tribute for others.* In answer, Frederic declared that as he was Emperor of Rome he must of necessity possess authority in Rome; that if ecclesiastics chose to hold temporalities of him they must do him homage for them; and now once more reproached the Pope for having made an alliance with the Greek Emperor, and peace with the King of Sicily, without consulting him, although he was bound to do so by treaty. He concluded, however, by proposing that a congress should be held for the purpose of discussing these disputed points, to consist of six Bishops chosen by himself, and as many Cardinals on the part of the Pope, whose united decision both potentates should agree to be final. Adrian, however, entirely declined this proposal, declaring that he would fall back upon the treaty already existing between the Emperor and the Papal See, made in the Pontificate of Eugenius the Third. To which Frederic replied, that as the Pope had broken that contract by making a separate peace with one prince, and an alliance with another, it no longer existed, and he would not be bound by it. At this juncture, however, Adrian, after a very short illness, died at Anagni, on the 1st of September, 1159, after a pontificate of four years and nine months, and his body was buried in the Basilica of St. Peter, near the tomb of his predecessor and kind patron Pope Eugenius, on the 4th of that month. As his death was sudden, it was immediately suspected that his life had been shortened by poison, so that rumours to this effect were soon rife, which have been seriously entertained and handed down to us by certain historians: Stowe in his Chronicle, p. 150, stating that he was poisoned by a citizen of Rome, whose son he had refused to consecrate, whilst others have assigned a more wonderful but less tragic cause of his decease. It appears that the Emperor Frederic, having unlawfully put away his first wife, had married Beatrix daughter of Rainald Count of Burgundy, Adrian remonstrated with him on this subject, as well as upon matters of state, and had even threatened to excommunicate him. Upon which very probable fact, Conrad of Ursperg built the airy fiction that the excommunication did take place, and that consequently a few days afterwards Adrian, as he was drinking at a fountain, swallowed a fly, which sticking in his throat could not be removed, and so caused his death: a story which Baker in his Chronicle (p. 83) repeats, saying, "He dyed, being choaked with a fly in his drink." And this statement, although apparently far less likely to be true than the former one, actually does point to the real character of the disorder occasioning his death a little more truthfully, which was a quinsy in his throat.

Such is the remarkable history of the only British subject that ever filled the chair of St. Peter. Rising certainly from a humble, and perhaps from a most abject condition of life, by his natural ability, by his zeal as a missionary, and by his undaunted determination, he surmounted every difficulty in the way leading towards his occupation of one of the loftiest of all worldly positions. In character he was haughty and aspiring; but this blemish, although repulsive in all, and especially so in an ecclesiastic, was not of a personal description, having apparently been assumed for the purpose of upholding the papal power, whilst the age in which he lived was peculiarly adapted to raise up and foster such a feeling, when a great struggle was taking place, not only concerning the imperial and papal rights, but between the lay and spiritual powers throughout the greater part of the Chrisian world, before the respective limits of each had been distinctly defined. Admitting, however, his haughtiness, let us not fail to remark how closely it was accompanied by zeal for the increase and preservation of the Christian faith. It was this quality, combined with his learning, that led Pope Eugenius to select him as the most fitting agent to propagate the truths of Christianity in the frozen regions of the North, and to encounter all the risks of entrusting himself amongst a savage and heathen people. It was this that urged him to bind Henry of England so strongly to make known the name of Christ in Ireland universally. before he would allow him to assume the sovereignty of that island, as well as to endeavour to reconcile the Eastern and Western churches; whilst his firmness enabled him so to guide the helm of St. Peter's patrimony, that upon his death, although he was still at variance with the Emperor Frederic, the voice and influence of the Roman church was held generally in very high estimation by foreign states, besides having made considerable progress in consolidating his power as a temporal prince in Italy by the erection of an almost impregnable fortress at Radocofani, and by the fortifications he raised at other points in his dominion.* But it was in private life that his character shone most brightly. First, he was renowned for his learning-besides having a knowledge of the Greek, Latin, Norse, Italian, French, and English languages, being a powerful preacher, well skilled in psalmody, and noted for his eloquence and persuasive powers; whilst, as an author, he wrote a History of his Mission to the North, and a Treatise on the Miraculous Conception, besides many sermons and letters, some of which are still extant. He was a patron of merit, a lover of truth, patient, and gentle; his conversation with his countryman, John the Monk of Salisbury, clearly exhibiting these two last ingredients of his character. Adrian, after he had been severely handled by his countryman, confessing that many of the accusations he had brought against him were true, and, so far from taking offence at his temerity, "smilingly begged him to report to him anything more that he might hear to his discredit." He was entirely free from nepotism; and, instead of enriching his relations, he does not appear to have aided them so much as he might in justice have done. Frugal in his private expenditure, he repaired and endowed several churches, besides having executed various public works, and given away large sums in charity."

The portrait of Adrian is given in a Latin history of the Popes, entitled, "Historia B. Platinæ de vitis Pontificum Romanorum," published at Cologne by P. Cholinus, in 1610, whence several particulars of Adrian's career, &c., have been gleaned. It professes to be his "Vera effigies summo studio emendata et correcta;" but it is not stated whence it was obtained.

[·] Hist. B. Platina.

b In a letter of his successor, Alexander the Third, to Becket, when Archbishop of Canterbury, that pontiff alludes to Adrian's allowing his mother still to be maintained as a poor person by the ecclesiastical alms of Canterbury. And although he is mistaken in this, as she had died (as we have seen) before Adrian left England, some near relation, such as an aunt or sister, is probably here spoken of.

e Baronius, ex cod. Vatic. Rom. Pont. 379, thus sums up his character:—"Erat autem vir valde benignus, mitis, et patiens, in Græca et Latina lingua peritus, sermone facundus, eloquentia politus, in cantu ecclesiastico præcipuus, predicator egregius, ad irascendum tardus, ad ignoscendum velox, hilaris dator, eleemosynis largus, et omni morum compositione præclarus."

VI. On an unrecorded Contract entered into between Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Castille and Leon, and Ferdinand, King of Sicily, for the Marriage of Isabella, eldest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, with Ferdinand, Prince of Capua, May 21, 1476. With Observations by T. J. Pettigrew, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A.

Read 19 June, 1856.

Prior to the fifteenth century, Spain being constituted by a number of small independent states, their interests clashed with each other, and serious feuds became the natural consequence. When reduced, however, to one common rule, belonging to one nation, discovery and conquest followed, and its domestic institutions, together with the character of its literature, improved. It is to the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella that this beneficial consolidation and completion is to be ascribed. The states into which Spain in the beginning of the fifteenth century was arranged, consisted of Castille, Aragon, Navarre, and Granada. These at length were included within one monarchy, and Castille became the capital of the kingdom.

The accession of Isabella to the throne of Spain was produced by a variety of extraordinary circumstances and events, which are well known to all who are acquainted with Spanish history. Isabella ascended the throne December 12, 1474, having been born at Madrigal, April 22, 1451. She was scarcely four years old at the death of her father, John II. who was succeeded by Henry IV. the issue by his first wife, Maria of Aragon. Isabella was issue by his second wife, Isabella, granddaughter of John I. of Portugal. She married Ferdinand, born at Sos, in Aragon, March 10, 1452, son of John and Queen Joan. The marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella took place October 19, 1469, and was solemnized in the presence of Ferdinand's grandfather, the Admiral of Castille, of the Archbishop of Toledo, and a multitude of persons of rank as well as of inferior condition, amounting in

^a Mr. Prescott has given an able summary of the Castilian Monarchy before the fifteenth century in his Introductory Chapter of "The History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic, of Spain," Lond. 1838, 3 vols. 8vo.

all to not less than two thousand. By this marriage Ferdinand and Isabella had five children:—

- 1. The Princess Doña Isabel, born at Dueñas, October 1, 1470.
- 2. Juan, Prince of Asturias, born at Seville, June 30, 1478. He married the Princess Margaret, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, and died October 4, 1497, at the age of nineteen years. His widow afterwards married the Duke of Savoy.
- 3. Doña Juana, born at Toledo, November 6, 1479. She married the Archduke Philip, son and heir of the Emperor Maximilian, and from this union sprung the celebrated Charles V.
 - 4. Doña Maria, born at Cordova in 1482.
- 5. Doña Catalina, born at Alcala de Henares, December 5, 1485. She married Arthur Prince of Wales. She is the Catherine of Aragon whose portion consisted of 200,000 golden crowns.*

It is remarkable that all the daughters lived to reign. The Princess Isabella, the eldest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, as just stated, was born October 1, 1470, and an embassy was sent to the court of Louis XI. of France as early as February, 1474, for the purpose of settling the preliminaries of a marriage between the Princess and the Dauphin, the former being then but little more than three years of age. Again, in September 1479, through the interposition of the Infanta Doña Beatrice of Portugal, sister-in-law of King Alphonso, and the maternal aunt of the Queen Isabella, a compact was entered into to terminate the War of Succession carried on between Joanna and Isabella, among the conditions of which was one that an union should take place between the son of Alphonso Prince of Portugal with the Infanta Isabella of Castille; and in the spring of 1490 ambassadors arrived from Lisbon to carry into effect the treaty of marriage between Alonso and Isabella. She was affianced in the month of April in that year at Seville, Don Fernando de Silveyra being the representative of the Prince, heir to the Portuguese monarchy.^b In the following autumn the Princess Isabella was escorted to Portugal by the Cardinal of Spain, the Grand-Master of St. James, and a numerous and magnificent retinue. She arrived there on the 22nd November, 1490, and was married to Prince Alonso, who however died a few months after his union from the effects of a fall from his horse. The widow secluded herself with her family, and for a long time refused to listen to any

^{*} See Rymer's Fædera, xii. 411.

b This ceremony is particularly described by Prescott, vol. ii. p. 160.

proposals of marriage, several being made to her, until the year 1497, when she was prevailed upon to espouse Emanuel, King of Portugal, who had for a long time been enamoured of her. She was married at the frontier town of Valencia de Alcantara, and died of a pulmonary disease, August 23, 1498, after giving birth to a son, who was named Miguel. Of the prince, Ferdinand and Isabella, her parents, became the guardians, and in his person the crowns of the three monarchies, of Castille, Aragon, and Portugal, were invested. He, however, died before completing his second year.

The conditions imposed by Isabella upon Emanuel on occasion of her marriage with him were cruel and revolting, and are characteristic of the bigotry with which her mind is reported to have been oppressed. She insisted upon the extraordinary condition that, prior to their marriage, Emanuel should expel all the Jews from his dominions, where, from the period at which they were driven out of Spain, they had hitherto found a resting place. Her proposal of this cruel act found an excuse in a superstitious notion entertained by her, that the misfortunes which had accrued to the kingdom of Portugal owed their origin to the generous protection which had been afforded to this persecuted race. Emanuel's passion overcame his better reason, and he acceded to the base condition the princess had imposed upon him.

I have been induced to make reference to these events in the life of Isabella from having a short time since become possessed of a MS. relating to this princess, and which, as far as my researches have extended (and I have made a diligent inquiry into the matter), makes us acquainted with a circumstance that has not been hitherto noticed. No mention whatever respecting it is made by Don Diego Clemincin, the Perpetual Secretary of the Royal Academy of Madrid, the learned compiler of the elaborate history of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, which occupies the whole of the sixth volume of the "Memorias" of the Academy; nor by Mr. Prescott in his able "History of Ferdinand and Isabella." The manuscript to which I refer, and which I have now the honour to place before the Society, is a compact of marriage entered into by Ferdinand and Isabella on the part of their daughter Isabella, and is a proof of the anxiety entertained by them to effect an union for her with a member of the House of Nothing certainly appears more natural than that Ferdinand and Isabella should be desirous of strengthening themselves with regard to the claims of the House of Aragon to the throne of Naples, the princes of which had been solemnly recognised by the Neapolitans. Ferdinand regarded himself as the representative of the legitimate branch of Aragon, and was therefore anxious to oppose the claims that might be set up by the House of Anjou, or any other. He looked upon the crown of Naples as his own rightful inheritance.

The title of the MS. to which I have alluded is as follows:—"Capitulacion entre el Rey Catolico D. Fernando y la Reyna Dª Isabel, de Aragon y Castilla, con el Rey D. Fernando de Napoles, y D. Alfonso su hijo, Duque de Calabria, sobrel Matrimonio que anian de contraher La Princessa Dª Isabel, hija de los Reyes Catolicos, con D. Fernando Duque de Capua, hijo de dicho Duq. de Calabria y nieto de dicho Rey de Napoles;" and is indorsed as Public Instrument of the Articles of Marriage between the Prince of Capua and the Princess of Castille, with ratification by the King and Queen of Castille, with their leaden seal appended. (The seal is wanting, but the cord to which it was attached remains.) 3 May, 1476.

The MS. is beautifully written, and forms seventeen pages folio. At the end it has the autograph signatures of Ferdinand and Isabella, the parents of the Princess Isabella, and also the attestation of various distinguished functionaries, and of Gaspar Daringo, a public notary, by the command of the King and Queen of Castille, Leon, &c. It records that on the 3rd May, 1476, in the Royal Palace, Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Castille, &c., together with numerous distinguished officers on the one part, and Lord Alphonso of Aragon, Duke of Calabria, Lord King of Sicily, the first-born, together with his deputy acting under the sign-manuals of the King of Sicily and the Duke of Calabria, and by the great seal of the said King and the seal of the Duke of Calabria on the other, bind themselves to promote by stronger ties the relationship, endearment, and mutual good-will heretofore subsisting between them by entering into a contract of marriage between the Lady Isabella Princess of Asturias, the eldest daughter of the King and Queen of Castille and Leon, and the Prince Ferdinand of Aragon,

a Prescott gives in a note (Hist. of Ferd. and Isab., II. 378) an explanation relating to the epithet Most Catholic. This title, as applied to Ferdinand and Isabella, was given to them by the Pope, who, desirous of offering a compliment upon their conquest of Granada, addressed them as the Most Christian, which, however, being a title hitherto only applied to the sovereigns of France, was objected to by the Cardinals, and the epithet of Most Catholic substituted for it. The term Catholic had been before applied to the Asturian prince Alphonso, and also to Pedro II., so that it was not new either to the house of Castille or Arragon, and the phrase Los Reyes Catolicos is applicable either to a female or male, agreeably to the Spanish idiom, though sounding singularly incorrect to an English ear. The Spanish language requires that when a word having reference both to a masculine and a feminine noun is employed, it should be expressed in the former gender.

Prince of Capua, firstborn of the Lord Duke of Calabria, and nephew of the King of Sicily. The Articles are arranged under eighteen several heads, reciting the terms of the engagement.

In Nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi. Anno a nativitate ejus Millesimo Quadringentesimo Septuagesimo Sexto.

Die Tertio Mensis Maii in Villa matricalis Regni Castelle, in Regali Palacio in prima camera conjunctă aule ipsius Palacii: coram nobis Notario publico, et Secretario infra-scripto, ac Testibus subscriptis, constituti Serenissimi et excellentissimi Principis et Domini dñi Ferdinandus et Elizabet, Dei gratia Rex et Regina Castelle, Legionis, Sicilie, Toleti, Portugaliæ, Gallecie, Yspalis, Cordube, Murcie, Algarbe, Algezire, de Gibraltar, et provincie de Guipuzcoa, Principes Aragonum, ac Domini de Viscaya et de Molina. Agentes et intervenientes ad Infrascripta omnia pro seipsis et eorum Heredibus et Successoribus ex una parte. Et Magnificus utriusque juris doctor Antonius de Alexandro de Neapoli, orator, nuncius, et procurator Serenissimi ac Excellentissimi Principis et d´ni Ferdinandi Dei gratia Regis Siciliæ, Hierusalem, et Hungarie, ac etiam Illustrissimi Domini dñi Alfonsi de Aragonia, Ducis Calabriæ, ejusdem domini Regis Siciliæ primogeniti et vicarii generalis, de cujus mandato, potestate, et procuracione constitit et constat: publico et auctentico documento, proprià manu ipsorum dominorum Regis Siciliae et Ducis Calabriæ subscripto, et magno Sigillo pendenti dicti domini Regis Siciliæ ac Sigillo præfati Illustrissimi dñi Ducis Calabriæ munito et sigillato, cujus tenor de verbo ad verbum inferius describetur. Agens et Interveniens ad infrascripta omnia procuratorio nomine et pro parte prefatorum domini Regis Siciliæ et Domini Ducis Calabrie suorum principalium et pro ipsis dominis Rege et Duce eorumque heredibus et successoribus ex parte alterâ. Asseruerunt partes ipse pariter coram nobis superioribus temporibus, ad augendam, duplicandam, et forcioribus vinculis astringendam consanguinitatem, caritatem, et mutuam benevolenciam hactenus vigentem inter ipsos supra nominatos Serenissimos dominos, habitum fuisse tractatum et colloquium de matrimonio contrahendo inter illustrissimam dominam Elizabet Principissam Asturiarum eorumdem dominorum regis et reginæ Castelle et Legionis filiam primogenitam, et illustrissimum dominum Ferdinandum de Aragonia Principem Capuæ, dicti domini ducis Calabriæ filium primogenitum, et nepotem prefati domini Regis Siciliæ. Et noviter partes ipsas, assistente Divina gratia, dictum tractatum ad effectum, concordiam, et conclusionem deduxisse, et proinde super dicto matrimonio de communi consensu et voluntate ordinasse infrascripta capitula, convenciones, et pacta, tenoris et continencie subsequentis,

In nomine Sancte Trinitatis, patris filii et Spiritus Sancti, infrascripta capitula, convenciones, et pacta, Subscripto loco et die, juncta et firmata fuerunt: inter Serenissimos et excellentissimos Principes et dominos; dños Ferdinandum et Elisabet dei gracia Regem et Reginam Castelle, Legionis, Sicilie, etc. Principes Aragonum ex una parte, et Serenissimum et illustrissimum Principem et dñm dominum Ferdinandum dei gracia regem Sicilie, Hierusalem, et Hungarie: ac illustrissimum Dominum Alfonsum de Aragonia ducem Calabrie, ejusdem domini regis primogenitum. Seu magnificum utriusque juris doctorem Antonium de Alexandro de

^{*} It is thus printed in the MS. In English Isabel is correctly rendered by Elizabeth.

Neapoli eorum oratorem et procuratorem: procuratorio nomine et pro parte ejusdem Serenissimi domini Regis Sicilie, Hierousalem, et Hungarie, ac illustrissimi domini ducis Calabrie ex altera parte: Super sponsalibus et matrimonio, concedente domino, feliciter contrahendis inter illustrissimum dominum Ferdinandum de Aragonia, Principem Capue, nepotem ipsius Serenissimi domini Regis Sicilie, Hierousalem, et Hungarie: ac filium primogenitum dicti illustrissimi domini Ducis Calabrie, et illustrissimam dominam Elizabet Principissam Asturiarum, primogenitam Castellæ et Legionis, eorundem dominorum Regis et Regine filiam.

1. In primis prefati Serenissimi domini Rex et Regina Castelle et Legionis, omni pleniori et meliori viâ et formâ quâ melius fieri potest et debet, firmant et contrahunt matrimonium et sponsalia per verba de futuro inter dictam illustrissimam dominam Elizabet Principissam Asturiarum, eorum filiam, et prefatum illustrissimum dominum Principem Capue, ipsamque dominam Principissam eorum filiam ex nunc despondent in legittimam uxorem et sponsam ejusdem illustrissimi domini Principis Capue, dicto Antonio de Alexandro interveniente, recipiente, et stipulante, Supradicta et Infrascripta omnia, nomine et pro parte ipsorum Serenissimi domini Regis Sicilie, etc. et Illustrissimi domini Ducis Calabrie, et præfati illustrissimi domini Principis Capue et pro ipsorum quolibet; ac promittunt prefati Serenissimi domini Rex et Regina Castelle et Legionis, et quilibet eorum, insolidum curare, et facere cum effectu, et modis omnibus, quod ipsa illustrissima domina Principissa eorum filia, cum ad legitimam et nubilem etatem pervenerit, ad omnem requisitionem et voluntatem dicti Serenissimi domini Regis Sicilie, etc. seu prefati illustrissimi domini Ducis Calabrie, dictum matrimonium cum prefato illustrissimo Principe Capuæ per verba de presenti contrahet et consumabit per carnis copulam secundum usum et morem sacrosancte Romane ecclesie, ac cum illis solempnitatibus et ceremoniis que in contrahendis similibus matrimoniis a jure et consuetudine observantur: cum legitima tamen dispensacione sanctissimi domini nostri Pape propter vinculum consanguinitatis existens inter ipsos dominos Principem et Principissam: que quidem dispensacio procurari et impetrari debeat per utramque partem.

2. Item promittunt ut supra prefati Serenissimi domini, Rex et Regina Castelle et Legionis, durante hoc tempore, et donec prefata domina Principissa eorum filia ad nubilem ætatem pervenerit, et cum dicto Principe Capue matrimonium contraxerit et consumaverit, prefatam dominam Principissam nemini alteri matrimonio copulare; et matrimonium seu sponsalia ipsius domine Principisse cum nemine alio contrahere vel firmare. Quinymo curare et facere cum effectu et modis omnibus, quod ipsa domina Principissa cum nemine alio matrimonium aut Sponsalia contrahet aut firmabit, nisi cum dicto domino Principe Capue, modo et forma quibus supra.

3. Item promittunt, ut supra prefati domini Rex et Regina Castelle et Legionis, pro dote, et nomine dotis, dicte domine Principisse eorum filie dare prefato illustrissimo d\u00fao Principi Capue, seu prefato Sermo domino Regi Ferdinando vel Illustrissimo domino duci Calabrie duplas auri centum Mille monete Regni Castelle, et florenos auri Aragonum centum Mille, seu illorum justum valorem, quae dos solvi debeat tempore matrimonii per verba de praesenti celebrandi et consummandi per carnis copulam. Verumtamen si dicti domini, Rex et Regina, non susceperint seu procreaverint filium masculum, et sic dicta Illustrissima d\u00faa Principissa remanserit primogenita et legitima heres et successor regnorum prefatorum Serenissimorum dominorum Regis et Reginae,

tunc et eo casu cesset dicta constitutio dotis centum mille duplarum et centum mille florenorum ex quo dicta Illustrissima domina Principissa habebit totum Regnum pro patrimonio.

4. Item, quia superioribus proximis diebus prefata Ill^{ms} domina Principissa fuit jurata pro primogenitâ legittimâ hærede successura in dictis Regnis per Procuratores et magnates dictorum Regnorum in præsentiâ nobilis viri Joannis Nauclerii de Neapoli, et insuper dicti procuratores nomine dictorum Regnorum promiserunt et juraverunt supradictum Principem Capue, adveniente dicto tempore, et contracto dicto matrimonio, habere, tenere, et reputare pro principe Asturiarum tamquam legittimum maritum dicte domine Principisse, in deffectum filii masculi, promittunt prefati Serenissimi domini, Rex et Regina, conservare dictam dominam Principissam eorum filiam in dictâ primogenitură in defectum filii masculi et tradi facere prædicto Antonio de Alexandro oratori et procuratori instrumenta publica dicti juramenti et promissionis.

5. Item promittunt dicti Serenissimi domini, Rex et Regina Castelle et Legionis, tempore contrahendi matrimonii prædicti per verba de presenti, in deffectum filii masculi assignare et tradere realiter et cum effectu prefate domine Principisse corum filie Principatum Asturiarum et ejus possessionem cum omnibus civitatibus, terris, et locis, ac jurisdictionibus et redditibus, ad

ipsum Principatum spectantibus et pertinentibus.

6. Item promittunt præfati Serenissimi, Rex et Regina Castelle et Legionis, pro majori firmitate et securitate dicti matrimonii, et præfatorum Serenissimi domini Regis Sicilie et Illustrissimi domini Ducis Calabrie, dare infrascriptos fidejussores et principales promissores: videlicet omnia hec regna Castelle et Legionis, id est, illas civitates et villas quæ repræsentant præfata regna, secundum morem solitum ipsorum Regnorum, vel earum procuratores habentes ad hoc speciale mandatum, qui promittant nomine dictorum Regnorum se facturos et curaturos omnibus modis et cum effectu, quod dicti domini, Princeps et Principissa, adveniente legittima etate prefatum matrimonium contrahent per uerba de presenti, et illud consumabunt per carnis copulam, et quod ex illo tempore in antea habebunt et reputabunt dictum dominum Principem Capuæ pro principe Asturiarum ut legitimum maritum dicte domine Principisse in defectum filii masculi, ut fieri assolet in casu simili in dictis regnis, et quòd assignabitur per dictos Serenissimos dominos Regem et Reginam Castelle et Legionis dicte domine Principisse tempore contrahendi matrimonii per verba de præsenti principatus Asturiarum cum omnibus civitatibus, terris, et locis, jurisdictionibus et redditibus ad ipsum Principatum spectantibus et pertinentibus, et ad hoc se obligabunt sub juramento et pæná unius milionis ducatorum auri per instrumentum publicum.

7. Item promittunt similiter dicti Serenissimi Rex et Regina Castelle et Legionis dare infrascriptos magnates, fidejussores et principales Promissores: videlicet Enricum de Guzman Ducem Medine-Sidonie, comitem Nebule; et Didacum Furtado de Mendoça Ducem Infantato, Marchionem Sanctillane; et Garciam Alvarez de Toledo Ducem Alvæ, Marchionem Corie; et Petrum de Velasco comitem de Haro, Connestabulum Castelle; et Alfonsum Enriquez Archimarinum Castelle, et Rodericum Alfonso Pimentel comitem Benaventi, et Petrum Manrique comitem de Trevinyo, qui omnes promittent et jurabunt, et facient homagium juxta morem Hyspaniæ, se curaturos et facturos omnibus modis et cum effectu quod dicti domini Princeps et Principissa adveniente legittima etate prefatum matrimonium contrahent per verba de præsenti, et illud

consumabunt per carnis copulam, et omnia alia que supradicti procuratores promittere debent, de quo fiat instrumentum publicum.

8. Et e converso prefatus Antonius de Alexandro, orator et procurator, nomine et pro parte prefatorum Serenissimorum domini Regis Sicilie, Hierusalem, etc., et prefati Illustrissimi domini Ducis Calabrie, virtute mandati et potestatis sibi tradite, omni pleniori et meliori vià et forma qua potest et debet, firmat et contrahit dictum matrimonium seu sponsalia per verba de futuro inter prefatos Illustrissimos Principem et Principissam, ipsumque dominum Principem Capue despondet in legittimum virum et sponsum prefate Illme domine Principisse Asturiarum, ac promittit, predictis Serenissimis dominis Regi et Reginæ Castelle et Legionis recipientibus et stipulantibus, se, ipsorum quos nomine, et prefatos Serenissimum dominum Regem Sicilie, Hierusalem, etc., et illustrissimum dominum Ducem Calabrie curaturos et facturos modis omnibus et cum effectu, quod prefatus Illustrissimus Princeps Capue, cum ad legittimam et nubilem ætatem devenerit, ad omnem requisitionem et voluntatem præfatorum Serenissimorum dominorum Regis et Regine Castelle et Legionis dictum matrimonium cum jam dictâ illustrissimâ Dominâ Principissâ per verba de presenti contrahet et consumabit per carnis copulam secundum usum et morem sacrosanctse Romanæ ecclesiæ, et cum illis solemnitatibus et ceremoniis que in contrahendis similibus matrimoniis a jure et consuetudine observantur, cum legittima tamen dispensacione sanctissimi domini nostri papæ propter vinculum consanguinitatis de præsenti existens inter ipsos dños Principem et Principissam. Que quidem dispensacio procurari et impetrari debeat per utramque partem ut

9. Item promittit predictus orator et procurator, quo supra nomine, quod durante hoc tempore, et donec prefatus dominus Princeps Capue ad nubilem etatem pervenerit, et cum jam dictà domina Principissa matrimonium contraxerit et consumaverit, dicti Serenissimi domini Rex Sicilie et Ill^{mus} Dominus Dux Calabriæ eundem Dominum Principem Capuæ nemini alteri matrimonio copulabunt et matrimonium seu sponsalia ipsius Domini Principis cum nemine alia contrahent vel firmabunt. Quinymo curabunt, et facient cum effectu, et modis omnibus, quod ipse dominus Princeps cum alia matrimonium aut sponsalia non contrahet vel firmabit, nisi cum prefata domina Principissa, modo et forma quibus supra.

10. Item promittit præfatus orator et procurator, quo supra nomine, quod præfatus Serenissimus dominus Rex Sicilie et Illustrissimus dominus Dux Calabrie tempore contrahendi matrimonii et consumandi per carnis copulam constituent et assignabunt realiter et cum effectu cameram in dicto Regno Sicilie honorificam et condecentem juxta dignitatem et statum dicte domine Principisse, prout consuevit assignari aliis uxoribus regum et principum primogenitorum, heredum, et successorum in dicto regno Sicilie: cujus quidem camere quantitas, qualitas et redditus determinari et declarari debeant infra terminum sex mensium computandorum a die dato presentium capitulorum per dictum dominum Regem Sicilie una cum oratore dictorum Serenissimorum dominorum Regis et Regine Castelle et Legionis, quos redditus cameræ prædictæ præfati dñi Rex et Regina Castelle et Legionis volunt extendant summa viginti milium ducatorum quoque anno.

11. Item promittit dictus orator et procurator, nomine quo supra, quod, tempore dicti matrimonii contrahendi per verba de presenti et consumandi per carnis copulam, prefati Serenissimus dominus Rex Sicilie et Illustrissimus dominus Dux Calabrie constituent per instrumentum publicum, in

solemni forma secundum morem patrie, eidem Illustrissime domine Principisse donationem propter nupcias ascendentem ad summam seu valorem quinquaginta Mille duplarum auri Castelle, et quinquaginta mille florenos auri Aragonum, verum si tempore contrahendi matrimonii per verba de presenti et per carnis copulam consumandi non supererit filius masculus prefatis Serenis dominis Regi et Regine Castelle et Legionis, et sic cessabit solutio dictæ dotis, prout supra in alio capitulo continetur, eo casu cesset constitutio donacionis propter nupcias in predictà quantitate: teneantur tamen dicti Serenissimus dominus Rex Sicilie et Illustrissimus dominus dux Calabrie eo casu propter principatum Asturiarum et spem successionis prædictorum Regnorum dare et assignare dicte Illustrissime domine Principisse eodem tempore, ultra cameram de quâ supra fit mentio, illud quod inter ipsum Serenissimum dominum Regem Sicilie et oratorem prefatorum Serenissimorum dominorum Regis et Regine Castelle et Legionis infra dictum terminum mensium sex determinabitur et declarabitur. Quæ quidem determinacio et declaracio fieri debeat habito respectu ad ea quæ Serus dominus Rex Aragonum et præfatus Serenus dominus Rex Castelle promiserunt, et quilibet eorum promisit, prefate Serenissimæ Domine Regine Castelle et Legionis tempore contracti et firmati matrimonii inter eos, prout continetur in Instrumentis et Scripturis publicis et auctenticis inde confectis.

12. Item promittit prefatus orator et procurator, quo supra nomine, quod prefati Serenissimus dominus Rex Sicilie et illustrissimus dominus Dux Calabrie, necnon illustrissimus Princeps Capue, tempore receptionis dicte dotis centum mille duplarum et centum mille florenorum se obligabunt, et quilibet eorum se obligabit, in cauta et solemni formâ per Instrumentum publicum, dotem ipsam conservare et salvam facere, et eidem Illustrissime Domine Principisse seu suis heredibus restituere in casu soluti matrimonii, et in omnem eventum restitutionis ipsius dotis cum juramento et pœnis ac clausulis et cautelis necessariis et oportunis ad consilium sapiens, secundum morem patrie.

13. Item promittit prefatus orator et procurator, quo supra nomine, quod dictus Serenissimus dominus Rex Sicilie infra terminum duodecim mensium a die dato præsentium computandorum jurari faciet dictum Illustrissimum Dominum principem Capue pro primogenito et legittimo successore suorum Regnorum post felices dies ipsius Serenissimi domini Regis Sicilie et dicti Illustrissimi domini Ducis Calabrie, et quòd, defuncto ipso Serenissimo domino Rege Sicilie, et regnante prefato Illustrissimo Domino duce Calabrie, assignabitur, et realiter et cum effectu tradetur, per eundem Illustrissimum dominum ducem Calabrie eidem Ill^{mo} domino Principi Capue Ducatus Calabrie cum omnibus ipsius civitatibus, terris, et locis, jurisdictionibus, et redditibus, ad ipsum ducatum Calabrie spectantibus.

14. Item promittit dictus orator et procurator, quo supra nomine, quod prefatus Serus dominus Rex Sicilie determinabit et declarabit infra terminum dictorum sex mensium cum oratore præfatorum Serorum Dominorum Regis et Regine Castelle et Legionis statum honorificum et condecentem assignandum eidem Ill^{mo} domino principi Capue tempore vite dictorum Ser^{mi} domini Regis Sicilie et Ill^{mi} domini Ducis Calabrie. Qui quidem estatus assignari debeat dicto Illustr^{mo} Principi tempore consumationis dicti matrimonii in vita dictorum Serenissimi domini Regis Sicilie et Ill^{mi} ducis Calabrie.

15. Item promittit præfatus orator et procurator, quo supra nomine, quod præfati Serns dominus

Rex Sicilie et Illustr^{mus} dominus Dux Calabrie pro majori firmitate et securitate dicti matrimonii, et prefatorum Serenissimorum dominorum regis et regine Castelle et Legionis, infra terminum duodecim mensium a die datorum presencium computandorum, dabunt infrascriptos fidejussores et principales promissores, videlicet civitates et terras demaniales dicti Regni Sicilie et alias personas representantes dictum Regnum, qui promittant nomine dicti Regni se facturos et curaturos omnibus modis et cum effectu quod dicti Ill^{mi} domini Princeps et Principissa, adveniente legitima etate, prefatum matrimonium contrahent per verba de presenti, et illud consumabunt per carnis copulam, et ex illo tempore in antea habebunt et reputabunt dictam Illustrissimam Principissam pro principissa Capue, et suo casu pro ducissa Calabrie, tamquam legittimam uxorem dicti Ill^{mi} domini Principis Capue, et quod assignabitur per dictos Ser^{um} dominum Regem Sicilie et Ill^{mi} dominum Ducem Calabrie dicto Ill^{mo} domino Principi Capue tempore contrahendi dicti matrimonii per verba de presenti, estatus honorificus et condecens, et suo casu ducatus Calabrie, prout in precedentibus capitulis continetur, et ad hoc se obligabunt sub juramento et pœna unius milionis ducatorum per Instrumentum publicum.

16. Item promittit dictus orator et procurator, quo supra nomine, quod dicti Serenissimus dominus Rex Sicilie et Ill^{mus} dominus Dux Calabrie similiter dabunt infra dictum terminum mensium duodecim infrascriptos magnates fidejussores et principales promissores, videlicet, Antonium de Sancto Severino, Principem Salerni, dicti regni Sicilie admiralem, et Hieronymum de Sancto Severino Principem Bisigniani, et Franciscum de Bancio Ducem Andrie, et Ursum de Ursinis Ducem Ascoli, et Antonium de Aragonia de Picolominibus Ducem Amalfie, dicti Regni Sicilie magistrum justiciarium, et honoratum Gaietanum de Aragonia comitem, fundorum ejusdem Regni prothonotarium, et Diomedem Carrafa Comitem Magdaloni; qui omnes promittent, et jurabunt, et facient homagium juxta morem Hyspanie, se curaturos et facturos omnibus modis et cum effectu, quod dicti Illustrissimi domini Princeps et Principissa, adveniente legitima etate, præfatum matrimonium contrahent per verba de presenti et illud consummabunt per carnis copulam, et omnia alia quæ dictæ civitates et terræ demaniales, et aliæ persone representantes dictum Regnum Sicilie, promittere debent, de quo fiat Instrumentum publicum.

17. Item promittit dictus orator et procurator, quo supra nomine, quod prefati Serenissimus dominus rex Sicilie et Ill^{mus} dominus Dux Calabrie dabunt et realiter, et exsolvent prefatis Seris dominis Regi et Regine Castelle et Legionis vel eorum sufficienti procuratori, pro subvencione ipsorum, florenos auri Aragonum justi et recti ponderis ducentum mille modo infrascripto: videlicet, sexaginta Mille florenos infra dies sexaginta quatuor, computandos a die datorum præsentium in antea, et triginta quinque mille florenos per totum mensem Maii anni Millesimi cccc septuagesimi Septimi, et triginta et quinque mille florenos per totum mensem Maii anni millesimi quadringentesimi septuagesimi octavi, et triginta quinque mille florenos per totum mensem Maii anni Millesimi quadringentesimi septuagesimi noni, et restantes triginta quinque mille florenos ad complementum dictorum ducentum mille florenorum per totum mensem Maii anni Mill^{mi} cccc octuagesimi. Que quidem soluciones fieri habeant per dictos Seren^m dominum Regem Sicilie, et Illustrissimum dominum Ducem Calabriæ, in civitatibus Cesar Augustæ, Valencie et Barchinone vel ipsarum alterâ, de quo fiat Instrumentum publicum cum juramento, et penis ac obligacionibus, necessariis et oportunis.

18. Insuper fuit inter dictos Sermes dominos Regem et Reginam Castelle et Legionis, et prefatum Antonium de Alexandro oratorem et procuratorem, nomine quo supra, pactatum, actum, et concordatum, quòd, si dictum matrimonium inter prefatos dominos Principem et Principissam non fuerit per verba de presenti contractum, et per carnis copulam consumatum, adveniente legitima ætate, culpå prefatorum Serenissimorum dominorum Regis et Regine, quod eo casu teneantur restituere prefato Sermo domino Regni Sicilie omne id quod recipisse reperientur de dictà summa florenorum ducentum Mille, rato semper manente pacto. Si vero, culpâ dicti Serenissimi domini Regis Sicilie, vel Illustrissimi Domi Ducis Calabrie, illud acciderit, perdant predictos ducentum mille florenos, si jam fuerint soluti, vel quicquid ex iis solutum fuerit eo tempore, rato semper manente pacto. Sin autem dictum matrimonium cessaverit per obitum prefati Ill^{mi} domini Principis Capue, quod Deus avertat, dictum matrimonium perfici et consumari debeat cum alio filio dicti Ill^{mi} domini Ducis Calabrie qui locum primogeniti obtinebit, cum omnibus obligacionibus, pactis, et condicionibus supra dictis, quæ in prædicto matrimonio repetita censeantur. Eodem modo, si cessaverit per obitum dicte illustrissime domine Principisse, quod Deus avertat, debeat perfici et consumari dictum matrimonium per dictum illustrissimum dominum Principem Capue cum alia filià, si qua tunc reperiretur ex eisdem dominis Rege et Reginà fore suscepta: Et si plures essent, cum majore natu, cum pactis omnibus, obligacionibus, et condicionibus supradictis, que similiter in dicto matrimonio repetita censeantur. Sed si in casu predicto non posset perveniri ad dictum secundum matrimonium propter deffectum alterius filii dicti Ill^{mi} domini Ducis Calabrie, vel alterius filie prefatorum Serenissimorum dominorum Regis et Regine Castelle et Legionis, inter quos foret dictum matrimonium contrahendum, eo casu non teneant prefati Serus dominus Rex Sicilie et Illmus dominus Dux Calabrie solvere dictis Sermis dominis Regi et Regine Castelle et Legionis residuum dictorum ducentum mille florenorum quod solvendum veniret a dicto tempore ultra, neque teneautur dicti Seren^{mi} domini Rex et Regina Castelle et Legionis restituere illud quod de dictà quantitate ducentorum mille florenorum reperirentur recepisse. Et, factà assercione predicta, cognoscentes partes ipsæ, quod utile, quod expediens, quodque fructuosum sit jam dictum matrimonium, tam ipsis omnibus prefatis Serenissimis dominis Regibus, quam rei publicæ Regnorum ipsorum dominorum, subditis, vassallis, et habitatoribus ipsorum Regnorum, et propterea intendentes matrimonium ipsum juxta tenorem et continenciam dictorum capitulorum omnino ad effectum perducere, exsequi, et complere. Iccirco partes ipse pariter, nominibus quibus supra, non vi, dolo, aut metu coacte, suasionibus inducte, seu aliter circumvente, sed earum et cujuslibet ipsarum meră, purâ, gratuită, et spontanea voluntate, preinserta capitula cum omnibus et singulis contentis in eis laudaverunt, approbauerunt, et acceptauerunt, publicari fecerunt, ac firmaverunt, et subscripserunt propriis manibus, et eorum sigillis muniri fecerunt; ipsaque capitula, convenciones, et pacta, et omnia et singula in eis contenta præfatæ ambæ partes ad invicem. videlicet una alteri et altera alteri recipienti, stipulanti, nominibus quibus supra, promiserunt et spoponderunt prout ad quamlibet ipsarum partium pertinet, semper et omni futuro tempore habere et tenere grata, rata et firma, et illa et ipsorum quodlibet attendere et observare, et ad plenum tenaciter et inviolabiliter adimplere, omni fraude, excusacione, cavillatione, et exceptione remotis, et in nullo contrahire, dicere, facere, opponere, vel venire, per se vel alios corum nomine, palam, publicè, vel occultè, directè vel indirectè, seu alio quesito colore, neque alteri contradicere,

opponere, vel venire volenti consentire, asistere, vel favere, dolumque malum in dictis capitulis et presenti contractu abesse et abfuturum esse ad pœnam et sub pœna ducatorum auri mille milium, seu unius milionis a parte contra-faciente in casu contravencionis exhigenda, et parti alteri applicandâ et persolvendâ. Que quidem pœna tociens comittatur, petatur, et exhigatur cum effectu. quotiens dictis capitulis, pactis et convencionibus, vel ipsorum alteri fuerit contraventum; etiam si plus quam bis aut ter contraventum fuerit, ipsaque pena commissa et incursa, soluta vel non soluta, seu graciosè remissa, presens in nichilhominus instrumentum, cum omnibus et singulis contentis in eo, in suo semper robore et efficaciá perseveret, rato semper manente pacto, et cum integră refeccione omnium et singulorum dampnorum interesse et expensarum litis et extra litem, in judicio sive extra judicium, que incurrerentur propterea quoquomodo: de quibus quidem expensis dampnis et interesse estari debeat et credi simplici verbo et assercioni alterius partis, nullă aliâ probacione quæsită, quia sic inter partes ipsas actum exstitit, et expressè conventum; quam quidem penam, dampna, interesse, et expensas, partes ipsæ quibus supra nominibus promiserunt, et se constituerunt soluere Rome, Florencie, Avinione, Brugis, et ubique locorum. Et pro predictis omnibus et eorum singulis tenendis, adimplendis, et inviolabiter observandis, et ut contra non fiat, præfate ambe partes adjuncte, una alteri et altera alteri præsenti, recipienti, et stipulanti, quibus supra nominibus, obligaverunt et hypothecaverunt seipsas earumque heredes et successores et bona infra-scripto modo: videlicet dicti Serenissimi Rex et Regina Castelle et Legionis seipsos et eorum quemlibet, ac eorum heredes et successores, et eorum ac cujuslibet ipsorum et suorum prefatorum heredum et successorum bona omnia mobilia et inmobilia, presentia et futura, estatus, Regna et Dominia, et jura, et acciones, debita et nomina debitorum, et alía quecumque bona cujuscunque vocabuli appellatione distincta, ea etiam que sub generali non veniunt hypothecâ, et que sine speciali pacto obligari non possunt usque ad legem et præter legem: et prefatus Antonius procurator obligavit dictos Serenissimum dominum Ferdinandum Regem Sicilie et Hierusalem, et Illm Dominum Ducem Calabrie, suos principales, et eorum quemlibet, eorumque heredes et successores, et eorum ac cujuslibet ipsorum et suorum prefatorum heredum et successorum bona omnia, mobilia et inmobilia, præsentia et futura, status, regna, et dominia et jura, et acciones, debita, et nomina debitorum, et alia quæcunque cujuscunque vocabuli appellacione distincta, eciamque sub generali non veniunt hypotheca, et que sine speciali pacto obligari non possunt usque ad legem et præter legem. Et voluerunt partes ipsæ quod in casu contravencionis predictorum, vel alicujus ex eis, liceat et licitum sit parti alteri observanti et prædicta adimplenti, absque jussu judicis, decreto pretoris, vel alterius officialis ordine judiciario, seu aliâ solempnitate, solum presentis instrumenti vigore, auctoritate propria, manu armata, et, si expedierit, militari capere et apprehendere tot et tanta bona alterius partis contrafacientis que ascendant ad prædictam penam, dampna, interesse, et expensas, ipsaque bona sic capta vendere, alienare, distraere, vel insolutum retinere, prout melius elegerit et sibi placuerit, quousque sit ei de pena et interesse prædictis integrè et plenariè satisfactum, rato semper manente pacto predicto. Que quidem bona, ut prædicitur, obligata et ypothecata exnunc constituerunt partes ipse et ipsarum quelibet alterius nomine tenere et precario possidere, quod precarium in casu contravencionis predict' liceat et licitum sit parti observanti auctoritate proprià revocare, absque alià solempnitate quâcunque, lege, situ, usu, consuetudine, vel observantia aliqua contraria non obstante. Renunciaveruntque prefate partes, nominibus quibus supra, super omnibus predictis, et infra dicendis, et eorum singulis, de certa

earum sciencia, sponte et voluntarie, excepcione vis, metas, doli mali, simulationis, et fraudis rei hujus non geste aut aliter geste, quam supra scriptum, conventum ne sit condicioni indebiti ob causam et sine causa actioni et exceptioni in factum beneficio Vellevani, beneficio restitutionis in integrum, et cuicunque alteri beneficio sexús vel minoris etatis; legi dicenti factum alienum promitti non posse; legi dicenti maritum et uxorem eodem instrumento obligari non posse; legi dicenti pœnam ultra certum modum, sive summam in contractu apponi non posse, neque appositam exhigi, vel penam ultra interesse appositam exhigi non posse; legi dicenti probacionis modum non esse angustandum, aut probacionis necessitatem in contractu remitti non posse: legi dicenti bona obligata auctoritate propriâ capi non posse armatâ manu, et cum armorum violenciâ, captaque sine certâ solemnitate distrahi seu vendi non posse; legi dicenti generalem renunciationem in contractibus non valere, et juri quo cavetur predictis legibus, exceptionibus, seu auxiliis aut eorum alteri renunciari non posse: Et generaliter, et in summâ omnibus et quibuscunque legibus, juribus, constitutionibus, auxiliis, et beneficiis ordinariis et extraordinariis, quibus de jure vel de facto, tam de jure communi, canonico, vel civili, quam ex more, statuto, aut consuetudine patrie, vel alio quovis modo contra predicta omnia, vel eorum aliquod jurari possent, vel illis quomodolibet contrahire. Certiorate prius partes ipsas et ad plenum informate ut dixerunt, et proprio juramento firmaverunt de predictis omnibus et singulis exceptionibus, auxiliis et beneficiis, et legibus aliis supradictis ac effectibus eorumdem. Et insuper ad majorem firmitatem omnium et singulorum sic ut supra dicitur promissorum, conventorum, et renunciatorum, et ut inviolabiliter observentur, et in nullo penitus contra fiat, prefatapartes, nominibus quibus supra, ad signum sanctæ crucis, et ad sancta Dei quatuor evangelia eorum et cujuslibet ipsorum manibus corporaliter tacta, dicti scilicet Serenissimi domini Rex et Regina Castille et Legionis in eorum animas, et prefatus Antonius in animas dictorum duorum Regis Sicilize et Ducis Calabrize, suorum principalium constituencium, juraverunt predicta omnia et singula, prout supra, acta, promissa, et conventa fuerunt vera esse, eaque omnia semper et omnia futuro tempore attendere, observare, et firmiter adimplere, et in nullo contrafacere vel venire, directè vel indirectè, aut aliquo quesito ingenio, seu colore. Quinymo nec absolutionem aut relaxacionem a presenti juramento adversus premissa vel ipsorum aliquod ullo unquam tempore petere seu impetrare, vel aliter contravenire de facto vel de jure, in quocunque judicio seu tribunali ecclesiastico seu seculari. Acto etiam expressè inter partes ipsas, quod pœna perjurii per peenam pecuniariam vel ejus exactionem non tollatur, nec e contra, sed quod utraque petatur et exhigatur cum effectu, quando et quotiens fuerit contraventum. Volueruntque partes ipsæ, et expressè convenerunt atque consenserunt seipsas, nominibus quibus supra, et ipsarum quamlibet quæ contraveniret premissis vel alteri premissorum in casu ipsius contravencionis haberi pro judicatis et judicialiter condempnatis, et ex nunc pro tunc in locum condempnatorum et judicialiter indicatorum seipsas quibus supra nominibus posuerunt: Submittentes seipsas et ipsarum quamlibet nominibus quibus supra, pro integra observatione omnium predictorum, omnibus censuris Camere Apostolice in forma ipsius camere consueta. Et de premissis omnibus, sicut predicitur, gestis, actis, conventis, promiscis, obligatis, renunciatis, et juratis, voluerunt partes ipse fieri unum, duo, vel plura publica instrumenta pro ipsarum partium et cujuslibet earum cautela, quandocunque et quoscienscunque fuerit oportunum. Tenor vero dictorum mandatorum supradicti domini Antonii oratoris et procuratoris talis est.

FERDINANDUS, Dei gratià rex Sicilie, Hierusalem, et Hungarie-Cum superioribus ac proximis

diebus ad magis arcendam consanguinitatem que Serenissimos ac Excellentissimos principes et dominos Ferdinandum Dei gratia Regem Castelle et Legionis et cæt. ac dominam Ysabellam Reginam Castelle et Legionis, ejus consortem, et nos mutuo devincit, inter easdem Majestates Serenissimorum dominorum Regis et Regine et nos tractatum et praticatum esset de matrimonio contrahendo inter Illustrissimum don Ferdinandum de Aragonia Principem Capue nepotem, nostrum carissimum primogenitum legittimum et naturalem Illustrissimi don Alfonsi de Aragonia Ducis Calabrie nri primogeniti et vicarii generales ex una parte, et Illustrissimam dominam Helisabeth Principissam Castelle et Legionis primogenitam, legittimam et naturalem dictorum Serenissimorum dominorum Regis et Regine Castelle et Legionis ex parte altera, animo meditati sumus matrimonium ipsum et rebus ipsorum Serenissimorum Dominorum Regis et Regine et nostris magnoperè conducere tum ad augendam corroborandamque mutuam benevolenciam et amorem, tum ut, hoc addito vinculo, non uno sed pluribus nexibus consanguinicas nostra mutuusque amor ac fraternalis caritas et dileccio magis ac magis confirmetur corroboreturque, iccirco intendentes dictum matrimonium, interveniente dispensatione Sanctissimi domini viri Papæ propter vinculum consanguinitatis inter nos existens quantocunque fieri possit, ad effectum perducere vos spectabilem et magnificos viros Galcerandum de requesens Comitem Triventi et Avellini nostre classis generalem capitaneum, Antonium de Alexandro utriusque juris doctorem, et Antonium de Tricio secretarium, milites, consiliarios et oratores nostros fideles, dilectos ad tractandum, praticandum, firmandum, et concludendum nostro nomine, ac etiam ipsius Illustrissimi principis Capue nomine contrahendum dictum matrimonium, oratores, procuratores et nuncios nostros ordinandos duximus: itaque de vestri virtute, probitate, animi integritate, prudencià, et fide plenè et ab experto confisi vos præfatos Galcerandum comitem absentem tamquam presentem, Antonium de Alexandro presentem, et Antonium de Tricio absentem, et quemlibet vestrûm insolidum nostros oratores, procuratores, et nuncios speciales cum omni qua convenit plenitudine potestatis, tenore presentium de certa nostra scientia facimus, creamus, constituimus, et ordinamus ad praticandum, tractandum, firmandum, et concludendum nostro nomine cum prenominatis Serenissimis dominis Rege et Regina Castelle et Legionis consortibus, aut quocunque alio per ipsos Serenissimos dominos Regem et Reginam deputando ad contrahendum sponsalia et matrimonium nomine dicti Illustrissimi Principis Capue inter eum ex una parte, et Illustrissimam dominam Helisabet principissam Castelle et Legionis ipsorum Serenissimorum dominorum Regis et Regine primogenitam, legittimam, et naturalem ex parte altera, cum illis dotibus, donatione propter nuptias, promissionibus subsidiorum, et aliis pactis et capitulis cum quibus nobis melius videbitur expedere; ac de et super matrimonio predicto omni futuro tempore perficiendo, complendo, et exequendo, ac dotibus et omnibus aliis de quibus cum eisdem Serenissimis dominis Rege et Regina concordabitis nostro nomine et ipsius Illustrissimi Principis Capue firmandum, pacta capitula et convenciones cum eisdem Serenissimis dominis Rege et Regina per Instrumenta publica omni qua decet solempnitate roborate, ac etiam ad contrahendum ipsius Ill^{mi} Principis Capue nomine cum eâdem Ill^{ma} dominâ Helisabet Principissâ Castelle et Legionis, filià primogenità dictorum Seren^m dominorum Regis et Regine Castelle et Legionis, deputandi vel presencialiter, vel per medium alterius per eosdem Seren dominos Regem et Reginam Castelle et Legionis deputandi ipsius Illus domine Principissæ nomine, sponsalia per verba de futuro, seu matrimonium per verba mutuum consensum exprimentia de

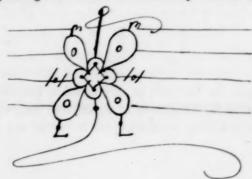
presenti inter præfatum Illustrissimum Principem Capue et ipsam Illam dominam Principissam Castelle, ipsamque Illam dominam Helisabeth Principissam Castelle eorundem Serenissimorum dominorum Regis et Regine Castelle et Legionis primogenitam nomine ipsius Ill^{mi} don Ferdinandi Principis Capue in ejus carissimam sponsam seu uxorem suscipiendum et desponsandum, prout melius cum eisdem Serenissimis dominis Rege et Regina concordabitis et concludetis cum omnibus solemnitatibus et ceremoniis que in sponsalibus et matrimoniis de presenti, de jure et consuetudine requiruntur juxta usum et morem Sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ in similibus observatum: ac etiam de prædictis convencionibus, pactis, et capitulis ac sponsalibus et matrimonio recipiendum, faciendum, ac recipi et fieri rogandum cautelas et Instrumenta publica, necessaria et oportuna, et pro eorum firmitate et observacione obligandum per solemnem stipulationem nos, heredes et successores nostros, et bona nostra omnia, penas et juramenta apponendum in animam nostram, et dicti Illustrissimi Principis Capue, et omnes alias clausulas et renunciationes in similibus necessarias et oportunas. Et generaliter omnia alia in præmissis et circa præmissa cum dependentibus, emergentibus et annexis faciendum, que nosmet ipsi et idem illustrissimus Princeps Capue, si coram et præsentes adessemus, facere valeremus, etiam si talia essent quæ mandatum exigerent magis speciale et specialissimum et magis individuò, concedentes vobis et cuilibet vestrûm in solidum in præmissis, et circa premissa, et quodlibet predictorum cum dependentibus. emergentibus, annexis et connexis iisdem speciale, specialissimum, ac generale mandatum cum plena et libera potestate. Promittentes sub ypotheca et obligacione omnium bonorum nostrorum ac jurantes ad Dominum Deum, ejusque sancta quatuor Evangelia Sancta, omni futuro tempore habere et adimplere, ac dictum Illustrissimum don Ferdinandum Principem Capue nepotem nostrum habiturum et adimpleturum omne totum et quicquid in præmissis vel aliquo prædictorum per vos prædictos oratores, procuratores et nuncios nostros, nomine nostro, actum, firmatum, procuratum, conclusum, obligatum, promissum, juratum, et renunciatum, vel aliter gestum extiterit quoquomodo, et nullo unquam tempore contravenire de jure vel de facto, directè vel indirectè, aut alio quovis quasito colore. Promittentes etiam et fidejubentes de rato ratique habicione pro nobis, promittentes insuper tenore presentium de dictà scientià certa nra, et jurantes ad sancta Dei quatuor Evangelia vos prefatos oratores, procuratores et nuncios nostros aut vestrum aliquem non revocare, clam vel palam, publicè vel occultè, aut aliter quovis modo, donec et quousque premissa omnia ut supra nobis commissa per vos aut vestrům aliquem fuerint expedita et executioni mandata.

In cujus rei testimonium presentes fieri fecimus magno majestatis nostre Sigillo pendente munitas, datas in Castello Novo Neapolis die vicesimo octavo mensis Junii anno domini Millesimo Quadringentesimo Septuagesimo Quinto, Regnorum nostrorum anno decimo octavo Rex Ferdinandus.

Nos, prænominatus don Alfonsus de Aragoniâ, prænominati Serenissimi et excellentissimi Principis et domini dñi Ferdinandi Dei gratiâ Regis Sicilie, Hierusalem, et Hungarie primogenitus et vicarius generalis, ac prenominati Ill^{mi} don Ferdinandi de Aragoniâ, Principis Capue, nostri primogeniti pater, premissa omnia et singula contenta et declarata in præsenti procuratione, ex certâ nostrâ scientiâ, laudamus, acceptamus, approbamus, ratificamus, et confirmamus, Promittentes in nostrâ bonâ fîde, ac jurantes ad dominum Deum et ejus sancta quatuor evangelia, nos et dictum

Illustrissimum Principem Capue nostrum primogenitum habituros omni futuro tempore ratum, gratum, validum, et firmum, quicquid in premissis, et circa ea, cum dependentibus, emergentibus, annexis, et connexis eisdem per dictos oratores et procuratores aut aliquem ex eis actum, factum, promissum, firmatum, obligatum, et conclusum fuerit; et specialiter dictum matrimonium si concludetur, cum quibusvis promissionibus, et obligacionibus subsidiorum, et aliorum quorumcumque firmandis per dictos oratores et procuratores, quos per presentes scienter procuratores et nuncios nostros ad predicta facimus, constituimus, et ordinamus, ita ut ea, omnia et singula, per eos in premissis et circa ea facienda et concludenda, ita valida et firma sint, ac si nosmet ipsi et idem Illustrissimus Princeps Capue presentes adessemus, et illa nos principaliter faceremus et concluderemus. In quorum fidem hanc nostram subscriptionem fieri proprià manu signatam, et nostrum in presentibus sigillum apponi fecimus, datis loco, die, et anno prædictis, Alfonsus dominus Rex mandavit mihi Antonello de Petruciis. Unde ad futuram memoriam de premissis sumptum est hoc præsens publicum instrumentum. Quod est actum loco, die, mense, et anno predictis, presentibus testibus, Reverendissimo in Christo patre et dño domino Petro Cardinali Hyspanie, Archiepiscopo Hyspalensi, et Rev⁴⁰ patre domino Nicolao Franco apostolicæ sedis prothonotario legato, necnon spectabilibus Reverendis magnificis et nobilibus, dño Petro Ferdinando de Velasco, comite de Haro comestabulo Castelle; dño Roderico Alfonso Pimentel, comite Benaventi, dño Petro Manrique comite de trivinyo, dño fratre Alfonso de Burgos, sacræ theologiæ magistro, capellano majori dicte Serenissime dominæ Reginæ Castelle et Legionis; dño Gomecio Manrrique; dño Andreâ de Cabrera; dño Raymundo despes majordomo dicti Serenissimi domini regis Castelle et Legionis; domino Gundisalvo Chacon majordomo dictæ Serme domine Regine, et computatore majore: domino Alfonso de Baraxas decano Burgeñ, sedis Apostolicæ prothonat'; Joanne Nauclerii de Neapoli; Roderico Maldonado utriusque juris doctore; et Garsia Martinez de Lerma alcaldo Burgeñ; consiliariis dictorum Serenissimorum dominorum Regis et Regine Castelle et Legionis, ad præmissa vocatis, rogatis specialiter et assumptis.

Et ego Gaspar Darinyo dictorum Serenissimorum dominorum Regis et Regine Castelle et Legionis Consiliarius et Secretarius, ac Notarius publicus, per universam eorum dicionem præmissis omnibus, dum sic agerentur et fierent, una cum prenominatis testibus interfui: eaque aliis occupatus negociis in publicam formam redigens scribi, feci, et clausi cum rasis et correctis diversis in locis ubi legitur, Infrascripta: Duce: Vigente: capitula: dominos principem et: Illustrissima: futuro: dominos principem: sapientis: Regina: prefatorum heredum et: don: cum: depen: Et, ut premissis fides plenaria adhibeatur, hic proprià manu me subscripsi, et meum solitum artis Notarie apposui signum in fidem et testimonium præmissorum, quod est tale:



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Marriage Contract between the Princess Isabella of Castille

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Nos Ferdinandus et Elisabet, dei gracià Rex et Regina Castelle, Legionis, Siciliæ, Toleti, Portugaliæ, Galliciæ, Hyspalis, Cordubæ, Murciæ, Jaennis, Algarve, Algezire, de Gibraltar, et provinciæ de Guipuzco: Principes Aragonum, ac domini de Viscaya et de Molina:—viso præsenti Instrumento, tenore præsentium omnia et singula contenta in eo fatemur, acceptamus, laudamus, et approbamus, ac eidem sigillum nostrum plumbeum apponi jussimus impendenti datus in oppido Valli Toleti die vicesimo primo mensis Maii, anno a nativitate domini nostri Jesu Christi milesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo sexto.

Doming Pexet Regima mondarune micha Caspan daringo

The absolute silence on the part of the Spanish historians in regard to any intended union between the kingdoms of Spain and Naples, in accordance with the conditions of the preceding contract, puts it out of my power to assign the

reasons for the non-fulfilment of it. In the absence of any positive intelligence on the subject, it may not, therefore, be useless to look to the peculiar circumstances of Spain in search of motives which might be supposed to give countenance to, and render advisable the adoption of, another marriage; and such, it is presumed, may be found to have existed in favour of Portugal, by a reference to the condition of state affairs at a time subsequently to having entered upon this contract. To comprehend this clearly, it will be necessary shortly to revert to the period when Isabella, the mother of the affianced princess, ascended the throne of Castille.

Isabella, as already stated, was the issue of Don John II. by his second wife Isabella, granddaughter of John I. of Portugal. By this marriage he had also a son Alphonso. By his previous marriage with Maria of Arragon, he had issue Henry, who upon the death of John II. succeeded as Henry IV. to the throne. The reign of John II. was highly distinguished in letters, though the profession of literature was then held in little estimation by the higher orders of the nation; it was even odious in politics. The monarch was addicted to pleasure, the affairs of the kingdom were neglected, and his son Henry was adverse to the measures adopted by his father. John II. died July 21, 1454, after a reign for the long period of forty-eight years. Henry IV. ascended the throne with the enthusiasm of his subjects, and, in contradistinction to the habits of his father, was styled "The Liberal." His liberality amounted to prodigality, and he and the kingdom were thrown into difficulties, the treasury being greatly impoverished. The reign of Henry was altogether a most unhappy one. He first married Blanche of Arragon; but repudiated her after an union of twelve years, on grounds which have been justly described as "ridiculous and humiliating"-por impotencia respectiva, owing to some malign influence! In 1455, he espoused Joanna, the sister of Alphonso V. of Portugal. Her conduct was remarkable for its levity, and from the scandal to which it gave rise much doubt was expressed in relation to the legitimacy of her issue in the person of a daughter who after herself was named Joanna, well known in history as Beltraneja, her real father being generally esteemed to have been Beltran de la Cueva, a royal favourite. The oath of fealty was however taken towards her, and she was recognised as the presumptive heir to the throne. The act, it must be admitted, was regarded as a compulsory one, and a Bill of Grievances was presented to the King, which, among other articles, required that his half-brother Alphonso might be delivered into their hands, and be acknowledged as his successor. Henry was necessitated to yield, and he complied, but with a condition stipulating for a subsequent union of Alphonso

with Joanna. Alphonso was then recognised as the lawful heir to the crown. Henry IV. was afterwards induced to withdraw from his engagement, and this breach of faith, combined with the general tenor of his conduct in other important matters, gave rise to his deposition, the ceremony attending which has been thus described:—

"In an open plain, not far from the city of Avila, a scaffold was erected of sufficient elevation to be easily seen from the surrounding country. A chair of state was placed on it; and in this was seated an effigy of King Henry, clad in sable robes, and adorned with all the insignia of royalty, a sword at its side, a sceptre in the hand, and a crown upon its head. A manifesto was then read, exhibiting in glowing colours the tyrannical conduct of the King, and the consequent determination to depose him; and vindicating the proceeding by several precedents drawn from the history of the monarchy. The Archbishop of Toledo, then ascending the platform, tore the diadem from the head of the statue; the Marquis of Villana removed the sceptre; the Count of Placentia the sword; the Grand-Master of Alcantara, and the Counts of Binavente and Paredes, the rest of the royal insignia; when the image, thus despoiled of its honours, was rolled into the dust, amid the mingled groans and clamours of the spectators."

The Prince Alphonso, only eleven years of age, was then seated on the throne, and acknowledged as sovereign by the grandees of Spain.

Isabella had, upon her father's death, retired with her mother to Arevalo, and there lived in seclusion, engaging herself in the cultivation of the natural graces of her mind and person, both of which have been the subjects of much eulogy. She was remarkable for her piety and good conduct; and in subsequent years her reverence for religion was strikingly exhibited.

Upon the birth of Joanna, the daughter of Henry IV. by Joanna, sister of Alphonso of Portugal, Isabella and her brother Alphonso had been removed by Henry to the Royal Palace, where her conduct was in no respect altered, and she maintained her good character. Many suitors became applicants for her hand, she being so closely allied to the crown. Prescott says (i. 190), that she was first solicited for Ferdinand, to whom she was afterwards united; then for his elder brother Carlos; and, when thirteen years of age, for Alphonso of Portugal. By Henry she was also proposed for the Grand-Master of Calatrava; but she resisted all efforts made to promote her union with one so unsuitable by disparity of years and other respects, and at this early age she had the courage to apply for the protec-

a Prescott, vol. i. p. 210, from Palencia MS. part i. c. lxii.; Castillo, c. lxviii., lxix., lxxiv.

tion of the nobles of the realm, without whose consent the Infantas of Castille could not be disposed of in marriage." The death of the Grand-Master put an end to the matter. Anarchy at this time reigned throughout the kingdom, and the consequences were frightful. The Prince Alphonso, raised to the throne, was on the 5th of July, 1468, found dead in his bed, not without suspicion of his having been poisoned, though by some his death has been ascribed to the plague, which at that time prevailed. He had only reached the age of fifteen years. Various have been the opinions entertained in regard to the reign of Alphonso; some esteeming it as of legal authority, whilst others have disputed it from its never having been ratified by any act of Cortes. Upon the death of Alphonso, all eyes were turned towards Isabella, who had retired to a monastery at Avila, where the Archbishop of Toledo waited on her, and endeavoured to prevail upon her to permit herself to be proclaimed Queen of Castille. She resisted this whilst her half-brother Henry survived, she regarding him as the rightful sovereign of the kingdom. She had the magnanimity even to propose measures for a reconciliation, and offered her own personal interposition. A negotiation was accordingly commenced, and the following terms ultimately agreed to: - "That a general amnesty should be granted by the King for all past offences; that the Queen, whose dissolute conduct was admitted to be matter of notoriety, should be divorced from her husband and sent back to Portugal; that Isabella should have the principality of Asturias (the usual demesne of the heir-apparent to the crown) settled on her, together with a specific provision suitable to her rank; that she should be immediately recognised heir to the crowns of Castille and Leon; and that a Cortes should be convoked within forty days for the purpose of bestowing a legal sanction on her title, as well as of reforming the various abuses of government. Finally, that Isabella should not be constrained to marry in opposition to her own consent, nor should she do so without the consent of her brother."b

These conditions were ratified by Henry and Isabella, September 9, 1468, and the attendant nobles paid their allegiance to the Princess. The Cortes of Ocaña subsequently concurred in the arrangement, and thus Isabella became the lawful successor to the throne of Castille and Leon. Notwithstanding this seeming agreement, Henry entertained other views in regard to his daughter Joanna, whom he cherished as his own legitimate child.

a See Aleson, Zurita, Castillo, and other authorities.

b This compact is given by Marina, Teoria, Appendix No. XI. and quoted by Prescott.

^c See Palencia MS. and other authorities quoted by Prescott, i. 202, note.

Isabella was now much pressed by suitors, among whom have been mentioned a brother of Edward IV. of England, probably Richard Duke of Gloucester, and also the Duc de Guienne, brother of Louis XI., the presumptive heir to the throne of France. Isabella, however, looked towards her kinsman Ferdinand of Arragon; and the advantages arising from uniting Castille and Arragon are too evident to be disputed. This union, notwithstanding various intrigues which were put on foot to prevent it, was ultimately carried into effect; and the marriage articles were signed and sworn to by Ferdinand at Cervera on the 7th of January, 1469. The conditions thus entered into are given by Prescott* in the following terms:—"He promised faithfully to respect the laws and usages of Castille; to fix his residence in that kingdom, and not to quit it without the consent of Isabella; to alienate no property belonging to the crown, to prefer no foreigners to municipal offices, and indeed to make no appointments of a civil or military nature without her consent and approbation; and to resign to her exclusively the right of nomination to ecclesiastical benefices. All ordinances of a public nature were to be subscribed equally by both. Ferdinand engaged, moreover, to prosecute the war against the Moors; to respect King Henry; to suffer every noble to remain unmolested in the possession of his dignities, and not to demand restitution of the domains formerly owned by his father in Castille. The treaty concluded with the specification of a magnificent dower to be settled on Isabella, far more ample than that usually assigned to the Queens of Arragon."

"The circumspection of the framers of this instrument," Mr. Prescott has remarked, "is apparent from the various provisions introduced into it, solely to calm the apprehensions and to conciliate the good will of the party disaffected to the marriage, while the national partialities of the Castilians were gratified by the jealous restrictions imposed on Ferdinand, and the relinquishment of all the essential rights of sovereignty to his consort."

Notwithstanding matters had proceeded thus far, schemes were yet entered into to defeat the marriage. Attempts, sanctioned by her brother Henry, were made to get possession of her person, and in this exigency she displayed uncommon bravery and fortitude. It was only by the appearance of an armed body of considerable force that she obtained her release from her guardian, the Bishop of Burgos, and was escorted in a sort of military triumph to Valladolid, where she was received by the citizens with unbounded enthusiasm, and secured their

protection. In the meantime Ferdinand, attended by half a dozen followers only, disguised as merchants, set out for Castille by route from Saragossa. They travelled chiefly by night, Ferdinand acting as servant to the party, and, after various curious incidents, including the loss of the purse containing the money for the expenses of the journey, reached their destination in safety. At Dueñas, in the kingdom of Leon, he received the homage due to his rank from the Castilian nobles and chevaliers. No sooner was the arrival of Ferdinand accomplished, than Isabella wrote to her brother Henry, communicating to him the particulars of her intended marriage. Ferdinand reached Valladolid on the 15th of October. where he was received by the Archbishop of Toledo and conducted to the presence of his bride. He was now in his eighteenth year, one year younger than Isabella. At this meeting the preliminaries of the marriage were adjusted; and it is remarkable that the poverty of the contracting parties was so great that they were not possessed of sufficient funds to defray the expenses of the bridal ceremony. The marriage was, however, celebrated October 19, 1469, in the palace of Juan de Vivero, the temporary residence of Isabella, afterwards appropriated to the Chancery of Valladolid. At the time of the marriage, a papal bull was produced by the Archbishop relieving the parties from the impediment incurred by their falling within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. This document was subsequently proved to be spurious, and ascertained to have been the device of the old King of Arragon, Ferdinand's father; Ferdinand and the Archbishop being deterred from then making application to Rome, where the interests of Henry were strongly espoused. Isabella they well knew would not have consented to an union involving ecclesiastical censure, and this deception was therefore resorted to. A genuine bull of dispensation was, however, afterwards obtained from Sixtus IV., but the discovery of the imposition by Isabella occasioned her no little degree of distress and mortification. The nuptials were (according to Prescott, who quotes from Galindez de Carbajal MS. anno 1469; Palencia MS. part. II. c. xvi.; Zurita, lib. xviii. c. xxvi.; and also from an official record in the Memorias de la Acad. tom. vi. ap. iv.: see also the Illustr. in the same volume, No. II.) solemnized in the presence of an immense multitude, as before stated. (See p. 58, ante.)

Isabella's possession of the throne of Castille and Leon was maintained with much difficulty. Her half-brother, the deposed King Henry IV., opposed to her claims those of his daughter, her niece Joanna, whom he affianced (then in her

a See Mariana, tom. ii. p. 465.

ninth year) to the Count of Boulogne, the representative of the Duc de Guienne. The pretensions on the part of Joanna were supported by a fraction of the royal party under Henry IV., embracing the powerful family of Mendoça, and also the Marquis de Villena; and a placard protesting against the usurpation of Isabella was nailed to her mansion at night. Pretensions were also put forth for Alphonso King of Portugal, and a scheme suggested for marrying Joanna to the son and heir of the Portuguese monarch. To promote these measures, Alphonso of Portugal was invited to renew his addresses to Isabella, and a pompous embassy, with the Archbishop of Lisbon at its head, arrived at Ocaña, in 1469, to urge the marriage. It was, however, unavailing.

The disputed succession entailed great miseries on the kingdom, and Ferdinand and Isabella's resources were of very inadequate extent. The Archbishop of Toledo remained firm to her cause. In this state of things Ferdinand was summoned by his father into Arragon to act against Louis XI., which campaign terminated by a treaty between John of Arragon and Louis in September 1473. The Duc de Guienne, to whom Joanna had been affianced, died in France at this time, and it is conjectured to have been occasioned by the hands of his brother Louis XI. The cause of Isabella gained strength in Castille by her excellent and prudent conduct, and she acquired support from the Archbishop of Seville, an important personage at this period. Attempts were made to reconcile Isabella to her brother Henry, and an interview took place between them at Segovia, in December 1473. Although apparently reconciled to each other, dissatisfaction was soon expressed by Henry, and he made an attempt, which however proved unsuccessful, to obtain possession of the person of his sister. Ferdinand was again, in 1474, called to the assistance of his father in Arragon. He proceeded to Saragossa, soliciting aid from the estates of Arragon; but the result was insufficient to meet the necessities of King John. The war was, however, terminated by an honourable capitulation of Roussillon, March 14, 1475, when the garrison, according to the historians of this period, evacuated the city, and were compelled to march in their reduced number of 400 on foot to Barcelona, their horses having been consumed by them for food during the siege.

Henry IV. paid the just debt of nature December 11, 1474, after suffering from a lingering disease, and died without making a will or nominating a successor. The legislature tendered their oaths of allegiance to Joanna, but the Cortes subsequently revoked this act and declared Isabella the only true and lawful successor. She was proclaimed Queen at Segovia, December 13, 1474. At the time of Henry's decease Ferdinand was in Arragon. Alphonso V. King of

Portugal, espoused the cause of Joanna, and made war upon Castille. In the month of May, 1475, the Portuguese army was put in motion, and entered Castille by Estramadura, proceeding thence to Placentia, where Alphonso was presented to Joanna as his destined bride. On the 12th of May he was affianced to her. and a message sent to Rome to solicit a dispensation, rendered necessary by their consanguinity. They were then proclaimed sovereigns of Castille. Ferdinand and Isabella were now actively engaged in opposing this invasion of their rights and kingdom. The exertions of Isabella were surprising, and her health was seriously impaired by them. Ferdinand and the King of Portugal met, when the latter was summoned on the 19th of July by the former either to a general engagement of their forces or to a decision by personal combat. The latter proposition was accepted, but, disputes arising in relation to its engagements, it terminated in "an empty vaunt of chivalry." Ferdinand and his army retreated, and the Archbishop of Toledo joined the cause of Alphonso. A proposition was made involving the cession of Gallicia, together with the cities of Toro and Zamora, but Isabella refused to consent to the dismemberment of any portion of the Castilian territory. She placed her reliance on the patriotism of her people, convened an assembly of the states in August 1475 at Medina del Campo, where she received the great support of the clergy, and obtained funds necessary to carry on the war. An action was at length fought, which terminated in favour of Ferdinand. The King of Portugal made his escape. Isabella upon hearing the tidings ordered a procession to St. Paul's, in the suburbs of Tordesillas, and herself walked barefooted to offer up her thanks to God for the victory. Alphonso withdrew with his virgin bride into Portugal, and there solicited assistance from the French King. For this purpose he repaired to France, but the endeavour proved futile. Mortified by his ill success, he withdrew to an obscure village in Normandy, whence he addressed his son, Prince John, requesting him to hold the reins of government whilst he performed a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. From this course he was however prevented, and he returned to Portugal, arriving there Nov. 15, 1475, five days after his son had been crowned King of Portugal. Pope Sixtus IV. issued a bull retracting the dispensation he had formerly granted for the marriage of Alphonso, and Prince John returned the crown to his father, who re-ascended the throne of Portugal. He, however, again resolved upon an attempt on Castille, but the Infanta Doña Beatrice of Portugal, sister-in-law of Alphonso, interposed her good offices and effected peace between the belligerent nations. A treaty of peace was ratified at Lisbon September 24, 1479, the stipulations of which are given by Prescott thus:-

"That Alphonso should relinquish the title and armorial bearings which he vol. XXXVII.

had assumed as King of Castille; that he should resign his claims to the hand of the Princess Joanna, and no longer maintain her pretensions to the Castillian throne; that that lady should make the election within six months, either to quit Portugal for ever, or to remain there on the condition of wedding Don John, the infant son of Ferdinand and Isabella, so soon as he should attain a marriageable state, or of retiring into a convent and taking the veil; that a general amnesty should be granted to all such Castillians as had supported Joanna's cause; and, finally, that the concord between the two nations should be cemented by the union of Alphonso, son of the Prince of Portugal, with the Infanta Isabella of Castille."

Joanna embraced the veil, entered into the Convent of St. Clara at Coimbra, and one year after her admission took the irrevocable vows separating her from the things of this world. Yet she on several occasions quitted the monastery, and was, indeed, an important person in all the diplomatic proceedings between the courts of Castille and Portugal, and the cause of many intermarriages between the two royal families, calculated to strengthen the throne of Isabella and Ferdinand. Joanna subscribed herself to the last as Queen. She died in the Palace of Lisbon in the year 1530, being then in her sixty-ninth year. Alphonso was disposed to imitate the example set him by Joanna, and formed the resolution of becoming a Franciscan friar; death, however, prevented him from carrying his design into effect. He fell ill at Cintra, and expired August 8, 1481. By the death of King John of Arragon at Barcelona, January 20, 1479, Ferdinand had come to the throne of those realms, and thus the crowns of Castille and Arragon became united after a separation of more than 400 years.

VII. On the Distaff and the Spindle, as the Insignia of the Female Sex in former times. By John Yonge Akerman, F.S.A. Secretary.

Read 8 May, 1856.

" Antiquis temporibus ipsæ Reginæ fusis usæ sunt."

Spelman, Aspilogia, p. 115.

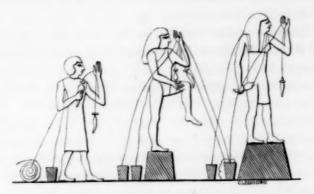
It is the especial province of the antiquary to collect and arrange, under one view, the scattered notices to be found in old writers, and to illustrate those notices by comparing them with the monuments which time has spared, and the usages which yet linger among us. By such means, passages in history, which are, in themselves, purely incidental and subordinate, are made to bear their share in the illustration of past ages, and thus to afford occasional glimpses of the manners and customs of the generations that have preceded us.

The following pages are attempted with this view. I propose, therefore, to review the history of a once highly honoured usage, the type and symbol of female industry, and the insignia of the softer sex in nearly every age and country; namely, the use of the distaff and spindle.

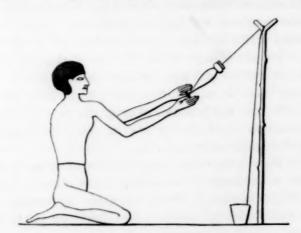
The knowledge of these implements may certainly be referred to the earliest times, since they are not unfrequently mentioned by the oldest authorities. Homer speaks of golden spindles as fitting presents for ladies of the highest rank, and Herodotus tells us that Euelthon's last and most significant gift to Pheretime was a golden spindle and a distaff with wool.

A very early allusion to spinning occurs in Proverbs. The passage is extremely curious, not only as being derived by Solomon from a still older authority, but also for its distinct mention both of the spindle and distaff. "She layeth her hands to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff, "She layeth her hands to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff, "She layeth her hands to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff, "She layeth her hands the distaff was used by the Jewish women, although, from the representation on the tombs of Beni-hassen, the Egyptians appear to have spun their thread without

it. One group of women spinners represents them as using a spindle in each hand, a proficiency which does not appear to have been ever attained by the moderns.



A male spinner, in the same monument, uses both hands to the spindle.



It will be observed, also, that the Egyptians affixed the vorticellum, or whirl, to the upper part of the spindle, contrary to the practice of other nations. Nevertheless, in the picture of Leda, on the walls of Pompeii, represented in the Museo Borbonico, be we find two spindles and a calathus, but no distaff; moreover, the

^a Rosellini, MC. No. 41. See also Wilkinson's Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. p. 60, and vol. iii. p. 136.

b Vol. xii. taf. 3.

whirls of the spindle are affixed to the upper part, in the Egyptian manner; a very remarkable peculiarity, well deserving the attention of the archæologist.

Minerva, as the instructress of man in all the useful arts, is fabled as the author of the distaff and spindle; hence, as Apollodorus informs us, the Palladium held in its right hand a spear, and a distaff and spindle in the left, τη δὲ ἐτέρᾳ ηλακάτην καὶ ἄτρακτον.^b Tertullian, however, says that the ancients ascribed the invention of spinning to Mercury.^c

The story of the device of the Pæonian brothers to attract the notice of Darius, is so much to the purpose, that I shall be pardoned for glancing at it here. They caused their sister to be dressed in her best attire, and to pass in sight of the king, with a vase upon her head, and bearing a distaff and spindle, with which she worked as she led a horse to water. Darius, struck with a sight so unusual in Lydia, demanded of the brothers whence she came, and was told from Pæonia. To his second interrogatory, where was Pæonia situated, and whether all the women of that country were equally industrious, the brothers replied in the affirmative. The result, as Herodotus tells us, was the transportation to Asia of the Pæonians, the Syro-Pæonians, the Pæoplæ, and those who occupied the country as far as the Lake Prasias.⁴

Ælian e repeats the story of the Pæonian women generally, adding that, in addition to this, they suckled their children at the same time. Constantine Porphyro-

^a While these sheets were passing through the press, I was favoured by Dr. Lukis, F.S.A., with a drawing of a distaff used at this day in Nubia. An engraving, one-fourth of the actual size, is here given, and it will be seen that it is used without a spindle, or rather that it acts as a spindle, but is turned without leaving the hand. It seems probable that this is the distaff of primitive antiquity, and it explains the use of the implement held by a female figure on a Greek vase given by Panofka.

From the relative size of the object held by the figure on the Coins of Tarentum, given at page 87, it may possibly be one of these primitive distaffs, and not a spindle or pensum, which must have been an improvement upon the earliest method of spinning.

b Lib. iii. c. 12, s. 3.

* Credo jam de vestro, quod Egyptii narrant, et Alexander digerit, et mater legit ea tempestate Osiridis, qua ad illum ex Libya Ammon facit, ovium dives. Denique cum ipsis Mercurium autumant forte palpati arietis mollitie delectatum, deglubasse oviculam: dumque pertentat, et quod facilitas materiæ suadebat, tractu prosequente filum eliquat, in vestis pristini modum, quem philyræ tenus junxerat, exisse.—Tertullian, De Pallio, iii.

These different traditions may perhaps be reconciled by the fact that the spinning of wool, although as old as the days of Homer, was a later invention than that of flax, since the fibre of the latter would the more readily suggest its application.

^d Lib. v. 12, 15.

* терь Ешшт ВіВ. €. кеф. іВ.



genitus, however, gives us a similar relation out of Nicholas Damascenus, but says the woman was the wife of a Thracian, γυνὴ τοῦ Θρακὸς—and the monarch Alyattes, King of Lydia. Be this as it may, it plainly shews that the story had taken deep root in the popular mind in an early age, and that tradition had preserved the fact without materially altering the narration.

Pliny, on the authority of an eye-witness, reports that the distaff and spindle of Tanaquil, or Caia, the wife of Tarquinius Priscus, was long preserved in the Temple of Sangus, whilst the royal robe she had made for Servius Tullus was preserved in the Temple of Fortune: hence, he continues, it was the custom to carry before the Roman bride a distaff, charged with flax, and a spindle likewise furnished.^b Cæcilia Caia is said to have been the Roman name for Tanaquil. That she was regarded as the model of a good housewife, appears from the custom of the newly married wife, on entering her husband's house for the first time and being asked her name, replying, "my name is Caia."

Plutarch says, that the name *Thalassius*, chaunted at the nuptials of the antient Greeks, had reference to their word for spinning, ταλασία, because they called a a spindle ταλασσος; and that when the bride was introduced to her new home, she brought with her a distaff and a spindle, and hung her husband's door with woollen yarn.°

From Pliny we learn that a rural law in Italy forbade the women to use their distaves abroad, or even to carry them openly, it being considered a bad omen to meet them thus employed.⁴

Many passages from the ancient poets might be cited, in which the mode of

a терь венатыч, выв. А. кеф. у. Ed. 1698, p. 29.

b Lanam in colo et fuso Tanaquilis, que eadem Caia Caecilia vocata est, in Templo Sangi durasse, prodente se, auctor est M. Varro: factamque ab ea togam regiam undulatam in æde Fortunæ, qua Servius Tullus fuerat usus. Inde factum, ut nubentes virgines comitaretur colus compta, et fusus cum stamine.—Hist. Nat. lib. viii. 74.

e Quest. Rom. 31.

d Pagana lege in plerisque Italiæ prædiis cavetur ne mulieres per itinera ambulantes torqueant fusos aut omnino detectos ferant, quoniam adversatur id omnium spei, præcipuèque frugum.—Hist. Nat. lib. xxviii. 5.

A similar superstition once obtained in France, and may have been derived from the Roman Conquerors.

"Quant un homme chevauce par le chemin et il rencontre une femme filant, c'est très mauvais rencontre, et doit retourner et prendre son chemin par autre voie."—Les Evangiles des Quenouilles, Quatrième Journée, xxi. chapitre.

A Roman citizen mourned a deceased wife, whose virtues included spinning and staying at home. The inscription to her memory is given by Fabretti, p. 252, No. 35:—HIC SITA EST AMYMONE MARCI · OPTIMA ET PVLCHEREIMA, LANIFICA · PIA · PVDICA · FRVGI · CASTA · DOMISEDA.—See also Orellius, Inscr. Lat. Select. vol. ii. Turici, 1828, Nos. 4639 and 4860.

spinning is described, but that of Catullus will suffice. The Parcæ are spinning the web of destiny:

Læva colum molli lana retinebat amictum; Dextera tum leviter deducens fila supinis Formabat digitis; tum prono in pollice torquens, Libratum tereti versabat turbine fusum.^a

Among the many beautiful coins of Tarentum in Calabria are several, of which I exhibit impressions, representing the mythic hero Taras, sometimes riding on a dolphin, and sometimes seated in a chair. In each of these representations he holds various objects, a shield, a vase, a lyre, a bunch of grapes, the cuttlefish, and, not unfrequently, a spindle with the yarn wound upon it. On one small coin the spindle appears as the reverse type, surrounded by a garland. I can find no trace in antient authors of the myth which associated this emblem of female industry with the demi-god so highly venerated at Tarentum. It probably has allusion to the manufacture of flax, wool, and especially the purple cloth, for which the Tarentines were so famous, and in exchange for which they obtained the luxuries of the ancient world.^b Strabo especially mentions the glossy wool of Tarentum.^c







Descending to later times, we find the distaff and the spindle still more conspicuous as the distinguishing badge of the female sex. Among our Saxon ancestors, the "spear half" and the "spindle half" expressed the male and female line, and the spear and the spindle are at this day found in their graves. It was the same

^a Epithalam. Pelei et Thetidos. Martial styles the Fates "lanificæ sorores." vi. 58.

Atheneus, lib. xiv. c. 16; Jul. Pollux, lib. vii. s. 77, voce rapartiridier.
6 Lib. vi. c. 3, s. 9.

⁴ See the will of Alfred the Great; Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici, vol. i. p. 116; Archeologia, vol. xxxv. p. 267; Remains of Pagan Saxondom, Intr. p. xii., and p. 48.

It was the custom of the Pagan Prussians to burn the distaff of the woman on the funeral pile. "Si fæmina erat igne cremanda, Colus, insigne sexus fæminei, solebat simul comburi."—Hartknock, de Funerib. Vet. Prussor. m. 193. Diss. xiii.

with the Thuringians; and, among the Franks, the choice of a sword or a distaff decided the fate of a free woman who had attached herself to a slave. Even at this day it is said: "Le Royaume de France ne tombe point en quenouille," and the German Jurisprudents still use the phrases "schwert magen," and "spindel magen."

This distinction obtained in England long after the Norman Conquest, when, however, the Saxon form of expression appears to have been changed. Thus Knyghton tells us that Henry the Third, on the death of John Earl of Chester and Huntingdon, gave to his sisters other lands in compensation, unwilling that such possessions should fall to the distaff, "Verum quia terra sua gaudebat regali prerogativa, comitatus ejus ad manus regis devenit, datis aliis terris heredibus sororibus suis in compensationem, ne tam præclara dominatio inter colos feminarum dividi contingeret."

The science of the moderns has, however, banished (from this country at least) even the spinning wheel, an improvement on the simpler process of the distaff and the spindle. We are told that the spinning wheel was invented by a citizen of Brunswick, named Jurgen, in the year 1530. My authority is an obsolete French Cyclopædia, entitled "Dictionnaire des Origines," printed in Paris in 1777. The statement appears to be, in some manner, supported by the Dictionary of Palsgrave, printed in 1530,4 where we find the phrase, "I spynne upon a rocke," rendered, "je fille au rouet." From this we may infer that the spinning wheel was certainly known as early as the year of its reputed invention.

In the Catholicon of Joannes de Janua, who lived in the thirteenth century, we find the word *Colus* glossed thus, "item invenitur hic colus pro rota feminarum." This seems scarcely intelligible; and a friend suggests that the word *rota* may have originally been written *roca*, and that the scribe has converted it into *rota*. Be this as it may, we have good evidence that a wheel was actually used in spinning at a much earlier date than the sixteenth century. A manuscript in the British

^a Usque ad quintam generationem paterna generatio succedat. Post quintam autem filia ex toto, sive de patris sive matris parte, in hereditatem succedat, et tunc demum hereditas ad fusum a lancea transeat.— Lex Thuring, tit. vi. c. 8.

b Lex Ripuar. tit. lviii. c. 18; Archwologia, vol. xxxv. p. 267, note.

One Eventibus Angliæ, lib. ii. p. 2431, apud Decem. Script. By indenture of bargain and sale, dated 13 July, 1669, Mathias Terry and Elizabeth his wife conveyed to the Corporation of London, as trustees for Christ's Hospital, certain pieces of land, &c. in or near Maidenhead Street, otherwise Distag Lane. Rept. of Com. of Charities on the London Hospitals, 32, part vi. 1840, p. 139.

d L'esclaircissement de la Langue Francoyse, composé par maistre Jehan Palsgrave. Fol. 1530.

Museum,^a written at the commencement of the fourteenth century, contains several representations of a woman spinning with a wheel, but she *stands* at her work, and the wheel is moved with her right hand, while with her left she twirls the spindle.^b The spinning-wheel said to have been invented in 1530, was doubtless that to which women *sat*, and which was worked with the feet.^c



The older French dictionaries supply us with several proverbs and allusions to these womanly implements. Cotgrave ^d gives us a few, of which the following are examples:—

- "Tenir de la Quenouille." To be under petticoat government.
- "Contes de la Quenouille." Old wives' tales.
- "A la Quenouille le fol s'agenouille." Fools kneel to distaves,—weak men to women.
- ^a This MS. belongs to the old Royal Collection, and is numbered 10 E. IV. It contains the Five Books of Decretals, and formerly belonged to Saint Bartholomew's Hospital. At the end is written—
 - " Explicit hie totum, qui scripsit da sibi potum."

The volume contains 628 pages, and is illustrated throughout with a profusion of illuminations representing the combats of knights, grotesques, and domestic occupations. The spinning scene is repeated at folios 137, 139, 146, and 147.

- b This is in fact the wheel called a "torn," for spinning wool, still used in some districts of England.
- c I know not what to make of the following passage in Stowe's Chronicle, p. 870, ed. 1631:—"About the 20th year of Henry VIIth Anthony Bonvise, an Italian, came into this land, and taught English people to spin with a distaff, at which time began the making of Devonshire kersies and corall clothes." Anbrey, in his Natural History of Wiltshire, says, "The art of spinning is so much improved within these last fourty years that one pound of wool makes twice as much cloath (as to extent) as it did before the civill warres." Both these notices evidently allude to mechanical improvements.

⁴ Voce Quenouille.

e art. Twelfth Day.

Again: - "Le fuseau doit suyvre le gorreau." While the husband labours, the wife must not be idle.

In France, too, they have a saying expressive of days long passed away: "Au temps que la Reine Berthe filait;" paralleled in Italy by the phrase "Nel tempo ove Berta filava," and "Non è piu il tempo che Berta filava."

The personage here alluded to is identical with the *Frau* Berchta of German superstition. She is said still to live in the imaginations of the upper German races in Austria, Bavaria, Suabia, Alsace, Switzerland, and some districts of Thuringia and Franconia. "She appears in the Twelve Nights as a woman with shaggy hair to inspect the spinners, when fish and porridge are to be eaten in honour of her, and all the distaffs must be spun off." b

This superstition was, very clearly, once common in England. Brand, in his "Popular Antiquities," quotes some lines from a book entitled "Wit a sporting in a pleasant Grove of New Fancies, by H. B. 8vo. London, 1657." They are entitled "Saint Distaff's Day, or the morrow after Twelfth Day," and are, in fact, stolen from Herrick's "Hesperides:"—

"Partly work and partly play
You must on Saint Distaff's Day:
From the plough soon free your team;
Then come home and fother them.
If the maides a spinning goe,
Burn the flaxe and fire the tow;
Scorch their placquets, but beware
That ye singe no maiden haire.
Bring in pailes of water then,
Let the maids bewash the men.
Give Saint Distaff all the right,
Then give Christmas sport good night;
And next morning every one
To his own vocation."

It is easy to perceive in these lines an allusion to some heathen divinity whose worship was peculiar to women, although the honours were affected to be rendered

^a Voce fuseau. Proverbs allusive to the distaff and spindle are of course common to every country. Ducange gives one formerly common in Italy—"Fa d'una lancia uno fuso." In Portugal they say—

" Cada terra o seu uzo, Cada roca o seu fuzo."

Northern Mythology, comprising the principal Popular Traditions and Superstitions of Scandinavia, North Germany, &c. By B. Thorpe, vol. i. p. 278. London, 1851.—Grimm, D. Myth. p. 250.

to a saint, and this can be no other than "Frau Berchta," who, under the various names of Holda, Waud, Wod, Frû Wösen, Frû Goden, Fricke, &c. still reigns among the peasantry of North Germany. Nares, not suspecting the heathenism which lurked in this custom, observes of Saint Distaff,—"No regular saint, but a name jocosely given to Rock or Distaff Day, which was the day after Twelfth Day." b

Brand falls into sad confusion in discussing Rock Day, which he evidently confounds with St. Roche's Day. "I have sometimes," he observes, "suspected that Roche Monday' is a misprint for 'Hock Monday,' for there is a passage in Warner's 'Albion's England,' edit. 1597 and 1602, p. 121, as follows:—

'Rock and Plough Monday gams sal gang with saint feasts and kirk sights.'

And again, at p. 407, edit. 1602,-

"' I'le duly keepe for thy delight Rock Monday and the Wake, Have shrovings, Christmas gambols, with hokie and seed cake."

The allusions are, however, obvious, and ought not to have escaped detection by so diligent an antiquary.

In the Northern mythology the three stars in the Belt of Orion are called Frigga Rock, or Frigga's Distaff. This, in the days of Christianity, was changed to Maria Rock. Superstitions regarding spinning still survive among all the Northern nations. There is a Swedish tradition that there must be no spinning on Thursday evening, nor in Passion Week, or there will be spinning in the night. Among the Danes, nothing that runs round must be set in motion from Christmas Day till New Year's Day; there must consequently be neither spinning nor winding. Among the traditions of North Germany is one that there should be no spinning on Saturday evening. They have a story that there were two old women, good friends, and the most indefatigable spinners in the village. Their work did not cease even on Saturday evenings. At length one of them died; but on the following Saturday she appeared to the other, busy at her usual employment, and showed her her burning hand, saying—

a Northern Mythology, ut sup. vol. iii. p. 153.

b Glossary, v. Distaff. c Vol. i. p. 193, edit. 1841.

^c It is suggested by a friend that the morrow of Twelfth Day would only occasionally be a Monday; but it may have been figuratively called so, being the first day after the feast of Christmas, as Monday was the first after the feast of the Sabbath.

e Northern Myth. vol. ii. p. 111.

Northern Myth. vol. ii. p. 172.

"Sieh, was ich in der Hölle gewann, Weil ich am Sonnabendabend spann!"

. e.-

"See what I in Hell have won, Because on Saturday I spun!"

All these superstitions are palpable remains of heathenism, which Christianity warred with, but has not entirely eradicated, though they have become confused, and at times difficult of identification.

In that very scarce and curious book "The Gospelles of Distaves," printed by Wynkyn de Worde, a translation of "Les Evangiles des Conoilles," the joint production of Tourquart de Cambray, Antoine Duval, and Jean D'Arras, called Caron, first printed about the year 1475, the interlocutors bear names some of which strongly savour of heathenism. They are described as Dame Isengryne of Glory, Dame Transelyne of the Crook, Dame Abunde of the Oven, Dame Sibylle of the Mareys, Dame Gamber the Fay, and Dame Bertha horned. In the last personage we have an evident allusion to the Frau Berchta of Northern superstition, while in the third we discover Dame Abundia, another mythic lady, who, according to Grimm, is supposed still to take an interest in human affairs. I leave to the curious in Folk Lore the identification of the other ladies of this strange coterie.

Among the interrogatories of the Priest to the female Penitent, in the Decretals of Burchard of Worms, is one which has reference to certain superstitious practices observed by women engaged in spinning and weaving. The penitent is asked whether she has ever been present and taken part in the follies which some women commit in spinning and weaving, who, when they begin to weave, wish they may be able, by incantations, and by being the first to commence them, to manage that both the warp and the woof be so completely interwoven that the whole may not be spoilt by the devil's interfering with counter incantations. The penance for this offence is thirty days' fast on bread and water.

^a Ibid. vol. iii. p. 6. In Altmark there must be no spinning on Thursday evening, nor any dung carried out on that day. Ibid. p. 174.

^b A reprint of this singular work has just appeared in Paris. Apart from the passages of coarse humour, it contains notices of, and allusions to, many curious superstitions of the middle ages.

c Interfuisti aut consensisti vanitatibus quas mulieres exercent in suis laneficiis, in suis telis, quæ cum ordiuntur telas suas, sperant se utrumque posse facere cum incantationibus et cum aggressu illarum, ut et fila staminis et subteminis in invicem ita commisceantur, nisi his iterum aliis diaboli incantationibus e contra subveniant, totum pereat? Si interfuisti, aut consensisti, triginta dies pœniteas in pane et aqua.—Burchardi Wormaciensis Decret. lib. xix.

The well-known couplet, said to have been the rallying cry on the occasions of popular risings in England,

"When Adam dolve, and Eve span, Who was then the gentleman?"

well expresses the notion which our forefathers entertained of human industry in primitive times. Some such homely distich was probably in the mind of him who sculptured the curious font in East Meon Church, Hants. An engraving of this font will be found in the Archæologia. The different groups represent,—1st, the Almighty forming Eve from the side of Adam; 2nd, the plucking of the forbidden fruit; 3rd, the expulsion of our first parents from Paradise; and 4th, the guilty pair sent forth to labour. Adam receives a spade from the angel, with a submissive and even abased air, while our common mother stalks away with head erect, plying her spindle and distaff.

In a play entitled "Corpus Christi," performed in old times before the Grey or Franciscan Friars, we have a scene quite in character with the popular feeling of the middle ages. The expulsion from paradise is enacted, and Adam exclaims, as he hears his sentence to toil:—

"But lete us walke forth into the lande
With ryth great labour our fode to fynde,
With delvyng and dyggyng with myn hond
Our blysse to bale and car to pynde;
And wyff, to spynne now must thou fonde
Our nakyd bodyes in cloth to wynde,
Tyll some comforth of Godys sonde
With grace releve our careful mynde.
Now, come, go we hens, wyff."

Eve replies:-

"Alas that ever we wrought this synne!
Our bodely sustenans for to wynne
Ze must delve and I xal spynne
In car to ledyn our lyff." "

a Vol. X. Plates xx. xxi. and xxii.

b One of the marble bas-reliefs on the façade of the cathedral of Orvieto has a similar subject.—D'Agencourt, Sculpt. Part i. Plate 32.

^c Dugdale's Monasticon, edit. 1830, vol. vi. pt. iii. p. 1539. From the Cott. MS. Vesp. D. viii.

In former times the distaff, or rock, was a formidable weapon in the hands of the gentler sex. The Rhyming Chronicle says:—

" Quinnor tager thereas hæst ock harnysk ifra, Ok monde them med rockin sla." a

i. e.-

"Femine viros equos et thoraces auferunt, Illosque suis colis pulsant."

And in the Digby Mysteries a woman exclaims, as she brandishes her distaff,-

"What! shall a woman with a Rocke drive thee away!"

In "Le Compost et Kalendrier de Bergiers," printed at Paris by Guy Marchant, two armed men, and a woman armed with a distaff, are represented attacking a snail, who is addressed by the woman in these words:—

"Vuyde de ce lieu, tresor de beste, Qui des Vignes les bourgons mages Sur arbre et sur buysson As tout mage iusques aux braches, De ma quenouille si tu tavances Ic te donray tel horion Quon sentendrai dicy a nantes."

In the "Winter's Tale," Hermione exclaims,

"We'll thwack him hence with distaffs." c

Another passage from an old rhyme affords further evidence that the distaff could, in emergency, be converted into a cudgel:—

" Hands off, with gentle warning,
Lest I you knock with Nancy's Rock,
And teach you a little learning." 4

And Chaucer, describing the hue and cry after the fox, says,-

" Ran Colle our dogge, and Talbot, and Garland, And Malkyn with a distaf in hir hand." °

The distaff served the purpose of a cudgel on the occasion of the collection of "repsilver" at Bury.

It must not be supposed, however, that, although the employment of the distaff and spindle may be referred to the remotest times, and more generally, perhaps, to the humbler classes, that they were not used by women of rank and condition, even down to a comparatively recent period. Lenoir found in the tombs of the

- ^a Chron. Rythm. p. 496, apud Ihre, Gloss. v. Rocken.
- ^b Anno 1500, sig. n. i.
- c Act i. scene 2.

- d Wits' Interpreter, quoted by Nares, v. Distaf.
- e The Nonne Prest his Tale, 16869-70.
- Vide the "Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda," edit. Rokewode, p. 73.

Queens of France significant proofs of their use, and of the light in which they were regarded, in the fourteenth century. He tells us, in his report of the desecration of the royal tombs in the abbey of Saint Denis in the year 1793, that he found in the coffin of Jeanne de Bourgogne, the first wife of Philip de Valois, the Queen's ring of silver, and her distaff and spindle. The tomb of Jeanne de Bourbon, wife of Charles the Fifth, also contained, among other relics, a spindle or distaff of gilt wood.

Nothing of this kind has, I believe, been discovered in England, but we cannot be certain that it was not the practice to bury women of distinction with the acknowledged insignia of their sex. Grose ementions the tomb of Alice, Prioress of the nunnery of Emanuel or Manuel, in Stirlingshire, on which was sculptured a distaff; and in Germany the spindle was suspended over the tomb of women of high rank, as the helm and sword were displayed above those of the knight and the noble. Ditmar tells us that a silver spindle was suspended above the tomb of the wife of Conrad Duke of Franconia, and daughter of the Emperor Otho, in the church of Saint Alban the Martyr at Mayence.

The use of the Distaff in England by the Recluses is shown by Aubrey. He says, "This country (Wiltshire) was full of religious houses. Old Jacques (who lived where Charles Hadnam did) could see from his house the nuns of Saint Mary's (juxta Kington) come forth into the Nymph Hay with their rocks and wheels to spin, and with their sewing work." The same author, in his MS. History of Wilts, in the Library of the Royal Society, says, "In the old time they used to spin with Rocks: in Staffordshire, &c. they use them still."

We here see, in these incidental notices, that the spinning-wheel had, in some instances, already superseded the more simple appliances of the spinster. From this, and the phrase already quoted from Palsgrave, we may infer that its general adoption was almost contemporaneous with its invention.

This change, singularly enough, appears to be almost coincident with an altera-

^a "Plus pres l'autel on ouvrit celui de Jeanne de Bourgogne, premiere femme de Philippe de Valois, dans lequel on trouva l'anneau d'argent qui portait cette princesse, sa quenouille, et son fuseau." Notes historiques sur les exhumations faites en 1793, dans l'Abbaye de St. Denis, p. 354.

b "Dans le cercueil de Jeanne de Bourbon sa femme (Charles V.) on a decouvert un reste de couronne, son anneau d'or, des debris de bracelets ou chainons, un fuseau ou quenouille de bois doré, des souliers de forme pointue, etc."—Ibid. p. 346.

⁶ Antiquities of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 236.

^a "Cujus fusum argenteum in ejus memoriæ ibidem est suspensum."—Ditmar. Chron. apud Script. Rer. Brunswic. edit. Leibnit, lib. ii.

Memoir of John Aubrey, by John Britton. 4to. London, 1845, p. 86.

tion in, or modification of, our legal phraseology, and to have abrogated the use of the word spinster when applied to single women of a certain rank. Coke says, "and Generosus and Generosus are good additions: and, if a Gentlewoman be named Spinster in any original writ, etc. appeale, or indictemente, she may abate and quash the same; for she hath as good right to that addition as Baronesse, Viscountesse, Marchionesse, or Dutchesse have to theirs." Blount, in his Law Dictionary, says of Spinster, "It is the addition usually given to all unmarried women, from the Viscount's daughter downward." In his Glossographia he says of Spinster, "It is a term or addition in our law dialect, given in evidences and writings to a feme sole, as it were calling her Spinner: and this is the only addition for all unmarried women, from the Viscount's daughter downward."

I am unable to trace these distinctions to their source, but they are too remarkable, as indicating a great change of feeling among the upper classes in the sixteenth century, to be passed unnoticed. May we suppose that, among other causes, the art of printing had contributed to bring about this change, affording employment to women of condition, who now devoted themselves to reading instead of applying themselves to the primitive occupations of their grandmothers, and that the wheel and the distaff being left to humbler hands the time-honoured name of *Spinster* was at length considered too homely for a maiden above the common rank?

The observation of Coke stands in singular contrast with the fact mentioned by Spelman, who says that Pollard, a judge, was represented on his monument with eleven sons, each girt with the sword, and the like number of daughters with their spindles.^d Sir Lewis Pollard was constituted a Judge of the Common Pleas on the 29th May, the 6th of Henry VIII.^e and he died in 1540. Whether the mode of decorating his monument was his own choice or direction, or those of his family, the fact is equally interesting, as furnishing incontestable evidence that the spindle was regarded as the badge of the sex in the first half of the sixteenth century.^f

^a Instit. Stat. de Hen. V. cap. 5, of Additions, p. 668, edit. 1797.

Voce Spinster. e Ibid

d Pollard, miles et justic. habuit xi. filios gladii cinctos in tumulo suo, et totidem filias fusis depinctas.— Gloss. voce Spinster.

e Dugdale, Origines Juridiciales, Chronica Series, pp. 78-9.

f Fuller says, in his "Worthies of England,"—" Sir Lewis Pollard, of King's Nimet, in this county (Devon), Serjeant of the Law, and one of the Justices of the King's Bench in the time of Henry VIII., was a man of singular knowledge and worth, who by his Lady Elizabeth had eleven sons, four of whom attained to the honour of knighthood, and eleven daughters, married to the most potent families in this county."

[&]quot;The portraiture of Sir Lewis and his lady, with their two and twenty children, are set up in a glass

In the "Boke of Husbandry," said to have been written by Antony Fitzherbert, a Judge of the Common Pleas, temp. Henry VIII. the writer urges attention to the growth and preparation of flax, which, he observes, should be among the cares of the good housewife. "Thereof," he says, "maie they make shetes, bordclothes, towells, sherts, smockes, and such other necessaries, and therefore let thy distaffe be alwaye redye for a pastyme, that thou be not ydle. And undoubted a woman can not gette her lyvinge honestly with spynnynge on the dystaffe, but it stoppeth a gap and must nedes be had." In another place, speaking of sheep, he remarks, "And then maye his wife have part of the wool, to make hir husband and hirself some clothes. And at the feast waye she may have the lockes either to make clothes or blankettes and coverlettes, or bothe, and if she have no woll of her owne, she may take woll to spynne of clothe makers, and by that meanes she may have a convenient livynge, and many times to do other warkes."

window at Nimet Bishop. There is a tradition continued in this family, that the lady glassing the window in her husband's absence at the term in London, caused one child more than she had to be set up, presuming (having had one and twenty already) she should have another child, which inserted in expectance, came to pass accordingly. This memorable knight died anno 1540." P. 255, ed. 1662. This window has disappeared, and the memory of it is entirely forgotten.

Gwillim, in his Display of Heraldry, gives a coat of Hoby, of Neath Abbey, the bearings of which are three fusils or spindles.

Of the family of Trefusis, he says, they bear, Argent, a chevron between three wharrow spindles sable, adding—"This spindle differeth much from those preceding in respect of the crook above, and of the wharrow imposed upon the lower part thereof. This sort of spindle women do use most commonly to spin withall, not at the torn, as the former, but at a distaff put under their girdle, so as they oftentimes spin therewith going. The round ball at the lower end serveth to the fast twisting of the thread, and is called a wharrow; and therefore this is called a wharrow-spindle, where the others are called slippers that pass through the yarn as this doth." A friend informs me that on one occasion he saw in the Highlands of Scotland a small potato serving the office of a wharrow, or spindle-whirl.

a Fol. 67.

b He might have added, that she had need be on her guard against a description of roguery described by the Monk of Malvern. Covetise says:

"My wif was a webbe,
And wollen cloth made;
She spak to spynnesteres
To spynnen it oute,
Ac the pound that she paied by
Peised a quatron moore
Than myn owene auncer
Who so weyed truthe."

Vision of Piers Ploughman, l. 2904.

c Fol. 68.

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This is, perhaps, one of the most significant notices to be found in our literature, of the use of the distaff and spindle. It shows that spinning, although a needful art, was the occupation of female leisure, the employment of the rich and the poor in the intervals of more important business, and in the long nights of winter. Hence Chaucer sarcastically makes it one of the three resources of women at all times:—

"Deceept, wepynge, spynnynge, God hath give To wymmen kyndely, whil thay may live." a

The distaff was, in fact, like the fancy-work and crochet of our day, a remedy against idleness, and was rarely abandoned, except when other duties demanded attention and forbade its use. This is plainly shown in the life of Saint Bertha, who, though engaged in the important office of founding a religious house, carried her distaff with her, using it in the manner of a plough, to trace a channel from the well which she had purchased, to the monastery, the water filling the trench and flowing after her as she desired!^b

The distaff and spindle afforded light and not irksome employment even to the invalid and the blind. Nothing, perhaps, shows more clearly their constant and inveterate use than the vulgar superstition recorded in the "Evangiles des Quenouilles," where the thread spun by a woman in childbed is directed to be tied around warts in order to charm them away."

By the kindness of Mr. William Tooke, F.R.S., I am enabled to exhibit a very fine example of a marriage medal, one of a class of memorials once very common in Holland and parts of Germany in the 17th century. The devices of these medals are, of course, various, but that on the specimen exhibited very aptly illustrates the popular notion as to the portion of labour assigned to either sex. A man and a woman, clad in primitive costume, and linked together by the arms and legs, support between them the trite emblem of a pair of burning hearts, while a child

^a Prol. to the Wyf of Bathe's Tale, 5983-4.

b The passage is so curious that I transcribe it for the reader's edification:—"Tunc sancta mater Deo plena, colo, quam manu tenebat, cœpit terram fodere, et in modum sulci rigam facere, orans ac dicens: Ostende nobis Domine misericordiam tuam, et salutare tuum da nobis. Revertens namque ad Monasterium, colum eadem post se trahebat, tantaque abundantia aque eam sequebatur, ut ad usus omnes hominibus pertinentes sufficeret: sicut usque hodie apparet."—De S. Bertha Martyre Abatissa Avennaci. Acta Sanctorum, Maij, tom, i. p. 114.

^e Pour etre quite des poirions, il fault prendre du fille qui une femme a filé tandis qu'elle couche d'enfant, et en loyer les poirions, et incontinent ilz cherront tous, sans aucune reméde.—Les Evangiles des Quenouilles, App. B. Quatrième serie, p. 158, edit. 1855.

dances on their fetters. The man holds a spade of mediæval shape, the woman a distaff and spindle.

The distaff and spindle on the table, for the loan of which I am indebted to Mr. Winter Jones, are in use in the neighbourhood of Pau. It was originally six inches longer, but was abridged of its length for the convenience of carriage. The owner, a lady, has kindly favoured me with the following remarks on the use of these primitive implements:—

"The distaff in use in the Pyrennees is about three feet long, and made of a stalk of maize stained. In the more mountainous parts bordering on Spain, it is formed with a bow across the top, sometimes twice crossed, through which the flax is passed and tied in the centre with a band of tow. In the more northern villages of the Lower Pyrennees (and I believe it is the same in the other provinces which are on the borders of Spain) the flax is kept in its place, not by being passed through a loop, but by a piece of coloured paper slightly pinned around it. The spindle is sometimes made entirely of wood, and sometimes it is pointed with iron, and at other times made steady by a large bead of earthenware passed over the lower end. The distaff is supported in various ways to suit the convenience of the spinner; sometimes steadied merely by the arm, sometimes held firmly between the knees, and at others passed through a girdle round the waist."

This description would probably apply to the distaff in nearly every age, but we have already seen that in Western Europe it could in emergency be converted into a weapon of offence, of which the fragile and delicate example on the table is not susceptible. That it was stuck in the girdle we find from mediæval representations. In the Loutrell Psalter the good wife comes out to feed the hen and her chicks from a platter, her distaff in her girdle; and in the very beautiful MS. of Valerius Maximus, in the British Museum, b Sardanapalus is depicted spinning among a company of women whose distaves are secured in the same way.

a It is thus rendered a stiletto, with which the woman of the South could defend herself. In the North of Europe the distaff might be converted into a club.

^b MS. Harl. 4375.

[°] O! dist Spadassin, par Dieu voicy ung bon resveux; mais allons nous cacher au coign de la cheminée; et la passons avec les dames nostre vie et nostre temps à enfiler de perles, ou à filer comme Sardanapalus.—Rabelais, liv. i. c. 33.



Among the numerous objects of ancient art preserved in the Hotel de Cluny at Paris is a Quenouille de Mariage in sculptured wood of the sixteenth century. Another exists in the collection of M. Ledicte Duflos of Clermont (Oise). Both these interesting objects have been beautifully represented in the work of M. Sere.

I exhibit examples of the Vorticellum, or spindle-whirl. Though well known on the Continent, where the simpler means of spinning still survive, this object is not so easily recognized in this country. It has been not unfrequently found in the graves of Anglo-Saxon women. Several whirls were discovered in the ruins of Caerwent last year, and specimens have recently been exhibited to the Society by Colonel Munro, by whom they were found among the ancient remains near Sebastopol. We may, in fact, expect to find them wherever the older traces of human settlements and human industry are explored, since they are inseparably associated with the sex whose habits restricted them chiefly to the limits of their dwellings.

The art of spinning, in one of its simplest and most primitive forms, is yet pursued in Italy, where the countrywomen of Caia still twirl the spindle, unrestrained by

that ancient rural law which forbade its use without doors. The Distaff has outlived the Consular fasces, and survived the conquests of the Goth and the Hun. But rustic hands alone now sway the sceptre of Tanaquil, and all but the peasant disdain a practice which once beguiled the leisure of highborn dames.

The foregoing are among the illustrations of an art the origin of which is lost in the mist of ages, although the memory of it yet survives among us in the epithet Spinster. The inquiry is not unworthy of the antiquary, and may be still further pursued by those whom leisure or inclination may incline to the task. To any one so disposed I can only say with a poet of the 17th century:—

"Weave thou to end this web which I begin, I will the distaff hold, come thou and spin." a

J. Y. AKERMAN.

^a Fairfax, Jer. lib. iv. 24.



MOVEMBE

From a Book of Hours in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

VIII. Notes on the Interment of a Young Frankish Warrior, discovered at Envermeu, Seine Inférieure, on September 10, 1856, by the Abbé Cochet. Translated, and followed by some Remarks upon the Abbé's Notes, by W. M. Wylie, Esq. F.S.A. In a Letter addressed to J. Y. Akerman, Esq. Secretary.

Read January 22, 1857.

On September 8th, 1856, I commenced my seventh, and last, archæological research in the remarkable cemetery of Envermeu, which, since its first discovery in 1850, has been the means of revealing to me nearly the whole of Merovingian archæology. On the 10th I visited the ground to examine the trenches which the workmen had prepared, and, on the same day, I examined seven interments, the first of which proved to be the most interesting of all my discoveries of this season.

Like all the rest, this grave was cut in the chalk to a depth of six feet and a half. Its position was east and west, according to the custom of the period, and of that which was generally adopted by the Franks. This interment remained intact, amidst a number of others violated and rifled in ages long gone by. We found the body, and all the accompanying objects, just as they were placed on the day of interment.

The grave appears to have been that of a young warrior, buried here with his equipments, and the vanities of dress in which he had delighted during life. The body was surrounded by, or more properly inclosed in, a dark mass strongly resembling charcoal, and probably formed by the decayed wood of the coffin. I am led to this conclusion by the chymical analysis of a similar substance found under similar circumstances, and hence I have been enabled to recognise decomposed wood, or a lignite, in a substance which would otherwise have merely appeared to be charcoal.

The head, which we examined first, as is usual in such cases, displayed on either side a green stain produced by the green oxide of copper. Soon after we met with a pair of ear-rings of base silver, the large torqued circles of which were

^a I. Girardin. Analyses de plusieurs Produits d'Art d'une haute Antiquité, p. 38. Prècis Analytique des Travaux de l'Acad. de Rouen, 1851—52.

closed by a sort of hook and eye. The drops were of a square form, with the angles cut in facets, and formed of paste, or mastic, covered with fine, delicate silver leaf. These drops were set on the four faces with green glass in lozenge form. The eight facets also were decorated with triangular pieces of the same glass. At either end of the pendants project four little silver tubes set with particles of blue glass, with excellent effect (Pl. II. fig. 2).

On the right of the skull we found an iron spear-head about nine inches in length. Some eight inches of the staff were yet distinguishable by the reddish traces of oxydised wood. This weapon leads us to suppose we have the remains of a warrior before us. But for this, I should naturally, from the accompanying ornaments, have deemed them to be those of a female. This little lance, or *framea* as I may term it, recalls the memory of the young Germans, to whom the framea was permitted, just as the youth of Rome were invested with the prætexta.^a

Round the neck of our young warrior, just below the jaw, I collected fourteen beads of glass paste, which had formed a necklace. These beads were rounded, and are of an oblong shape. Twelve are of a hard red paste covered with incrustations of a yellow enamel in the form of eyes; or of various patterns, serrated, godrooned, or guilloched. Two again are of dark-green glass encircled by bands of white enamel.

Though our young subject must necessarily be ascribed to the military class, yet some embarrassment is caused by the presence on the breast of a stylus of either bronze tinned, or else of base silver, for it is still bright, and fit for use. The length is nearly nine inches (Pl. II. fig. 1). This strong and elegant instrument had imparted a greenish tint to the vertebræ—the result of the oxide.

Here, as universally has been the case, the belt was the most productive part of the mine, both as regards implements of use, and ornaments. First, we found the obligatory knife, about seven inches in length in all, in its leathern sheath. A long-shaped hole at the extremity of the wooden haft must have been arranged to receive the strap which secured it to the belt.

[&]quot;Vel pater vel propinquus scuto frameaque juvenem ornat; hæc apud illos toga; hic primus juventutis honos; ante hoc domûs pars videntur, nunc reipublicæ."—Tacitus de Germ. Mor. c. 5. On this passage of Tacitus I would remark, that though in the times of Augustus and Trajan the shield was probably granted, with the lance, to the German youths, yet the custom must have become modified in the days of Clovis and Dagobert. On every occasion that the shield has occurred in our Frankish cemeteries, it was always with a stalwart warrior, who often also bore a sword. (Sépultures Gauloises, Romaines, Franques, et Normandes, p. 225.) The small lance, or framea, on the contrary, is found with youths not having shields.

Buckles were not wanting; and for all of these it would indeed be difficult to account. I first obtained a handsome square buckle of tinned bronze, bright as silver (fig. 3). This buckle was new, and had seen but very little service. Its purpose evidently was to fasten the belt, which no doubt was of leather, or of skin. A second bronze buckle, also square, but very small (fig. 5), was found in the same spot, and may have served to attach the knife to the belt by means of a strap. Besides these there were two iron buckles, one of which was covered with remains of rusted leather: also one of the rings so common in Frankish interments, but the use of which I have not been able to make out. From minute observation I feel convinced this one must have been attached to a leather strap destroyed by rust. Traces of friction on the iron circle point out the place where this moveable fastening once played. By these was the end of an iron chain, composed of three rings only, one of which was much larger than the others. It resembles a belt attachment, but I am not aware of its real purpose.

Though it is not possible to arrive at the precise purpose to which these articles were applied, it is plain enough they formed an important part of the costume and clothing of our forefathers.

In the same place we further found a purse-clasp on the right of the body, just below the top of the femur. This clasp is one of the rarest and most interesting objects we have ever met with (fig. 7). Such purses, or aumónières, are not commonly found with the dead at this period. In the five hundred graves I have examined at Envermeu I may have met with seven or eight of iron, and one of gold. This last was found during the past year at the girding-place of a warrior, interred with a lance, an angon, a shield, an axe, a sword, as also a set of weights and scales, indicative, perhaps, of a fiscal agent, or a moneyer. In this case the clasp is of bronze, and the first of the sort we have yet found. The clasps discovered in Anglo-Saxon graves have been mostly of iron. I know no example at all like this, except the one discovered in 1846 in the Alemannic cemetery of Lupfen, at Oberflacht, in Würtemberg; but it is far less decorated and engraved.

The Envermeu clasp is three inches and a half long, by about half an inch broad, and is covered with incised ornamental designs. In the middle is a hollow, of a quatre-foil form, probably once filled with enamel. At intervals are four groups, composed of three concentric circles, and arranged in lines. We further observe six holes pierced through the plate of metal. These holes, whether round, trian-

A Collectanea Antiqua, vol. iii. p. 16.—Inventorium Sepulchrale, p. 42.

b Die Heidengräber am Lupfen bei Oberflacht, p. 9, pl. x. fig. 11.

gular, or polygonal, are set with glass lined with foil, as was the custom of the time. Below the centre of the clasp are two bronze hooks, with a small buckle attached, which probably received the strap by which the purse was closed. The clasp, when discovered, was inclosed in some decomposed substance, which appeared to have been partly woven, and partly of leather. Even now it is easy to recognise the trace of a fine woven cloth.

It must more especially be observed that each end of the clasp represents the head of a bird of prey. The eyes and the nostrils of the animal are formed by glass setting, while the buckle figures out the talons, or claws. It may here be observed that these zoo-morphic representations were frequent, and highly prized in Merovingian times, as decorations in coloured glass. We have already had an opportunity of noticing this peculiarity in the purse-clasp, ornamented with red glass set in gold, which was found at Envermeu in 1855 ° (fig. 8), and we feel convinced King Childeric carried such a one to the grave with him, judging from the sketch preserved by Chiflet, though he was in error as to the nature of the relic.

By the left thigh I found eight bronze buttons with pentagonal heads (fig. 4), which had once been plated or carefully tinned over, for they still retain their brightness. Strangely enough the heads were of bronze, but the points iron. These points were designed to pass through very thick leather, remains of which were still adhering. In our opinion this leather was that of the belt. The bright nails were the terminal ornaments, as also some little plates or scales of bronze (fig. 6), which may have formed the fringe of the cords. The circumstance of plates of bronze being used for the decorative termination of the belt is common enough in Switzerland and in Savoy.

Our last discovery was that of two tusks of the wild boar. One of these lay between the upper part of the legs, the other by the feet of the deceased, near the heel. What may be understood by these tusks, or to what they may refer, we cannot explain. The most natural interpretation is that they are the emblems of a hunter—a very common profession, not to say the general one, of those times. This is not the first time such an object has occurred in a Frankish cemetery. During our researches at Envermeu in 1852⁴ we found a boar's tusk, and we know that Herr Lindenschmit met with a similar one in a warrior's grave at Selzen.⁶ It was worked and bored at the root, which shows it had been worn as

^a Sépultures Gauloises, etc., p. 268.

b Anastasis Childerici, p. 226.

Gosse. Notice sur d'Anciens Cimetières, etc., pl. i. fig. 2, pl. v. fig. 2.

d La Normandie Souterraine, p. 375.

[°] Das Germanische Todtenlager bei Selzen, p. viii.

a decoration by the deceased, and formed part of his dress; but the tusks from Envermen present no trace of man's industry. The one found in 1852 merely bears a stain of rust in its hollow.

The wild boar abounded in ancient Gaul, and primitive France. Archæology meets with the tusks and bones in the most ancient fortified inclosures; in cities as well as villas; in interments, whether Gallo-Roman or Frankish. The form of this ferocious but valuable animal is found on the most ancient coins of Gaul. The earliest and most authentic historians of Gaul and France celebrate its flesh, and mention of it is made in the laws of the Salic Franks, the Burgundians, Ripuarians, and Bavarians.

Whenever the remains of the denizens of the forest occur in interments the idea of a hunter is naturally associated with them. Such was the case on the discovery of a stag's horns in a Frankish grave at Envermeu' in 1850; again in a Gaulish grave at Moulineaux, near Rouen, in 1855; and in 1810 in England, when a Saxon grave was discovered at Dale Park, near Arundel. These relics are considered, and with great probability, as the trophies of our primitive Nimrods.

A circumstance which has much surprised us, and which indeed may well surprise any reader well versed in Merovingian or Anglo-Saxon archæology, is that of not finding a vase or vessel of any sort at the feet of the deceased, for the rich character of the interment seemed to promise a fine example. This exception to the rule is certainly not the only one we could cite, but still it is an exception.

L'ABBÉ COCHET.

- ^a À la Cité de Limes. Mem. de la Soc. des Ant. de Norm. p. 52.
- b À Rotomagus; à Uggate; à Juliobona; à Mediolanum, etc. L'Étrétat Souterrain, 2º série, p. 9. De Caumont, Bulletin Monumental, t. xx. pp. 406, 612.
 - ^c Langlois, Mem. de la Soc. des Ant. de Norm. t. iv. pp. 236—52, pl. xx. fig. C.
- ^d Ed. Lambert; Essai sur le Num. Gaul. de Nord-Ouest de la France; Mem. de la Soc. des Ant. de Norm. t, xiii. p. 184.
 - Carnibus suillinis tum recentibus tum salitis utuntur.—Strabo, lib. iv. Tacit. de Mor. Germ. c. 45.
 - ^f La Normandie Souterraine, p. 376.
 - ⁸ Sépultures Gauloises, &c. p 20.
 - h Archæol. Journal, vol. ii. p. 81.

All of Actual size.

MEROVINGIAN REMAINS.

from the Cemetery of Envermen.

Published by the Society of Antiquares of Landau, April 13th 1861.

LEGIFTE



To J. Y. Akerman, Esq. F.S.A.

U. University Club, Jan. 20, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

The Abbé Cochet is so anxious to communicate the foregoing paper to the Society that, in compliance with his wish, I have attempted the translation. This interment, indeed, seems to have attracted the Abbé's attention in a very peculiar manner; and of the many hundreds of Merovingian graves which have undergone his careful examination in the cemeteries of Envermeu, Londinières, &c., this is the first on which he has bestowed a monograph. The remarkably perfect condition of the interment—"cum grandibus ornamentis"—affords, indeed, a valuable illustration of the manners, and state of art, of the dark period subsequent on the sunset of Roman elegance and civilization in Gaul. Something of this will be perceived from the accurate sketches upon the table, supplied, at my request, by the kindness of my friend Mr. Wilmer.

Some points of the Abbé's remarkable and interesting narrative of this discovery appear to call for a few additional remarks.

The rich setting of red glass, which covers the entire surface of one of the purse clasps, is peculiarly an artistic effort of the Merovingian period (fig. 8); indeed we meet with it on the relics found in a tomb at Tournay, in 1653, attributed to Childeric, the Frankish prince, and father of Clovis. Of this kind of ornamental decoration some splendid examples were found, a few years since, in the tombs in the vicinity of Rambouillet, by M. Moutié: others, again, exist in the public museum at Rheims, in the forms of fibulæ, and clasps of the belt which formed so conspicuous and essential a part of Merovingian costume.

The discovery of this purse-clasp by M. Cochet at Envermeu enables us, as he justly observes, to recognise a similar object—till now perfectly unintelligible—among the engravings Montfaucon* has bequeathed us of the various relics discovered in the tomb of Childeric. The fragmentary state in which the relic was first seen by Chiflet, the historian of the discovery, led him to misinterpret it as part of the royal bridle ornaments.^b

The zoo-morphic terminal ornaments of the points seem peculiar to the Franks. Fibulæ, representing eagles, or at least hook-billed birds of the falcon tribe, are frequently met with in the cemeteries of the Salic Franks in France and Belgium,

^a Les Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise, vol. i. pl. 5.

b " Phaleræ regii equi." Anastasis Childerici.

as also in those of the Ripuarians, on the Upper Rhine, and the Moselle. A few examples, indeed, of this red glass ornamental work have been found in England, and attributed, no doubt very correctly, to Merovingian art: of this character were the purse ornaments found in Hampshire in 1828, together with a mass of Merovingian coins. The provisions of the early laws of most of the Teutonic nations are sufficiently convincing of the importance in which the goldsmith's art was held, and Asser tells us that King Alfred, even among his many efforts at national improvements, did not scorn to superintend the labours of his workers in gold.

The other purse-clasp (fig. 7), it will be observed, is a work of art of another character. Here, a plain plate of metal is merely ornamented with the red glass setting to give sufficient effect to the usual zoo-morphic device. The central setting is wanting. The quatrefoil form of its chambers seems a favourite one,

often adopted at this early period.

The term clasp, which I have applied to these decorative objects, though convenient, is hardly correct: they merely consist of a single bar, or plate, of metal, to which we must suppose the back of the purse, or pouch, to have been attached, the front having been open to the hand, or closed by a strap and the buckle, which, as will be seen, still exists. When we find all the implements of Teutonic life so generally accompanying their owners to the grave, whence they picture out to us now almost all we know of their habits, it is remarkable how seldom we meet with the purse, or sporran, which, in those times, must have been the inseparable appendage of every man's girdle.⁴ In the 500 graves of Envermeu, examined with every care, the Abbé Cochet tells us he has not met with more than ten examples in all, while in England only one or two hitherto have been noticed, and those were of iron. In no case, I believe, have any coins been discovered with these remains of purses, as might have been expected. The ready money was, perhaps, deemed more profitably employed on the funeral feasts.

The jewelled ear-rings (fig. 2) afford another specimen of Merovingian art and the costume of those times. The salient tubes, set with pastes or enamel, will often

^{*} Remains of Pagan Saxondom, p. 66, pl. 33 .- Num. Chron. vol. vi. p. 71.

b "Qui aurificum occiderit electum, centum quinquaginta solid. solvat." "Si argentarium c. solid."—Leg. Burgundionum, tit. x. 3. ed. Herold.

^c It will also be noticed in a fibula given in plate xxxii. of "Remains of Pagan Saxondom," and attributed by Mr. Akerman to the Merovingian period; Graves of the Alemanni, Archæologia, vol. XXXVI. pl. xiv. fig. 4.

^d Some historical evidence as to this portion of the early Merovingian costume is adduced in the Abbé Cochet's recent work, "Sépultures Gauloises," &c. St. Eloy seems to have delighted in jewelled purses: "Habebat zonas ex duro et gemmis comptas, nec non et bursas eleganter gemmatas."

be observed among the showy productions of the Frank workers in gold and silver, preserved in continental museums. Our unfortunate dearth in published illustrations of objects of Merovingian archæology merely allows me to refer to one example,—the rich Alemannie fibula found at Oberflacht.⁴

The compact mass of lignite, in which we are told the body was found embedded, could not possibly have proceeded from the decomposed remains of any common coffin. Such a mass I remember to have seen in a grave at Envermeu, on the occasion of one of my visits there with M. Cochet. I believe these masses to have been the remains of the solid oaks, in the hollowed-out trunks of which these Franks had found their last resting-place.

This remarkable sepulchral usage dates probably from remote antiquity, and the memory of it is still preserved, in some parts of Germany and Switzerland, in the words todtenbaum and todtabomm, which are there still applied to the coffins of the dead. The researches of Captain von Dürrich in the Suabian valley of Oberflacht, near the Upper Danube, have afforded us the most complete and convincing illustrations of the accustomed practice of the rite of tree-burial.

The relics found in this Envermeu interment are indeed so contradictory that we can well understand the embarrassment of our learned colleague in attempting a correct attribution. We cannot but regret that it is no longer possible to settle the question of the sex of the deceased by an actual inspection of the remains by some experienced anatomist. The spear, it is true, as the Abbé well observes, would induce us to decide for a male ownership: but the ear-rings, the beaded necklace, the diminutive purse-ornament, as also the chainlet by the side, so significant of the chatelaine, are all the indisputable insignia of the female sex. The old Thuringian law, indeed, expressly recognises these "ornamenta muliebria," or "spolia colli," as the peculiar right and heritage of women; and I believe the general experience of sepulchral researches will endorse the assertion that a similar usage prevailed among the other Teutonic nations. The subject before us, unfortunately, combines the attributes of either sex; and, in the absence of all anatomical opinion, we are at a loss whether to attribute the inter-

^a Archæologia, vol. XXXVI. pp. 137, 148, pl. xiv. figs. 4, 7.

b Archaeol vol. XXXV. p. 224.

^e Dr. J. Grimm. "Uber das verbrennen der Leichen." Berlin, 1850.

^d Jahreshefte des Würtembergischen Alt-Vereins iii.—Archæologia, vol. XXXVI. p. 129.

^e De Alodibus, tit. vii. c. 6. "Mater moriens filio terram, mancipio pecuniam dimittat, filiæ vero spolia colli, id est, murenas, nuscas, monilia, inaures, vestes, armillas, vel quicquid ornamenti proprii videbat habuisse." Again, De Furtis, tit. viii. c. 3. "Qui ornamenta muliebria, quod rhedo dicunt, furto abstulerit," &c.

ment to some Merovingian Camilla—a votaress of the Diana of the sylvan region of Envermeu—or to some effeminate boy, the type rather of the debased Teutonic bædling^a than of the stern warriors of Clovis. All the evidence we possess on this singular question has been adduced, and archæologists must now determine to which side the weight of probability inclines, and draw their own conclusions.

Supposing, however, the young subject of the Abbé Cochet's most interesting memoir to have been a young hunter—a very Adonis—we cannot allow the mere presence of the boar's tusks in the grave to prove the fact. It too often happens in archæology, from the very nature of our study, that we have to investigate, and seek inductions, on the most uncertain data; but it is, therefore, the more incumbent on us to exercise the utmost caution in our conclusions.

The teeth of animals, and the tusks of the boar, do indeed occur in graves, both in their plain natural form and pierced for suspension, either as ornaments or for some other purpose. The presence of such objects is often quite incomprehensible, unless we are prepared to suppose Teutonic superstition was wont to impute some occult benefit to the personal possession of such reliques. A reference to some few instances of the occurrence of these objects in interments may perhaps show that they are at least as likely to have been regarded as amulets as trophies of the chase.

On referring to the valuable narrative of Herr Lindenschmit's researches at Selzen, I observe that the boar's tusk, cited in evidence by the Abbé in support of his theory, was found there in the grave of a woman.^b Again, among the Saxon or Scandinavian remains in a woman's grave found at Castle Bytham, near Stamford,^c in 1850, we observe the incisor tooth of a beaver, mounted on silver for suspension, as also a horse's tooth, pierced for the same purpose. Mr. C. R. Smith also mentions the finding a boar's tusk, mounted in bronze for suspension, among the remains of Richborough.^d We can scarcely suppose these examples to have been worn as trophies. The Livonian graves furnish further instances,^c and a yet more convincing testimony of the amuletic character of the custom occurs in the Museum Schæpflini,^c where the knuckle-bone of a sheep, pierced for suspension, is represented among the contents of a Frankish grave. A similar bone, not pierced, was found in one of the Harnham interments.^e

^a Leo on Local Nomenclature. Alcuin. Ponitentiale Ecgb. lib. iv. 68, § 5, 6. Tacit. De Mor. Germ. 12.

b Todtenlager bei Selzen. Grave 8.

e Remains of Pagan Saxondom, p. 26, pl. xii.

d Antiquities of Richborough, p. 110.

f Tab. xv. fig. 14.

^{*} Bahr's Gräber der Lieven.

⁸ Archæologia, vol. XXXVI.

A superstitious dread of sorcery, or a propitiative yearning towards it, is always a prevailing feature in the popular habits of dark and ignorant times; hence, charms and amulets, even of the most absurd description, are at such periods seen to be in extensive demand, whether to avert evil or allure good. The Italian peasant of our own days who hangs a coin, a coral, or, it may be, a written charm round his child's neck in blind belief of its efficacy against the mal' occhio, perhaps affords a good type and illustration of the once general faith in the virtues of amulets.

The stylus, (fig. 1.) of which such a fine example now presents itself from Envermeu, is so commonly associated with Roman remains and reminiscences that at first, perhaps, we are little inclined to attach any particular importance to its appearance in a Frankish grave. Regarded, however, as an instrument of science, it acquires a fresh and altogether distinct degree of interest, when we have to mark its frequent presence with the remains of the laity of the dark Merovingian period. In Saxon graves, indeed, the stylus is all but unknown, while very many examples have occurred in the numerous Merovingian, and even Carlovingian, cemeteries in which the Abbé Cochet has so zealously carried on his useful research.

Are we, then, to suppose these persons, in whose graves the styli are found, to have been skilled in the use of them? Such an inference would be but fair, but it would tend to show an extent of education directly at variance with all the received traditions of the history of the period. All pretensions to letters in those days of aggression and violence were confined to the church and cloister. It does not appear that Charlemagne himself ever mastered the difficulties attendant on attempting the art of writing late in life,* and our own Alfred only succeeded after considerable trouble. Sensible of the general disadvantages under which they themselves had also laboured, both monarchs did their utmost to diffuse a degree of education among their subjects, but the attempt does not appear to have met with any signal success. William of Malmesbury, indeed, has recorded the assassination of the celebrated Johannes Scotus at Malmesbury Abbey, while engaged in the task of tuition. His pupils are said to have despatched him with their own styli, in the use of which he was possibly endeavouring to instruct them. It may hence be inferred that at the still earlier period with which we are now

^{*} Einhard, c. 25. "Temptabat et scribere, tabulasque et codicellos ad hoc in lecto sub cervicalibus circumferre solebat, ut, cum vacuum tempus esset, manum litteris effingendis adsuesceret; sed parum successit labor præposterus, ac sero inchoatus."

b Asser. Pauli.

^e L. ii. c. 4; Matthew of Westminster, c. xvi.

concerned, the stylus, as a stylus, must have been in little request, and that it only appears in these graves as an article of dress.

From other communications of the Abbé Cochet we learn that the styli have usually been found in the interments by the head or on the breast of the remains. This fact confirms, or at least materially strengthens, the foregoing suspicion that the styli had been diverted from their original use. We may suppose them to have been employed as pins to decorate the hair, or to fasten together some part of the dress, a purpose for which these slender styli of Envermeu are not ill-adapted. It is also somewhat significant that no traces of writing tablets appear to have been found with the stylus.

It is evident from the tradition of the death of Johannes Scotus that this old mode of writing still continued in use in the ninth century; indeed, there is evidence of its existence down to a much later period.

Believe me, sincerely yours,

W. M. WYLIE.



The Interment.

IX. An Account of the Discovery of Anglo-Saxon Remains at Kemble, in North Wilts; with Observations on a Grant of Land at Ewelme to the Abbey of Malmesbury by King Æthelstan, in the year 931. By John Yonge Akerman, Secretary.

Read 20th Nov. 1856.

In the month of July last, while engaged in some antiquarian inquiries on the borders of Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, I accidentally heard of the discovery of sepulchral remains in the village of Kemble. Convinced from the account I then received, that these relics were of the Anglo-Saxon period, I lost no time in proceeding to Kemble, where I obtained abundant proof of the discovery, and a sufficient description of the objects discovered, to satisfy me that my conjectures were well founded.

My application to make further search on the spot was met in the most courteous manner by R. Gordon, Esq., the owner of the Kemble estate, who kindly presented to me the various objects now on the Society's table. It is much to be deplored that they comprise but a small portion of what were originally discovered. For an account of the finding, and for the preservation of the contents of these graves, we are indebted to the zeal and intelligence of Mr. John Mansell, Mr. Gordon's bailiff. He states that there were in all twenty-six interments; that the bodies lay east and west; that they were found scarcely six inches below the surface, and were all of persons of large stature, their weapons and personal ornaments being deposited in the manner usually observable in Anglo-Saxon graves. The spot where these remains were discovered being occupied by a house and garden, a portion of the field adjoining it on the south was carefully trenched, but the ground appeared not to have been moved, and it was evident the cemetery did not extend in that direction.

The village of Kemble is situated on an eminence, about four miles south-west of the town of Cirencester, towards which the hill slopes down to the rivulet of the Thames, which has its rise a little to the west. The site chosen by the ancient inhabitants for their cemetery is about two or three hundred yards north of the railway station, commanding a view of the source of the stream, whose onward course may be likened to that of the race to which these early remains must be ascribed.

The objects exhibited are :-

- 1. Umbones of iron, of different forms, the point or projection of one of them terminating in a button or stud.
 - 2. Spear-heads of the ordinary shape, with their characteristic sockets.
 - 3. A long hair-pin of bronze.
 - 4. The bronze mounting of a hair-pin, the stem of which has perished.



Actual size

- 5. Two fibulæ of the dish form, gilt on the inside, and ornamented with a pattern not hitherto observed on Anglo-Saxon fibulæ, but somewhat resembling that on the fibula found at Stone, Bucks, engraved in the Archæologia, vol. xxx. p. 545.
- A dish-shaped fibula of bronze gilt, with a pattern resembling that on the fibulæ discovered at Fairford.
- 7. The shells of two fibulæ, which had been filled with pastes, of which examples were discovered at Fairford See Archæologia, vol. XXXIV. pl. x. fig. 4, and vol. XXXV.

and at Harnham. pl. xii. fig. 9.

- 8. A flat circular fibula, ornamented with circles made with a punch.
- 9. A portion of a bronze spoon, the bowl much worn by use.
- 10. A bronze ear-ring, a flat bone bead, and a small brass coin of Carausius of the Pax type.

With the exception of the fragment of the spoon, these objects do not offer any peculiarities: their general character assimilates, as might be expected, to that of the relics discovered at Fairford. The coin of Carausius is not a novelty in these interments. The not unfrequent occurrence of his money in Anglo-Saxon graves may probably be explained by the fact, that that personage was a Batavian, a man of kindred race, who reigned several years in Britain, whose memory must have long survived his fall, and whose daring exploits in a previous age must have been long remembered with pride by every nation of Teutonic blood. I am well aware that Roman coins have been frequently discovered under the same circumstances, but they are, for the most part, of exceedingly common types, while the money of Carausius, even in copper, is somewhat scarce compared with many other coins of the same age.^a

^a This conjecture seems in some measure supported by the fact that the coins of Allectus, the murderer and successor of Carausius, though equally common, are not found so frequently in Anglo-Saxon graves. Mr. Wylie mentions the finding of a small brass coin of Allectus at Fairford, but it was not pierced for suspension.

With respect to the fragment of the spoon, we may infer, from the smallness of the bowl, that it was never designed for the common daily purpose to which it has been applied by its last owner. Its workmanship is Roman, and the metal is bronze, the edge of the bowl being much worn by use.



The earliest mention of Kemble occurs in a cartulary contained in the Lansdowne MS. No. 417, fol. 2 B, in a charter of Caedwealha of Wessex, dated in the month of August, anno 682, conveying "terram ex utraque parte silvae quae appellatur Kemele, scilicet xxxii cassatos." This is printed by Mr. Kemble, in the Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici, No. xxiv. Another charter of Caedwealha will be found in the same collection, fol. 3. It gives to Saint Aldhelm land "ex utraque parte silvae cujus vocabulum est Kemele, de orientali plaga termini stratarum, usque famosum amnem qui dicitur Temis, c et xl manentes," etc. This instrument is dated the 19th August, anno 688, but, like the former, is a comparatively late transcript; as is also a charter of Æthlwlf, dated April 22, anno 854, giving to the same religious establishment "æt Cemele tien hyda." (Cod.

Dipl., No. cclxxi.) In 901, Ordlaf, "pro commutatione alterius terrae, id est, v. manentium in loco qui dicitur Mehhandun," gives certain lands at Chelworth, and, in the recital of the land-limits, mention is made of twelve acres which lie westward of "Kemele gate." In 956, Eadwig gives to the church at Malmesbury a large tract of land, which extends northward as far as "Kemeles hage." (Cod. Dipl., No. cccclx.) The charter of Eádweard confirms these with other grants. (Cod. Dipl., No. decexvii.) The charter of Æthelstan, dated in the year 931, is, however, the most important for our purpose, as the land-limits are appended to it: it gives to the abbey of Malmesbury fifteen mansas in the district called Northun or Nortun, five mansas in Somerford, and five mansas at Æwilme.* The land-limits of the latter place are thus described:—

"Hii sunt termini terrae de Ewlme. Inprimis de hencofre usque Perestone; et inde usque lydewelle; et ab illo fonte usque stratam quae vocatur Fosse; et sic usque wolu crundel, videlicet, usque la hore stone; et ab eodem usque lytle berwe; et ab illo loco usque zunte stone; et ab eodem directe versus occidentem

MS. Lansd. printed in the Codex Diplom. Ævi Saxonici, vol. ii. p. 179. The land-limits are given in vol. iii. p. 408.

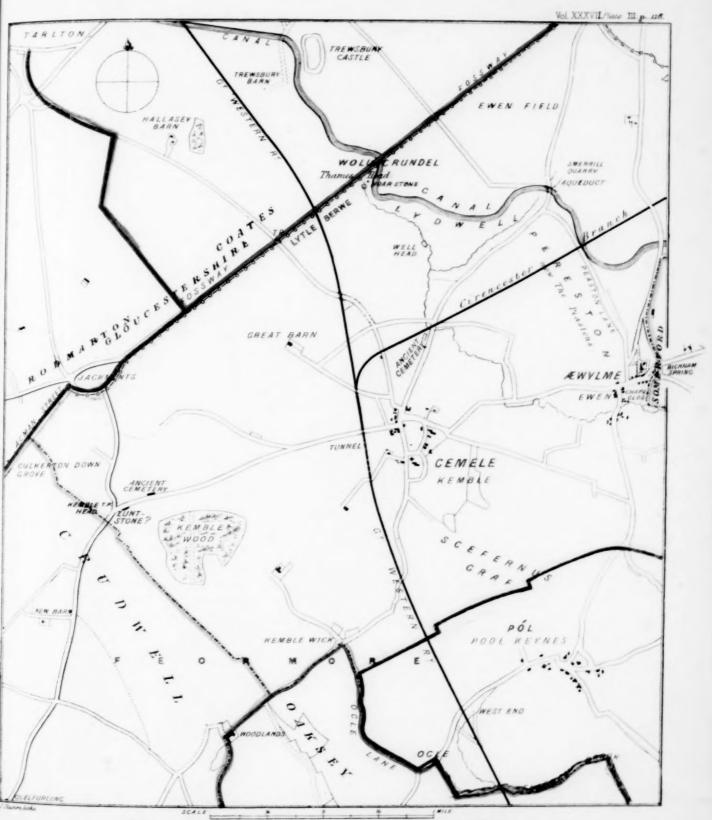
usque la diche walle; et sic per fossatum directe usque in rivulo de Tamyse, directe usque le holde uuille diche versus austrum; et ab eodem versus occidentem usque la est lake brugge in litle more versus meridiem; et inde directe usque le mere diche; et ab eodem fossato versus aquilonem directe per viam usque ad locum primo scriptum, uidelicet, le ofre in Perestone. Item ad terram prænominatam pertinent xxiii acrae prati quae quidem iacent in feor more; et decem acræ terrae arabilis quae iacent in biken hulle; et xvi acrae et wið bosci in la graue quae appellatur scefernus graue inter Pole et Kemele. Item praedicta villa habere debet in eodem prato communem pasturam, uidelicet, quae ymene morlese appellatur, cum aliis villatis, scilicet, Somerforde, Pole et Kemele."

From this recital it would appear that Kemble, or as it was anciently called Cemele, was included in Æwilme, the former name being that of the wood or grove within the district.

Æwilme obviously derives its name from one of the springs which rise in this neighbourhood, and this must be the one known as "Thames Head," since the field in which it is situated is called "Yeoing Field." The parish of Ewelme, in Oxfordshire, is in old writing styled "New Elme," but Æwilme is its proper Saxon designation, i.e. a spring. Leland stumbles at the name, and his derivation need not be quoted. The Norman scribes were often sorely puzzled in the writing of names which even at this time defy our own orthography; hence they sometimes wrote the Oxfordshire Ewelme, "Lawelme," in a vain attempt to give the proper pronunciation. The sound of the first syllable of Ewen, as the Wiltshire Æwilme is now called, is perceptible in the older name of Yeoing, as it is still styled by the peasantry of the district.

It will be seen by reference to the map which I have prepared to accompany this notice, (Pl. III.) that a chapel once stood at the eastern extremity of Ewen. A tradition exists in the neighbourhood that this edifice was destroyed long beyond the memory of man, and that the materials contributed to form the south aisle of Kemble church, which is still called "the Ewen aisle." Near it rises a most beautiful spring of water. Here, doubtless, were celebrated the heathen rites of the first Anglo-Saxon settlers, until the Christian priesthood consecrated the spot, when a chapel was founded, and the spring dedicated to a saint.

The ecclesiastical canons failed to overcome this deep-seated reverence for wells and fountains. Those of King Eadgar were enacted in vain, and the most poetical of all the rites of heathenism continued to be observed in after ages, though veiled under another name. The custom of well-dressing is still observed, among other places, in the village of Tissington, in Derbyshire. The observance of silence at



MAP ILLUSTRATING A GRANT OF LAND AT EWEN AND KEMBLE, to the Abbey of Malmesbury by King Æthelstan, anno 931.

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these sources shews the deep reverence with which they were regarded. When Saint Willibrord invaded the sanctuary of the god Fossete in Friesland, he broke the spell by baptizing a convert at the fountain dedicated to that divinity, at which no one was allowed to draw water except in silence.* The same sentiment was observed by the Romans, as may be seen in the inscription given by Grivaud de la Vincelle,—NYMPHIS LOCI BIBE LAVA TACE.

On referring to the land-limits appended to the grant of Æthelstan, it will be observed that they commence with the "Hencofre," a word signifying both an overhanging bank and an upland. The locality here indicated which appears to retain some of its ancient features, having probably never been under cultivation, was perhaps a pasture for hogs. It is intersected by the Thames and Severn canal north of Ewen.

"Ofer" signifies also a shore or bank of a river; but this would not apply to our locality, which is situated at some distance to the north of the stream. Mr. Kemble observes that we have an oblique form of the word in Heanyfre; thus in the Codex Dipl. Ævi Saxon. No. cciv. vol. i. p. 258, we find in the land-limits of a charter of Coenvulf, A.D. 814, "Haec sunt nomina pastuum porcorum, helfredingdenn, hunbealding hola, frumesing leah, burnesstedesdenn heanyfre," etc. c

"Perestone" may be accepted for Perestün (Preostes-tun?) and probably designated a homestead, the memory of which survives in "the Peazons" or "Peaston." The road running north from Ewen is called "Peaston Lane."

"Lydwell" derives its name from a spring called by the country people "Liddell." The locality is indicated on the map.

The "Fosse" is, of course, the Roman road leading from Circnester.

The "wolucrundel" is the far-famed source of the Thames.

The "Horestone" stands, and appears to have stood since the day on which the charter was subscribed by Æthelstan and his court, a few yards above the spring, just without the boundary wall of the "Fossway." Of its antiquity there can be no doubt. I exhibit a sketch of it in situ. It will be seen that it has been adapted to the purposes of a horse-block or "upping-stock." Here, doubtless, travellers in old times halted to refresh themselves and their beasts, the Fossway not being then inclosed. When Leland took his journey from Cirencester to Malmesbury, he passed this spring. In his Itinerary he says, "First I roode about

^a Vita S^t. Ludgeri, lib. I. apud Script. Brunswie, ed. Leibnit. tom. I. ed. Hanov. 1710; et Acta Sanctorum, tom. III. c. x. p. 566.

b Arts et Metiers des Anciens, planche lxxiv.

^{* &}quot;Yfre" occurs in another charter of Æthelstan, No. cocum. Codex Dipl. Ævi Saxon. vol. ii. p. 172.

a mile on Fosse, then I turnid on the lift hand, and cam al by champayne grounde, fruteful of corne and grasse, but very little wood."a

The "Lytle Berwe," I am unable to offer more than a conjecture as to this spot, but it is probable that it is to be traced in the rising ground, in a line with the Foss road a short distance southward. A circle of ancient thorns still stands there, and might have afforded shelter to cattle in old times when the land was uninclosed. In the dialect of North Wilts, to "get into the Bur" is to get into a place of shelter from the wind.

The "zunt stone" I take to be a large pyramidal stone which formerly stood on the spot known as "Kemble head," and which was removed from its place a few years ago when the toll-gate was erected there. The name is an enigma to me, unless it is the chirographer's orthography for "shunt stone," or pillar placed where the road deviates. To shunt a train, in well known railway phraseology, is to direct it on to another line of rails. If this be not the true meaning, I am unable to offer a better; unfortunately, the language in which the cartulary containing these land-limits is transcribed is of a much later date than the grant, and, though there can be no doubt of their authenticity, they are much less intelligible than if written in the pure Anglo-Saxon in which they were first dictated. When I visited the spot, this stone was lying under the wall near the toll-gate, but I have reason to believe it will soon be restored to its former resting-place.

Here identity fails us. The southern boundary of the grant is, however, traced by a somewhat tortuous course until it reaches the Thames, proceeding thence to the locality first named, viz. the Hencofre in Perestone.

We have now to identify the localities named in the Appendix to these landlimits.

The first mentioned is the twenty-three acres of meadow land lying in "feor more." These, by a concord between the Abbot of Malmsbury and the men of Ewelme on the one part, and Robert Fitzpayn, Lord of Poole, and the men of that village on the other part, appear to be situated on the western side of Poole, and to extend as far as the Malmesbury Road, or Iter Regium as it is termed in that instrument, a copy of which is appended.

"Bikenhulle" appears to be the rising ground above the well-known spot

^a Itinerary, vol. ii. p. 24, ed. 1744.

^b In a cartulary of Malmesbury Abbey in the British Museum (Add. MSS. No. 15,667), we find "zunyte stone," but this affords no better clue to the real meaning.

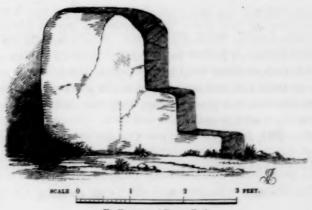
^e Robert Fitzpayn was summoned to Parliament 14th Edw. III.

called "Bitnum Spring" by the country people. The real name, however, is "Bicknam Spring;" and I am informed that it is thus designated in the Court Rolls of Somerford, to which parish it was "presented as a watering-place centuries past." Mr. G. F. Newmarch, of Circnester, to whom I am indebted for assistance in the compilation of the accompanying map, as well as for a sketch of the Hoare-Stone, informs me that in a deed of the year 1801 the meadow below the spring is called "Bickenham Mead," and that in the Inclosure Award the lands above are all called "Bickenhams."

The locality designated "Scefernus grave," or grove, is too clearly indicated to be mistaken. Some large oaks and thorns are the sole remains of the wood which at the time of the grant, and doubtless for many centuries afterwards, covered this spot. It was probably the offering place of our heathen Saxon forefathers, and the scene of human sacrifices to Woden. This grove probably extended as far as the village of Poole, where the remains of a cross stands at the intersection of the roads. Though comparatively modern, it probably succeeded a more ancient erection, which obliterated while it interdicted the observance of unhallowed rites.

While engaged in tracing the boundaries of Kemble and Ewen, I was informed by Mr. Mansell that, about twenty years ago, when stone was dug on the right hand side of the road leading to Kemblehead, many skeletons were discovered, accompanied by relics similar to those already described. These objects were dispersed and lost, but the fact of their being found is indisputable. The spot is indicated on the map, and furnishes another proof of the early occupation of this interesting district by Anglo-Saxon settlers.

- a It is so called in Andrews' and Drury's Map, but is not mentioned in the Ordnance Survey.
- b In the "Valor Ecclesiasticus," vol. ii. p. 122, Leonard White is mentioned as Bailiff and Keeper of the Woods of Bremill and Kemell.



The Hore-stone at Thames Head

EXTRACT from a CARTULARY of the ABBEY of MALMESBURY, preserved in the Stone Tower adjoining Westminster Hall, in the Custody of the Right Hon. the Master of the Rolls, pursuant to the Statute 1 and 2 Vic. cap. 94.

Concordia in Abbtem Malm 7 Robtu fit Pag dnm de Pole.

Nouerint universi quod cum contentio mota esset int dnm Wiltm Abttem Malmest reiusdem loci Conuentum ex parte vna v Robtum filium Pagani dominu de Pole ex altera sup appropiacione soli illius more que uocatur Ferremore tandem ex discretorum uirorum consilio pax in hunc modum reformata est uidelicet quod predĉi Abbas 7 Conuentus pro se 7 successorib5 suis 7 hominib5 suis de Ewelme ? predes Robertus pro se ? heredib; ? assignatis suis ? eciam hominib; suis de Pole concesserunt quod solum predce more a fossato re de Pole usq, ad il regium quod uocatur strete p bundas 7 diuisas p iuros fidedignos equaliter in duas partes diuidatur 7 illa pars soli predce more que iacet uersus orientem ? usus domum Willi Vincent predcis Abbti ? Conuentui ? corum successorib; 7 eciam hominib; eorum de Ewelme quieta 7 soluta remaneat imppetuŭ sine aliqua contradcone seu reclamacone predci Robti ut heredum seu assignatorum suoz ut eciam hominum suorum de Pole v altera pars soli predce more que iacet usus occidentem predco Robto v heredibs seu assignatis suis 7 eciam hominib3 suis de Pole remaneat imppetuum. modo consimili put bunde ibidem posite que dividunt predcam moram plenius demonstrant. Ita tam quod pdictus Robtus : heredes sui 7 homines sui de Pole 7 eciam homines predcorum Abbtis 7 Conuentus de Ewelme habeant comunam suam cum omnimodis 7 omnib; auiis suis in toto solo illius more ex utraq, parte predce diuise ad uoluntatem eo3 imppetuum. Predči eciam Abbas et Connentus pro se 7 successorib3 suis 7 predes Robtus pro se + heredib; suis concesserunt quod quodam a pars illius more singulis annis a festo annunciaciónis b uirginis usq ad beati Petri quod dicitur aduincula tam de parte predcorum Abbtis ? Conuentus qam de parte predĉi Robti ? heredum suoz pporcionali? per uisum hominum de Ewelme 7 de Pole ponatur indefenso ad auia sua depascenda- videlic; ad equos boues uaccas bouiculos a uitulos scam quod sibi melius uiderint expedire. Et totum ressiduum illius more no indefenso positum remaneat ad cetera adia ociosa depascenda. Et si adia hominum de Pole in partem soli illius more que indefenso posita fuit a spectans ad predcos Abbem a Conuentum a homines suos de Ewelme intraulint Concessit predes Robs pro se a herediba suis quod auia possint impkari 7 quod predči homines sui de Pole predčis Abbti 7 Conuentui 7 corum successorib; racionabiles emendas scdm transgressionem fcam in loco predco faciant. Simili mº predci Abbas ? Couentus pro se a successorib; suis concesserunt quod si auia predcorum hominum de Ewelme sup partem predčim Robtum i heredes suos contingentem intrauerint quod pdca aulia possint impkare i emendas racionabiles capere scdm formam supius concessam. Concessum est eciam a predčis Abbe 7 Conuentu 7 a predĉo Robto pro se 7 heredib3 suis quod homines b homies de Ewellme 7 de Pole heant libam chaciam eorum cum auiis suis p predcam moram usq ad locum ubi pars more predce in defenso posita fuerit ad auia eorum de pascenda sine aliquo impedimento predcos Abbtis ? Conuentus ut successorum suorum ut hominum suorum de Ewelme ut predči Robti ut heredū suorum seu assignatorum suoz ut eciam hominum suoz de Pole. Liceat eciam predčis Abbti t Conuentui t eorum successorib; aueria extraneoz hominum in parte predče more ad eos spectante inuenta impkare t de eisdem racionabiles emendas capere. Liceat eciam eodem mo predčo Robto t heredib; suis p adiis extuneoz hominum in parte predče more ad ipm Robtum spectante impkatis emendas capere racionabiles. Concessit eciam predče Robs p se t heredib; suis qd predči homines de Ewelme possint hre chaciam suā ad adia sua comoda t omnia usus predčam moram chacienda p tram suam que uocatur estdroue. Ita tamen quod moram in eadem faciendo pasturam illam n depascant quod si fecint predči Abbas t Conuentus pro se t successorib; suis concesserunt quod Robs t heredes sui ipa adia possint impkare t rationabiles emendas inde capere. In cui rei testimonium hoc scriptum biptitum inter partes est confectum t sigillis pcium altatim appensis roboratum. Hiis testibus t cetera.

X. On Choirs and Chancels, particularly as to their use in the South of Europe.

By ARTHUR ASHPITEL, Esq., F.S.A.

Read January 15, 1857.

There is scarcely anything more perplexing to the architect in building churches in the revived medieval style than the treatment of the chancel. If he knows anything of, or has any feeling for, Gothic art, he must know how bad, in every point of view, a small or short chancel is. Very few ancient examples are less than one-third of the total length of the building, while in very many the chancel is quite as long as the nave. If the architect follows these proportions, and complies with a notion which has been lately promulgated, and which we shall presently have to examine, that the laity should not be allowed to enter the chancel, then he is told that he has built a church one-third of which is useless; that a large portion of the service is read at such a distance that people cannot hear, and that he has wasted money simply to get a good external effect.

At the same time a strange anomaly has sprung up with regard to our cathedrals. Here an idea the very reverse prevails, and, instead of a vacant chancel or choir, the nave is thrown out of use, and the people all huddled into the chancel, so that the utilitarians reproach us with wasting one-third of our churches, and three-fourths of our cathedrals.

Impressed with these circumstances, it was natural on a late visit to Italy that I should endeavour to observe all the usages and practices, and collect all the traditions that I could, with regard to choirs and chancels. The facts that came under my notice seemed so different to what I had expected to find, and the traditions seemed so novel, that, although in such a learned Society as this, I must expect they have not wholly escaped notice, I yet think the few remarks I have to make may be of interest, rather as pointing out a way for future investigations than as adding much of my own to our stores.

To inquire more fully into these matters, it would be well to consider for a few moments what the choir was in the early Christian Church; what changes it underwent in the middle ages; and to what uses it is put at this time in Southern Europe.

It will be unnecessary to dwell at length on the subject of the early Christian Church, the whole design of which was derived, not from the pagan temple, as so many have supposed, but from the classic basilica or justice halls. From worshipping in caves and catacombs, the Christians were permitted by wealthy converts to occupy these buildings, which were attached to most great men's houses; and, on the accession of Constantine, so convenient was the form found to be, that a great number were built expressly from that type for Christian worship; and it is said many which then existed were expressly converted to that use.

One of these was the Sicinian basilica, which existed in the time of Ciampini, who has given plans and elevations of it in his first volume. This was a simple oblong building, about sixty feet by forty, without columns, at one end of which was a semi-circular apsis or exedra, where in classic times was the $\beta_{\eta\mu a}$, "tribunal" or judgment-seat, or, in later times, the throne of the bishop and seats for the presbyters. It was raised three steps, and in the middle of the raised part stood the altar. At the opposite end to the altar was a small porch two stories in height.

The general type of the Roman basilica may be seen by the plan before us. It is that of St. Clement at Rome, which is known to have existed there as early as in the year of our Lord 417, and was probably built by Constantine. As may be seen, it is divided into a nave and side-aisles by columns, has the usual atrium or cloister in front, and a $\nu a \rho \theta \eta \xi$, or porch. I shall not, however, give any further description of these, with which most of our Fellows are probably well acquainted, but shall confine myself to such portions as bear directly on the choir, or $\chi o \rho o s$. And first of the $\beta \eta \mu a$, or semi-circular part in which the altar stands; this is always raised above the rest of the church, and extends in some cases, as San Pietro in Vincoli, San Michele in Sassia, &c. only to the chord of the semicircle. In other cases it extends to a pier, or pilaster, a short distance from the apsis, and before the commencement of

^a Ausonius, "Gratiarum Actio pro Consulatu," addressed to the Emperor Gratian, says, "Basilica olim negotiis plena, nunc votis pro tuâ salute susceptis." The 12th Sermon of St. Augustine must have been preached in a basilica formerly belonging to some great man, as it is intituled "Sermo habitus Carthagini in Basilica Fausti." Ambrose, in his 33rd Epistle to Marcellina, "de non tradendis Basilicis," talks of demanding the extramural "Basilica Portiana."

the colonnade, as at the Sessorian, Santa Maria in Trastevere, San Crisogono, the Ara Celi, and others. In other cases it extends down the nave one, two, and even three columns, as at Santa Agnese. The altar generally stands in the middle of this raised platform; but in some cases, as at Santa Sabina, San Marco, San Giorgio in Velabro, and in all the lately restored basilicas, it stands forward at its extreme edge.

Around the semicircle, or apsis, were seats for the presbyters, in the middle of which, of course exactly behind the altar, was the $\theta_{\rho\rho\nu\rho\rho}$ of the bishop. At San Clemente and at San Lorenzo this is also of marble.

In almost all basilicas the priest says mass at the back of the altar, of course facing the people; this was the early Christian practice for the consecration of the elements, and has never been discontinued in these buildings. Under the altar is almost always a "confessione" or "martirio," a sort of inclosure in which the relics of the martyrs or saints are preserved. In many cases these form crypts, which are excessively curious. Where they exist the altar is necessarily raised a great many steps. In others it is always raised at least three steps. In the instance before us, that of San Clemente, the $\beta_{\eta\mu\alpha}$ is elevated five steps. It is inclosed by a sort of screen, or low wall, of marble, about four feet high, some of the panels of which were perforated like railings, and no doubt were the cancelli, or $\kappa\nu_{\mu}\lambda\lambda\delta\delta_{\eta}$ of the Greeks.

In front of this is the only perfect specimen of the choir, or "chorus cantantium," of the early Christian Church now existing. This is an inclosure, wall, or podium, of marble, about four feet high, carved with crosses and emblems, and inclosing two pulpits, or ambones, one for reading the Gospel and preaching, the other for reading the Epistle; near the former is the column on which the paschal taper was burned: there is also a smaller desk in front, said to be for the principal cantor, all of marble. In this inclosure the chorus sat and sang the Psalms, Hymns, and Doxologies. To the left of the altar, on an elevation like that of the $\beta\eta\mu a$, was the senatorium, or place for men of senatorial dignity; to the right a similar place was called the matroneum, and was no doubt intended for women of rank. The floor is paved with beautiful opus Alexandrinum, or that elegant geometrical mosaic said by Lampridius to have been invented in the time of Alexander Severus, and to have been called after his name. All is quite perfect, and, though the church has undergone many restorations, it seems quite clear

a This and the cancelli are indicated by a darker tint in the Plate.

^b Alexandrinum opus marmoris, de duobus marmoribus, hoc est porphyretico et Lacedemonio primus instituit. Ælius Lamprid. in vita A. Severi.

that the choir, with its contents and inclosures, stands now exactly as it did in the days of Constantine. To the right and left of the altar are two other apsides of later date. These are of early use in the Primitive Church. Paulinus, who was made the Bishop of Nola in 409, writing to Severus as to a church which he was then building, mentions similar recesses (Epist. 12), which he calls segretaria, and directs two inscriptions to be placed over them, from which we gather one to be intended as a sacristy to receive the sacred vessels, &c. and the other to hold the books. His words are:—

A dextra absidis.

Hic locus est, veneranda penus qua conditur, et qua Promitur alma sacri pompa ministerii.

A sinistrà ejusdem.

Si quem sancta tenet meditanda in lege voluntas, Hic poterit residens sacris intendere libris.

These recesses were probably derived from the niches or exedræ found in ancient basilicas on each side of the great apsis, especially the one at Herculaneum and that of Eumachia at Pompeii.

Such, then, was the arrangement of the Primitive Church, which we have seen to be derived from the classic basilica, and which, in Rome at least, has been the type of the Christian Church to the present day.

In other countries there were gradual changes through Byzantine or Romanesque forms to those with which we are all so well acquainted.

There is, however, one circumstance on which I may be permitted to remark that offends extremely the Italian scholars and archæologists, which is the use of a phrase which has lately obtained much, and was no doubt originally partly intended to give honour to our noble English Mediæval art, and partly adopted through a confusion of ideas of the temple and basilica, and that is the use of the words "Pagan" and "Christian" as applied to the various styles of architecture. "What," have the Italians said to me again and again, "are those buildings in which the holy apostles and their successors have preached, which have been imbued with the blood of saints and martyrs, where synods and councils have sat, and which have existed here to the present day, to be called Pagan! while that style which we know to be Saracenic, and imported from the East by the Crusaders into the North of Europe, and which never has taken root in Rome, is alone to be called Christian! Mahomedan to be called Christian, and the style of the apostolic age

Pagan! Questo e pure canzonarci, Signore:—this is laughing at us, Sir [or, more literally, singing songs at us, Sir]. What would you think, Signore," said one of the priests to me, "if we were to come into England and say that the duomos of York and Canterbury were Hottentot? One dogma would be as true as the other." I must confess I was puzzled for an answer.

But to return: after the sixth or seventh century, a new rule or order was springing up,—a body separated from the secular clergy grew into existence, and exercised the most important influence in all ecclesiastical matters. The Eremites, or dwellers in the wilderness of Egypt, under the rule of Antony or Pachomius, now extended themselves gradually over the whole Christian world in the form of various monastic bodies, and with their increase grew up new constitutions, new customs; the most important of which, and one that seems wholly to have been overlooked in this investigation, is the establishment of a custom among all bodies, where a "conventus" or assemblage of clergy could be found, that another entirely separate set of services distinct from those of the laity should be daily observed. The time at which their observation first began is very uncertain.

The great Roman authority Carranza places it in that of Pope Damasus the First (371), but our learned Bingham and Joseph Mede consider it to have grown by degrees, and not to have been perfected till many years later. A service specially used by the Monks in the morning and evening is noticed as early as the time of Cassian; but the regular observance of those called the canonical hours, or the breviary services sung by the Monks at every third hour of the day and night, seems to have grown up so gradually it is impossible to fix its date. But at the same time with this change sprang up the difference in the choir of the churches, which difference in the building no doubt sprung from the rising idea that there were services peculiar to the clergy from which the laity ought to be excluded. The best authority probably is that of Durandus, who tells us (lib. i. cap. 3, 35) that, "in the Primitive Church, the peribolus, or wall which encircles the choir, was only raised elbow-high (usque ad appodiationem), and which is still observed in some churches, whence it came that the people, seeing the choral clergy, might thence take a good example. But in this time (he goes on to say)

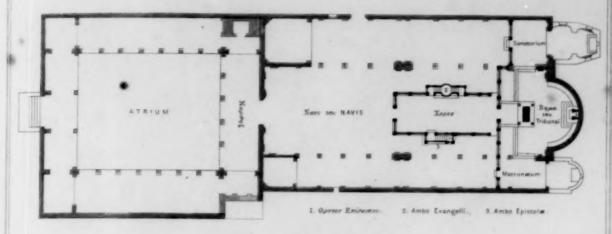
a Summa Conciliorum, 84 verso, 1570.

^b Lib. iii. cap. 3. Quod tempus designat matutinam nostrum solemnitatem; deinde tertia, inde sexta, post hæc nona, ad extremum undecima in qua lucernalis hora signatur.

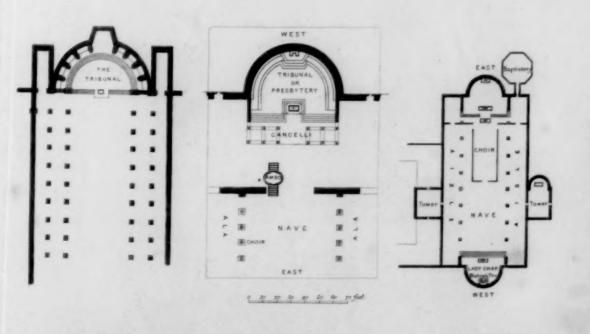
See also ib. Institutionum, lib. ii. De Canonico nocturnorum, orationum, et Psalmorum modo.

Ibid. iii. 2. Quamobrem exceptis vespertinis horis ac nocturnis congregationibus nulla apud cos per diem publica solemnitas celebratur.

THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF SAN CLEMENTE, AT ROME.



10 9 10 20 30 40 Sp feet



TRAJANS BASILICA OR JUSTICE HALL ROME, A.D. 98. PLAN OF ANCIENT BASILICA OF ST PETERS, ROME, A.D. 330 SAXON CATHEDRAL CANTERBURY, A.D. 950.



almost always a veil is hung up, or a wall interposed, between the clergy and the people, lest they should mutually look at each other." Several attempts, as we shall hereafter notice, seem to have been made by the laity to mingle with their services, but eventually the matter has resolved itself as it is in the present day; viz. the laity are admitted to masses at different times that may be convenient (before noon), to public vespers, which are, in fact, a visit to the preconsecrated host, ave-marias, &c., and to occasional services, as litanies, Te Deum, &c., while the clergy celebrate, at every third hour, services given in the breviary, and called matins, lauds, primæ, tertiæ, sextæ, nones, vespers, and compline, in which the laity have no part.

The form which choirs, as we call them, have assumed in England and in Northern Europe is well known to all our members. At Milan, where the Ambrosian rite still prevails, the choir is raised some steps above a "confessione," and is surrounded by stalls, while two ambones, considerably elevated, and of most beautiful form, stand at the extreme ends of the choir-seats, close to the nave. At Rome, and in some places in Tuscany, the choir is in its primitive position before the altar. In many other places it is behind the altar, in a sort of Ladychapel; in others, and by far the greater number, it is in a separate side-chapel, sacristy, or chapter-house.

The main difference in the North of Europe is the position of the cancelli, or rails. They formerly separated the altar from the choir; now they separate the choir from the nave. The idea that the laity should never enter the chancel or choir, has always been a puzzle to antiquaries, in spite of some dicta which will be hereafter examined. The practice of going to the high altar is so often named,—it has also seemed so difficult to believe, when we see such a choir as that at Canterbury, raised up so many steps and inclosed by such a massive screen and such high walls, how a service was celebrated at which the laity were called on "to draw nigh," and where they could neither draw nigh, nor see, nor hear. But there is the positive testimony of Barclay in the Shippe of Fooles, p. 183, which shows that the laity were not only admitted to the church, but also the choir or quere: he says—

"And whilst the priestes also themselves exercise,— In matins, praying, sermon, or preaching divine, Or other due things that longe to their service, Teaching the people to virtue to incline, Then these fooles, as it were roving swine, With their jetting, and tales of viciousness, Trouble all such service that is said, more and lesse.

- "Into the church there comes another sotte,
 Without devotion jetting up and downe,
 Or to be seene, and to shew his garded cote;
 Another on his fiste a sparhawke or fawcone
 Or else a cokow, so wasting his shoon,
 Befors the aultar he to and fro doth wander,
 With even as great devotion as a gander.
- "One time the hawkes bells jangleth hye,
 Another time they flutter with their wings,
 And now the houndes barking strikes the skye,
 Nowe sounde their feete, and now the chaynes ringes
 They clap with their handes; by such manner of things
 They make of the church for their hawkes a mewe,
 And canell for their dogges, which they shall after rewe.
- "Some gigle and laugh, and some on maydins stare,
 And some on wives with wanton countenance;
 As for the service they have small force or care,
 But full delite them in their misgovernance—
 Some with their slippers to and fro do praunce,
 Clapping with their heeles in church and in quere,
 So that good people cannot the service heare.
- "Thus is the church defiled with vilany,
 And in steede of prayer and godlie orison
 Are used shamful bargains, and tales of ribawdry,
 Jestinges and mockinges, and great derision;
 There fewe are or none of perfect devotion;
 And when our Lord is consecrate in form of bread
 Therby walks a knave, his bonet on his head."—p. 183, &c.

This is not exaggeration, for the second part of the homily "On the right use of Churches" says, "They never cease their uncomely walking and jetting up and down and overthwart the church, and speak covetously and ungodly, scarce honest or fit for tavern or alehouse, in the house of the Lord."

Besides this, we have the well-known custom in France and Belgium, as well as in our own cathedrals to the present day, that the laity are, and always have been, admitted freely into the choirs.

It was therefore with no small interest I watched the practice in the different towns in Italy, and there found, invariably, that the laity, men and women, entered what we should call the different chancels, when mass was said, and took their seats in the stalls, or wherever was most convenient. On inquiring further I found this was and had been always an invariable custom, and still further discovered the word chancel is never applied to any portion of the building, but only to the gates and railings, "cancelli," which separate the various chapels from the other parts of the church; that what we call the choir, is by them called by its primitive name tribune,—the ancient $\beta\eta\mu a$; and that the "coro" or quire is in any place, side-chapel or otherwise, where it may be conveniently held, and, besides this, that it is shifted from place to place at different times according to weather, and not only so but that in most cases it ceases to be called the choir when the choir, or monks who form the choir and who sing the breviary services, have left it. But still, and here seems the point whence all these errors have arisen, while it is a choir—that is, while the breviary or choir services are going on—the gates or "cancelli" are carefully closed; sometimes curtains are drawn before them, and the laity are always rigidly excluded.

A still more striking instance is found in the Jesuit churches, which are all built without chancels or choirs. Ignatius Loyola found the system of assembling every three hours for short services so interfered with the life of active exertion which he required from all his followers, that this obligation is omitted in his constitutions, and, as thereby choirs would have been useless, they are never erected in Jesuit churches.

As has been said before, the choir, or coro, is moveable. This puzzles a stranger very much. I remember an instance where a friend who stood in the eastern limb of a large cross church alluded to it as the choir, "Oh! no, Sir," said the sacristan, "this is not the choir, this is the tribune." "Where, then, is the choir?" asked the perplexed stranger. "Why, Sir," said the sacristan, "at present it is in the third chapel on your right, but next week it will be in the chapel in the cloisters." At Santa Maria Novella at Florence it was sometimes behind the high altar and sometimes in the chapter-house or chapel degli Spagnuoli, in the Green Cloisters: at St. John Lateran, the coro before the late alterations was before the high altar, now in summer it is behind it, and in winter in a chapel leading out of the transept, built for the purpose. At Santa Maria Maggiore the coro in summer is in the Sforza Chapel (a side chapel), in winter in a chapel to the right as you enter. At St. Peter's, it is generally in the Clementine (also a side-chapel), in winter in the sacristy. In fact there is scarcely a church of any size that does not have its coro d'estate, and coro d'inverno, its summer and winter choir.

My next inquiry naturally was, whether women are, or ever had been, excluded from any portion of churches, and whether the sexes are or ever had been separated, or occupied separate places, therein. I was informed that the only parts of

the church where they are prohibited from entering are the crypts, or confessioni; and this prohibition is said traditionally to have first been made by the Empress Helena, and simply to prevent scandal. Of course they are forbidden to enter any part of the monastic dwellings, and even the cloisters where the monks take exercise. On further inquiry I was told that the separation of women in church formerly was peculiar to the Greek Church; that nation for many years keeping the women in a yovaskasov, or sort of harem, in their own houses, and placing them in galleries in their churches, and that many casual allusions to this custom are to be found in the writings of the Greek Fathers; but that at Rome, where the women stood on an equal footing in society with the other sex, it never was so. I chanced to recollect a passage in Saint Augustin, de Civitate Dei (ii. 28), where he speaks of men and women going separately to the churches to pray, as he expresses it, "honesta utriusque sexus discretione;" but found this was a custom kept up to the present day, in times of pestilence or trouble, or before the great festivals, when the men and women go, not separately to different parts of the same churches, but each to a different church. I remember one of these services at San Giuseppe dei Falegnami, where the building was filled entirely by women, and persons posted at the doors to prevent the entrance of any of the other sex. But I was still more surprised to find in the Italian cantons of Switzerland that this, the separation of the sexes in churches, was considered to be a Protestant innovation. It appears it is practised in those cantons, and not in the Catholic cantons. One of the priests showed us a little tract containing a long list of the alterations made at the time of the Reformation, when this very

^{*} The Apostolic Constitutions (Labbe, i. 226) give directions for the doorkeepers, πυλωροί, to stand at the doors of the men, guarding them, ψυλάσσοντες αὐτὰς; and the deaconesses, αὶ διάκοναι, to do the same at the women's gates. These constitutions evidently have reference to the Greek Church, and are probably not older than A.D. 250; some think them altogether spurious.

St. Cyril, Præfat. in Catech. viii. Διεστάλθω τὰ πράγματα ἄνδρες μετὰ ἀνδρῶν, καὶ γυναϊκες μετα γυναικῶν.

St. Chrysostom, in the 74th homily on Matthew, speaks of a boarded partition, ταὶς σανίσιν, between the men and women; but says, he has heard from old people that it was not so formerly, ὅτι τὸ παλαιὸν οὐδὰ ταῦτα ἡν τὰ τείχεια: and further on he speaks of men and women praying together in the upper chamber in the time of St. Paul.

These are all authorities of the Eastern Church. Bingham, book viii. chap. 5, sec. 7, shows the women were placed in galleries, called ἐπερώϊα; he also shows, sec. 8, that there were curtains to draw before them.

It is a very curious fact, that Stephen Durantus, de Ritibus Ecclesiæ, i. 18, does not say of his own authority, or as a known practice in his day, that there was this separation; but makes a curious allusion to Amalarius Fortunatus, Bishop of Treves in the ninth century, who orders that men and women in the churches should be separated not only from kissing, "non solum ab osculo carnali, sed etiam situ locali." There is no mention of such separation in the famous Durandus.

practice was quoted as an innovation, and ascribed to the famous Zuinglius. In fact it seems difficult to believe that such a separation could be effected in churches unless they were seated in modern fashion. And, although we know that pews were antecedent to the Reformation, for Bale in "The Image of both Churches," B. b. 8, speaks of "all shrynes, images, church stooles, and pews that are well payed for," yet their general use did not obtain till considerably later, as I believe is generally conceded.

But to return to the former part of our subject, viz., that the laity should not enter the chancels of churches: this opinion seems to have arisen a short time ago, after the publication of a translation of part of the celebrated Rationale of Durandus. It runs thus, "Unde statuit Concilium Moguntiacum quod pars illa quæ cancellis dividitur ab altari psallentibus tantum pateat clericis."

Now, curiously enough, this dogma is not to be found in the canons of the Council of Mayence in the year 813; yet it is in the third canon of the second Council of Tours, held in the time of Pope Pelagius the First, from A.D. 555 to 560. But this would exactly agree with the modern practice, if we suppose for a moment that the psallentes clerici mean, as the words do now, the clergy while singing the offices, or a choir while it is a choir. But just let us turn to the same canon as it stands, and read the concluding words, "Ad orandum et communicandum laicis et feminis (sicut mos est) pateant sancta sanctorum"—for prayers and for communicating let the Holy of Holies (the strongest expression that could be used) be open to the laity and to women, as the custom is." It is true that a somewhat different version may be given to the seventeenth canon of the fourth Council of Toledo, held under Pope Honorius, A.D. 681, where the laity are directed to communicate below the choir. And at first sight a still more different idea may be inferred from the sixty-ninth canon of the sixth Council of Constantinople, where the title of the canon reads, "Laicus non ingrediatur chorum excepto Cesare"-let no layman enter into the choir except the Emperor. But, on reading the canon itself, the words are "within the sacred altar"—intra sacrum altare—or, in the words of the other council, the Holy of Holies. We see in how many senses the words are taken.

Let me now return for a short time to the actual practice abroad, and take for example that at St. Peter's itself at Rome. In general, as I have before stated, the breviary services are sung in the Clementine Chapel—a noble chapel on the left of the nave as you go up. This is filled with stalls and other seats, and has two organs facing each other. At one corner is a small private door leading to the sacristy, through which I was kindly permitted to pass when I pleased, except

at the time when the choir was assembled, when a nod from the nearest priest, and the whisper of the word "coro," of course sent me back directly. We will suppose the tierce, tertiæ, or nine o'clock morning service, is over-the priests gone, and the metal gates open. It is an ordinary week day, or feria. A little after ten the professional singers assemble, and take their seats in a species of orchestra. The people assemble and fill the chapel, and high mass is performed. When this is over the chapel remains accessible to everybody till noon, when the priests again assemble: the gates are closed, and the sextæ are sung; and so on of the other services. On Sundays and festivals of higher character, instead of the high masses being sung in this chapel, they are invariably performed in the upper limb of the church, which we should call the choir, and which they call the tribune, the laity filling that portion of the building, and coming as near the altar as convenience will permit: a very great proportion of the high altars abroad have no rails. But on the great funzioni, or highest festivals, when the Pope himself says mass, it is at the altar under the dome, the great concourse of the laity filling the nave. In fact, I believe through the Continent the various portions of the church are used, mutatis mutandis, according to the number of people expected to attend, and in the best way convenience may dictate.

Another point to which my attention was directed was the orientation, as it is called, of churches. As many of our members are aware, this is wholly disregarded in Italy. The churches stand north or south, east or west, as convenience may require, and not only so, in such instances as that of St. Peter's itself, and St. John Lateran, at Rome, and at Santa Maria dei Fiori at Florence, which stand in open spaces, the altars are placed at the west end instead of the east, simply because the principal front is best seen at the east end. In England, as is well known, the designs of many of our churches have been quite spoiled by the rigid way in which the rule of placing the altar at the east end is enforced. On talking this matter over I found that it was a sort of tradition that at the time of the compilation of the Book of Common Prayer the Reformers were unwilling to use the words "the Gospel side of the altar," "in cornu Evangelii," and that, therefore, the rubric stood as it does now, "And the priest standing at the north side of the table shall say," &c. It will be seen at once that this must of necessity enforce the orientation of the altar, otherwise the north side might mean before or behind the table. These traditions seem vague, but are certainly curious, and deserve reflection and consideration.

One that I heard is not exactly to our present point, but it explains an anomaly so often observed and commented on, that I hope to be excused for introducing it

on the present occasion. We are all aware that every nation but ourselves, and, in fact, our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects as well as foreign nations, all pronounce Latin in the Italian mode, making A and E broad, and so are understood by the learned wherever they travel-a source of course of the greatest convenience, and a sort of passport among all literate men. Now we, from our being taught to pronounce the language as we do our own, are utterly unintelligible abroad, and lose these advantages entirely. As it is clear it was not always so in England, I inquired whether there was any tradition as to the time when this practice commenced, and any reason for it, and was told it originated in the reign of Elizabeth, at the suggestion, it was said, of the famous Sir John Cheke; but this can scarcely be, as he died in the last year of Queen Mary. It was probably his son, Sir Henry Cheke. Be this as it may, the tradition is that the modern English pronunciation of Latin was then first taught in all grammar schools, the object being to detect those who had received their education abroad, and so might be suspected of being priests in disguise, or persons disaffected towards the Government.

I should be sorry to be supposed to go beyond my province at all. My profession is to build churches, rather than to teach others how they should be used. But these points I have alluded to are the very points that touch us the most nearly; as convenience and economy of disposition are the very life and soul of architecture. At any rate I hope to be excused if I throw out for the consideration of others, whether there be any objection why the daily services, early morning services, or those where, from the pressure of occupation or other causes, but few can attend, might not be held in the choirs and chancels, instead of a few persons being thinly scattered over a large cold church; and why the Sunday or other important services should not be held in the nave. I see but one objection, and that is, the Church of England, as Bingham has shown, has but one altara in every church; but late investigations have declared that altar shall be moveable. Far be it from me to do more than invite attention to the simple fact, and I hope those who from profession and leisure are better ritualists than myself will investigate this most interesting and important subject at greater length.

^a Bingham also cites St. Ignatius, ad Philadelph. iv. "Εν θυσιαστήριον, ως είς ἐπίσκοπος, " one altar, as there is one bishop," and uses much the same phrase, ad Magn. vii.

He also cites Aug. Hom. iii. in 1 Johannis.

XI. Additional Observations to Mr. Ashpitel's Paper on Chancels, by John Henry Parker, Esq., F.S.A. In a Letter addressed to Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., F.R.S., Director.

Read February 5, 1857.

Oxford, Jan. 7, 1857.

DEAR SIR HENRY,

I was unfortunately not able to attend the Meeting of our Society on the evening when my friend Mr. Ashpitel read his learned and valuable paper on Chancels, but I have since been favoured with the perusal of it, and have been requested to make some additional observations on the subject. Far be it from me to attempt to answer Mr. Ashpitel; on the contrary, I would rather confirm what he has stated and illustrate it by some notice of the practice in France and England, Mr. Ashpitel having avowedly confined his attention chiefly to Italy. He has clearly demonstrated that in this instance, as in many others, considerable errors and confusion have arisen from a different sense being given to the same word, or from a gradual change in its meaning. We were all probably aware previously that the word chancel is derived from the Latin word cancellus, or the Italian cancelli, signifying a railing or screen; but it had not occurred to us that the original use of this railing or screen was to protect the chorus or choir from the pressure and interruption of the people while they were singing; hence the two words chancel and choir are synonymous in the sense of the place for singing, but that place is not by any means necessarily the eastern limb of the church. He has shown us that in Italy this singing-place, choir, or chancel, is continually changed even in the same church at different seasons of the year.

In the south-west of France, as I have myself seen, and, as I am informed, in Spain also, the chorus are usually placed in the middle of the church, with as much space at the east end as at the west, and the congregation assemble on all sides of the choir, a large proportion being placed between the east end of the choir and the altar. The choir is railed off on all sides, and the altar has a separate railing in

a The church of Quimperlè in Britany is built on a very remarkable plan, the principal part of the fabric being circular, with the choir raised on a platform in the centre, and the aisles carried round it at a considerably lower level; both the nave and the apse for the altar being comparatively small and insignificant.

front of it. This custom is common in those provinces which were formerly English—Aquitaine and Gascony, and may probably have been introduced from thence into England. It is certain that in many churches in England the choir extended into the nave and was not confined to the eastern division of the building; it was surrounded by a screen separating it from the nave and aisles, and in some instances there seem evident marks of there having been a screen at the east end also. The choir extended only as far as the stalls, the space eastward of the choir being called the presbytery. In many churches there were small chantry chapels inclosed with screens called parcloses, and the space so inclosed for the chantry priests to chant the service was also called a chancel, so that there were several chancels in the same church. Many of these parcloses still remain, and many more have been destroyed within the last few years among the recent restorations.

Mr. Ashpitel has pointed out the arrangement of the ancient basilica or law court as the origin of the similar arrangement of the early churches, and the tribune or bema at the end forming a semi-circular apsis in which the seats for the priests were arranged in successive steps, exactly like a small Roman theatre, with the bishop's seat at the top overlooking all the rest, the altar being placed at the foot of these steps on the chord of the apse.

He has omitted to mention that the apsis or tribune was railed off by its own separate cancellus, even from the earliest period. The basilica of Trajan, built in A.D. 98, is precisely on this plan, with the Pagan altar on the chord of the apse; and, although there is no cancellus, there can be no doubt that there was one of wood, as the judge who sat behind it was thence called the "cancellarius." (See the Plate.)

In the plan of the original church of St. Peter at Rome, built A.D. 330 on the model of a basilica, the cancelli of the altar are distinctly marked, whilst the choir is insignificant and placed on the north side of the nave. In the Saxon cathedral at Canterbury, built A.D. 950, the same plan is copied, but in that instance three altars were introduced in the tribune, which had become the presbytery, besides others in side-chapels, and the choir had taken its place between the presbytery and the nave, nearly the same as in the churches of the twelfth century. It will be observed that there is no procession path round the east end; that custom did not come in until the twelfth century, when a change of the ritual rendered it necessary. The church on the island of Torcello at Venice is one of the most perfect specimens of this class, being quite unaltered, and should be added to the other examples cited by Mr. Ashpitel. This arrangement continued in use until the twelfth century, and the few stone churches built in England during the Saxon

period, being copied from Roman models, were on this plan. In several instances the semi-circular apse was destroyed, and a flat east end built, in the twelfth century. In some cases the plan seems to have been altered during the progress of the work. The old cathedral at Canterbury was on this type, but the arrangement was altered in the restoration after the fire. In the apse at Norwich the bishop's seat of the twelfth century still exists, or did when I was there last, on the top of the wall or solid screen which incloses the choir: it is hidden by modern work, and cannot be seen without a ladder.

Another point which Mr. Ashpitel did not mention, but which is interesting to us in England, is that the chancel, in the modern sense of the word, that is, the eastern division of the church, is not, in strict legal phraseology, part of the church at all. The parish is bound to keep the church in repair, but not the chancel, which belongs to the rector, and the rectorial estate is chargeable with the repairs. The landowners, who have become lay rectors, generally evade this duty as much as possible, and many chancels have been pulled down to save the expense of keeping them in repair. I remember an instance of a country church and chancel, which had fallen into a very bad state of repair, being rebuilt by subscription, and the lay rector munificently giving a hundred pounds on condition that the plan he approved of should be adopted, in which there was no chancel, so that he saved the rectorial estate not only the expense of rebuilding the chancel, but all future repairs also.

At the time of the Reformation this legal distinction between the church and the chancel was perfectly well understood, in popular language as well as in law. Many chancels were pulled down within a few years after the suppression of the monasteries which had supplied the chorus of monks. To stop this wholesale destruction, the order was introduced in the second Prayer-book of Edward

^a In other instances, however, the east end was originally square, as at Daglingworth, near Cirencester, a church of the ante-Norman period, which is also divided by two stone arches into three distinct portions: the Sanctuary, or place for the altar; the Choir, or place for the chorus; and the Nave, or place for the people. The same divisions may be noticed in other long narrow churches of later late, probably re-built upon old foundations, as Besselsleigh, Berkshire.

b In the Constitution of Archbishop Gray, A.D. 1250, after directing what things the parishioners are bound to provide, it is ordered that "all other things shall belong to the rectors or vicars, according to their several ordinations; that is, the *principal* chancel, with the reparations thereof, as to the walls, and roofs, and glass windows, with desks and benches, and other decent ornaments, that they may sing with the Prophet, Lord, I have loved the comeliness of Thy house."—Johnson's Canons, vol. ii. p. 177.

In the Legatine Constitution of Othobon, a.D. 1286, "And let them also cause the chancels of the church to be repaired by those who are bound to do it in the manner before expressed."—p. 232.

In both these cases it is evident that more than one chancel to each church was usual.

VI. that "chancels shall remain as they have done in times past." Numerous instances might easily be cited in which the chancels were destroyed at that period, the chancel-arch walled up, and a window of the debased Perpendicular Gothic in use at that time introduced, as the Abbey Church at Shrewsbury, Fotheringhay in Northamptonshire, Deerhurst in Gloucestershire, and numerous others,—probably each Fellow of this Society could supply instances from his own neighbourhood. In other cases the chancel-arch was walled up, and the chancel applied to some other use, such as a family burial-place, as at Arundel in Sussex, Dunster in Somersetshire, and many others. Several of these have, however, been restored to use in the recent restorations, which have done some good, as well as much harm from hasty indiscriminate zeal.

The order that the two Tables of the Commandments should be put up at the east end of the church does not mean of the chancel, but at the chancel-arch; and the chancel-arch was very commonly blocked up, either with a wall, or a partition of boards or plaster, against which these two Tables were placed. Beneath these was placed a third Table, called indifferently the Lord's Table, or the Lord's Board, or the Communion Table. This table or board was ordered to be moveable, and it was probably placed upon trestles, the same as a domestic table in a hall of the same period would have been. Whatever it rested upon certainly formed no part of the table, in the language of that day. The modern upholsterer's usage of the word table, to include the framework and the legs on which it rests, is not above a century old. I have occasionally met with the Tables of the Commandments of the time of Edward VI. or of Elizabeth, still remaining against the boarded partition under the chancel-arch. A Communion-table of that period I do not remember to have met with: they were all removed into the body of the church by the Puritans; and the earliest Communion-tables we find are generally of the time of Charles II. In these the table itself—that is, the board or slab—is always detached, resting on the framework by its own weight only, or else it is fastened with modern nails or screws. This seems to be in conformity with ancient usage, as we find mention in mediæval documents of the "tables

^{*} This order for the preservation of chancels was objected to by the Puritans on these grounds: "Whether the preservation of chancels be not scandalous to many by confirming them in the superstitious opinion of the holiness of one place more than of another."—Survey, &c. p. 40.

b Bucer objected to the communion table being placed on the same site as the altar had stood upon, and his advice was followed by Archbishop Grindal in his Injunctions, and in the second Prayer-book of Edward VI. But in the Injunctions of 1559 Queen Elizabeth ordered the tables to be replaced where the altars had formerly stood.

of the altars." In the legend of Charles the Good, Count of Flanders, in the twelfth century, these are mentioned in a manner that shows that they were detached from the substructure. In the islands of Jersey and Guernsey the Communion-table is usually kept in the vestry, and is brought out into the body of the church when it is wanted for use.

Many chancels were rebuilt in the time of Charles II., sometimes in the Italian style, in other instances in an imitation of Gothic work: of this latter class is the well-known chancel of Islip, Oxfordshire, built by the celebrated Dr. South, as recorded by an inscription on one of the tie beams. At this period the altar was always placed against the east wall, and protected by a railing; the chancelscreens were restored in some few instances, but far more generally the altar-rails only, in conformity with the practice of the early Christian Church, the custom of inclosing the high altar and the chorus within the same solid screen having been only introduced in the thirteenth century, along with the procession-path, and the Lady Chapel. The present altar-rails frequently mark the situation of the ancient screen between the sanctuary and the choir, as in St. Martin's church, Colchester, where the ancient division is very evident. As our present Prayerbook and Act of Uniformity are of the time of Charles II., the practice of those Anglican divines who assisted at this last revision, and the custom of their day, is a safer guide than that of the time of Elizabeth, which is no more binding on us than that of William the Conqueror.

Mr. Ashpitel has demonstrated that the custom of the orientation of churches does not exist in Italy, and never has been the practice in that country. It cannot therefore be a law of the Church; but it is remarkable that the custom has always been general, almost universal, in France and England, which seems to show an early tradition for it. The ancient Gallican Church, and through it the ancient British Church also, was of oriental and not of Roman origin, of which

a Cardinal Wiseman mentions in his "Fabiola, or the Church in the Catacombs," a tradition of the Roman Church, that St. Peter used a portable wooden altar, and among the relics preserved at St. Peter's at Rome is a wooden slab or board said by tradition to have been that altar. Cranmer was probably acquainted with this tradition.

^b A few instances also remain in different parts of the country of the Puritan usage, in which the Communion-table is placed in the middle of the chancel, with seats all round it, so arranged that it was impossible to kneel at it. I remember to have seen several of these, but they are fast disappearing.

^e Staveley, in his History of Churches, says, "The chancel at the east end thereof, warranted, it is said, by an apostolick constitution." (p. 154, 2nd edition.) In the margin he gives the Latin, but no reference. I need not remind you that the early canons of the Church, called the Apostolical Canons, were written in Greek in the second or third century. I have just read them through again carefully in John Johnson's translation, but can find no mention of this subject.

many ancient customs give evidence, especially the time of observing Easter, so warmly disputed between the followers of Gregory and the British bishops. The Welsh Church retained its ancient usage in this respect until the twelfth century. Most probably the orientation of churches is part of the same original tradition; but, as many churches are not due east and west, various theories have been started to account for this, the favourite one being the direction of the sun at its rising on the day of the saint after whom it is named. I think it more likely to have been on the day the foundation was laid; but I believe the variation to be generally accidental, arising from situation, or the nature of the soil, or some similar cause. Certainly many churches may be found dedicated to the same saint which have very different orientations; the rule seems to have been simply that the direction should be eastwards, without regard to the strict point of the compass, whether north-east or south-east.

It has always been, and I believe still is, a disputed point in law, whether the wall which separates the nave from the chancel, through which the chancel-arch is pierced, belongs properly to the chancel or the nave, and whose duty it is to repair it. The consequence of this is, that it is very frequently the oldest part of the church, the chancel having been rebuilt at one period, and the nave at another, and this wall and arch left standing in both, so that the chancel-arch may be of the twelfth century, or even earlier, while the chancel is of the fourteenth, and the nave of the fifteenth. But, as the early chancel-arch was very small, often not larger than a doorway, a larger arch has frequently been made through the wall at a later period. This is the case to a remarkable extent in South Pembrokeshire, where, the material being very hard and difficult to work, these larger arches are cut through the wall, as if they were hewn out of a rock, in a very rude and clumsy manner, the wall through which they are cut being usually very thick, and the task a difficult one.

I remain, dear Sir Henry, yours sincerely,

JOHN HENRY PARKER.

^a The variation of the axis between the nave and chancel is often very remarkable, and has given rise to various theories to account for it. The most usual cause I believe to be, that the two parts of the building were erected at different times, and the ground-plan laid out carelessly, which was frequently the case in mediæval work, even when the superstructure would have led us to expect extreme care. The most remarkable instance of this deviation is the cathedral of Quimper, in Britany; here the chancel is of a different date from the rest of the church, and, I believe, there was something in the nature of the site which prevented the straight line from being followed. In some instances, however, this deviation does appear to have been intentional, and it has not been satisfactorily explained.

XII. An Account of Researches in Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries at Filkins, and at Broughton Poggs in Oxfordshire. By John Yonge Akebman, Secretary.

Read 27 November, 1856.

During the last winter a mason, named John Farmer, while engaged in digging for stone in the village of Filkins, unexpectedly brought to light some Anglo-Saxon remains. Hearing by chance of this discovery, I proceeded to Filkins, and from the account I then received, I at once determined to apply for permission to undertake a systematic investigation of the spot. This was kindly granted by Mr. Robert Watts, the owner of the land, and on the 30th of September I commenced operations.

The village of Filkins is a township or hamlet about three-and-a-half miles north from Lechlade, and about five miles south-south-east from Burford, containing a population of between five and six hundred souls. It is a chapelry of Bradwell, from which it is distant one mile west. In the older maps it is divided into two portions, called "Over Filkins" and "Nether Filkins;" but this distinction appears to be now unknown to the inhabitants, and in the Ordnance Map it is marked less conspicuously than Broughton Poggs, a place with a much smaller population, from which it is divided by a brook, the confluence of two small streams, which I shall again have occasion to mention.

The spot in which the Cemetery is situated is on the north side or rear of the village, where the ground rises slightly and then sinks again, forming the bed of a small stream, which has its source in a field called "the Heads," a short distance to the east. The site, formerly a small paddock or garstun, called, from a former owner of the land, "Purbrick's Close," is occupied by a few cottages with small plots of garden-ground, and is bounded on the west by an ancient roadway called Thrup, or "Trupp Lane." This lane joins the high road, running northerly in

a This is the actual source of the stream; the water-course beyond, represented in the Ordnance Map, being merely a drain from the upland above it.

Probably a corruption of Thorp Lane.

the direction of Eastleach, first crossing the small stream which surrounds an old moated farmhouse a little to the left. The stream continues its course for a short distance, when it deviates to the south, and, uniting with the brook which has its rise about half a mile to the north, separates the villages of Broughton and Filkins.

The objects discovered by Farmer are as follow:

1. Grave containing the skeleton of a man, lying east and west, the head to the west. On the right side, the blade of a sword of the usual form, measuring with the tang exactly thirty-five inches; a spear-head of iron, measuring from the point to the end of the socket nineteen inches. The umbo of a shield, placed on the breast, was unfortunately broken into fragments by the pickaxe.

2. Grave in close proximity with the former, containing the skeleton of a woman lying east and west, with a number of amber beads near the neck, and a pair of dish-shaped fibulæ on the breasts. They are of a more simple pattern than the example figured in the Society's Proceedings, but have a similar star-shaped ornament in the centre, and are gilt on the inside.

3. Grave of a young man, the skeleton lying east and west. On the right side of the head a small spear, and by the side a knife.

4. Grave containing a skeleton without any relic.

The following is a diary of my own operations:-

Sept. 30. No. 1. Opened ground in "Purbrick's Close," a few feet eastward of the spot where the four graves had been previously discovered, but found no traces of interment in that direction. The excavation was then continued southward of the former opening, when a grave was found, at a depth of twenty-one inches only from the surface. It contained a skeleton of a young man, measuring about six feet. The dentes sapientize were not developed. No relic was observed.

No. 2. About three feet to the left of this grave another skeleton was discovered, without any relic. It measured four feet five inches. The dentes sapientize were not developed.

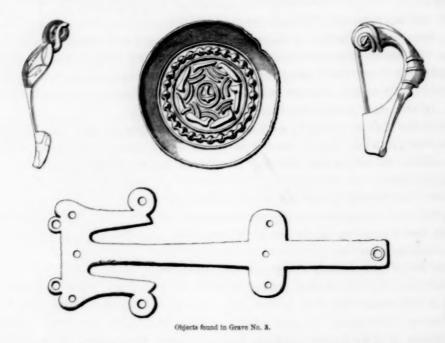
October 1. No. 3. Grave of a woman, the body in a crouching position, and the bones mingled with what appeared to be the remains of a prior interment. At the waist were two purse-guards. On the breast a saucer-shaped fibula between two others of Roman fabric. A single blue porcelain bead was found near the neck.

No. 4. About three feet south of the previous interment, a male skeleton was

^a Proceedings, vol. II. p. 132; Fairford Graves, p. 16.

found, lying on its side with the face turned to the north. On the breast were two flat ring-shaped fibulæ, and at the waist a bronze buckle.

The foregoing were all lying nearly east and west, the heads to the west, the graves varying from twenty-one inches to two feet in depth.



No. 5. Grave (two feet deep) of a young person, lying as nearly as possible north and south, the head to the south. On the shoulders two plain flat circular bronze fibulæ, and on the breast a portion of a hair-pin of bronze, which appeared to have been used for fastening the winding-sheet.

No. 6. Skeleton of a man, the femur measuring nineteen and a half inches, with a spear lying on the $left^*$ side of the head and a knife at the waist.

October 2. No. 7. Grave of a man, the skeleton measuring six feet two inches, the head turned to the left, the legs parallel. On the *right* arm, just above the elbow, the iron umbo of a shield. No other relic was observed.

No. 8. Skeleton of a woman, with two saucer-shaped fibulæ on the breast, and a hair-pin. At the waist, a large iron buckle and a knife, which fell in pieces on removal.

^{*} This, I believe, is an unique instance of the spear being placed on the left side of the head.

October 3. Our work this day much impeded by the rain, but was continued at intervals, without discovering another grave, and, as I had to satisfy the claim of an occupier of the ground before we proceeded further, we shifted the scene of our operations to the adjoining village of Broughton Poggs. Of these I shall presently render an account.

October 8. Resumed work at Filkins, north of the previous opening.

No. 9. Grave of a woman, the skeleton much decomposed, without any relic.

No. 10. Skeleton of a young man, measuring about six feet two inches, lying in a shallow grave hollowed in the rock at about two feet from the surface. The right hand lying on the breast; at the head, a small spear-head of iron. No other relic was observed.

October 9th and 10th. Continued excavations northward without discovering any traces of graves.

October 11th. Interrupted by the rain. Obtained leave to excavate south of the previous opening, but nothing was discovered in that direction.

October 13th. No. 11. On excavating a small strip of land at the eastern extremity of the Cemetery which had not been removed, the workmen discovered a female skeleton, lying north and south, the head to the south, without any relic whatever. It had escaped detection in consequence of its lying in the manner described, the ground being trenched from north to south. Thus terminated our exploration of the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Filkins.

From the foregoing account, it will be seen that the number of interments in this ancient burial-place was limited to fifteen. After carefully excavating the ground on all sides except the west, which is bounded by the ancient roadway already described, I am satisfied that this spot has been thus far thoroughly explored. It seems probable that both Filkins and Broughton were originally detached groups of homesteads, the offshoots of a larger population at Bradwell. We may perhaps refer the derivation of the name of the first to a family whose patronymic was Filk.

While engaged at Filkins, I heard from one of my labourers that he had found several graves some time since, when occupied in quarrying stone on the summit of a hill called "Kinching Knoll," about half a mile north of the village of Broughton Poggs. On application to John Thickens, Esq. the Lord of the Manor, I was kindly allowed to make further search, and this was prosecuted for two days, but unfortunately with little success, only one grave being discovered. The previous excavations had nearly exhausted this Cemetery, in which I learned that eleven skeletons, with their accompanying relics, had been found at short intervals.

The skeleton now discovered was apparently that of a woman passed middle age. It lay (like the rest, I am informed) east and west, and was less than six inches below the surface; a sufficient proof that these graves, like those at Kemble, had once been covered with tumuli. This was further evident from the crushed state of the bones, and the pressure on the two saucer-shaped fibulæ found on the breast. One of these was squeezed nearly flat, the paste or incrustation with which they had been filled having decomposed, and left the ornamental pattern impressed on the soil which covered it. At the waist was a small knife, the blade much worn by use.

The whole of the ground immediately surrounding the spot where these remains were found, was carefully trenched, but no other interments were discovered; yet we cannot feel certain that this burial-place was limited to twelve graves. Whether these were the sepulchres of the early settlers at Broughton, or of families whose homesteads were situated in the valley north of the village, and near the source of the stream, must be left to conjecture.

The objects exhumed at Filkins and at Broughton, though contributing varieties to the number already known, suggest but little for special observation. Their origin is, however, indisputable, and it is the duty of the Archæologist to place on record the particulars of every discovery of this kind.

The fibulæ resemble, as might be expected, those found at Fairford; and the purse-guards, if these objects are rightly designated, differ slightly in their general form from those already known. They are, I believe, the first that have been discovered in this district of England. They appear to have been fastened by thread, or study, to the purse, and one of them is much shorter than the other; but probably this is due to accidental fracture during the lifetime of the owner. The purse was doubtless often deposited with the dead, but, being formed of perishable materials, is rarely identified unless accompanied by objects like those under notice. Among the Old Saxons the stealing of a purse was a capital offence, and the cutpurse in England in old time forfeited his life.

In two respects there is a remarkable difference between the Cemeteries of Filkins and Broughton. In the former the remains were deposited at an average depth of two feet; at Broughton they were scarcely six inches below the surface. This latter

a These fibulæ are of bronze silvered, and appear to be constructed like those found at Fairford. Archeelogia, vol. XXXIV. pl. x. No. 4., Fairford Graves, pl. iii. No. 4: Remains of Pagan Saxondom, pl. xix. No. 2.

b Qui infra Screonam aliquid furaverit, capite puniatur. Lex Saxonum, iv. 4. Leibnitz observes on this: Screona, scrinium puto seu arca clausa. Hodieque Germanis furtum cum effractione capitali est. Scran is still a provincial word in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire for a small bag.

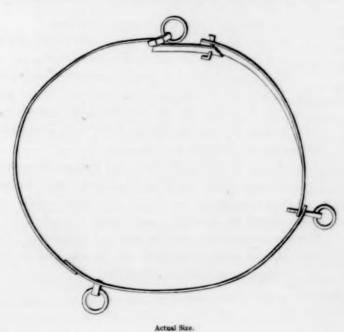
is, no doubt, to be attributed to the extreme shallowness of the soil; and it suggests, as already observed, the inference that these graves were once protected by mounds of considerable height and size.

But the most remarkable distinction is, that the Cemetery at Broughton is situated at some distance from the village, while that at Filkins is obviously within its ancient limits. Both, however, were chosen at an arrow's flight from the sources of streams, so highly venerated by our heathen forefathers. At the foot of the hill or upland of "Kinching Knoll," the site of the Broughton Cemetery, along the base of which winds the ancient road called "Kingsway," are two beautiful springs of water, the upper one known to the country people as "Ewelme Pill," the stream uniting with that which has its source at Filkins just above the junction of the two villages.

OBJECTS FOUND AT FAIRFORD.

I exhibit a few objects obtained by me from the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Fairford, five miles west of Filkins, of which the following is a list:—

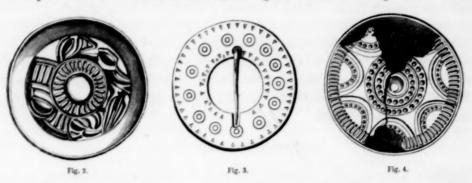
1. A bronze ring resembling an armlet, but probably the hoop of a pail-shaped box or casket, having three loops, the object of which must be left to conjecture.



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- 2. A very rudely ornamented dish-shaped fibula, the gilding in a remarkable state of preservation.
- 3. A quoit-shaped fibula plated with white metal, and ornamented with a pattern of circles stamped with a punch.
 - 4. A pair of circular fibulæ of bronze, having the ornament stamped on thin foil,



laid over the surface, and attached by means of some material which has perished, similar to those previously found at Fairford, Harnham, and the pair already described, found at Broughton. See Archæologia, vol. XXXIV. pl. x., fig. 4, and

vol. XXXV. pl. xii. fig. 9.

- 5. Tweezers and pair of ear-rings of bronze.
- Bronze object, apparently a terminal fitting of a girdle-strap, ornamented with circles and lines executed with a punch.
 - 7. Ring-shaped object of bronze, probably the armlet of a child.
- Nails found at the feet of a skeleton. Their heads are very prominent and resemble those found in Roman tombs.
- A plain button-like fibula plated with white metal, and the bronze tag of probably a girdle-strap.
- 10. Beads of amber and glass, the former being of the ordinary kind, and one of the latter bugle-shaped, about an inch long.

It only remains for me to add that these objects, together with those found at Kemble, have been deposited in the British Museum, where they may be seen and studied by the student of our national antiquities, and not be exposed to the accidents which threaten all private collections.



Fig. 6.-Actual Size.

XIII. Narrative by Sir William Swan, of a Journey to Dresden made by him, in 1678; from a Transcript preserved among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum. Communicated in a Letter to the Right Hon. the EARL STANHOPE, President, by Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., F.R.S., Director.

Read December 18, 1856.

My LORD,

I BEG to lay before your Lordship and the Society of Antiquaries a Narrative of some interest as regards the exhibition of the Manners of a former period.

It may not be unknown to your Lordship that, in the olden time, foreign Princes, who had been received into the Order of the Garter in this country, were usually accustomed to acknowledge their high sense of the honour so conferred upon them by the annual celebration of St. George's day in their own countries; thus doing honour to the Order by keeping its feast.

The Original of the Memoir I have here transcribed is preserved at Oxford among the manuscripts in Ashmole's Museum (No. 1134), and is entitled "Sir William Swan's Narrative of his Journey to Dresden, April and May, 1678."

He was at that time King Charles the Second's minister at Hamburgh. His Will, which is in Latin, dated 22nd August, and proved November 6th, 1678, shows us that he died in the latter part of the very year in which this Narrative was written. He there styles himself "Magnæ Britanniæ et Angliæ Regis ad Externa Negotia in Hamburgam Ablegatus plenipotentiarius."

Sir William Swan, in his earlier day, was about the Queen of Bohemia, and is mentioned in one of the Queen's letters to Sir Edward Nicholas: he is also casually noticed, two or three times, by Pepys. He married a daughter of Sir John Ogle, of Pinchbeck, in the county of Lincoln, sometime Lieutenant-Colonel to Sir Francis Vere in the Low Countries; but she died before him.

The Elector whom Sir William Swan visited on this occasion was George II., Duke of Saxony, and Prince Elector of the Holy Roman Empire. He had been elected K.G. 19th June, 1668; had been invested at Dresden 13th April, 1669; and installed by proxy 28th May, 1671.

This Narrative is curious on another account, inasmuch as it shows a most generous and magnificent reception on the part of the Duke of Saxony, of a private person.

For the chief particulars here detailed relating to Sir William Swan I am indebted to the kindness of Sir Charles G. Young, Garter King of Arms.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful Servant,

HENRY ELLIS.

To the Right Hon. the Earl Stanhope. &c. &c. &c.

A Brief Narrative of my Journey to Dresden, my Reception, Treatment, and Dismission there, and what else has been observed at that Court, and in my way.

The 11th of April, 1678, about noon, I went from Hamburgh by land, being strong twelve persons, viz.: myself; an Irish gentleman, Mr. Tobin, who came hither from Tangier; a secretary; and nine persons in livery: among these there was a Valet de Chambre, a page, a cook, a barber, a footman, and two grooms; beside coachman and postillion. I had a Coach with six Horses for myself; a waggon with four for my people and baggage; and four English saddle-horses.

On the 15th I arrived at Magdeburgh, where I found a letter from Count Vander Nath, advising me, That it was the Elector's desire I should take my Journey quite through his Country over Wittenberg, and not go to Leipsig, which I obey'd; and, entring his Country the next day, was received at Gommern (two miles from Magdeburgh) by the Elector's Officers there; treated with a handsome dinner, and so sent to Zerbst with the Elector's Coach and Waggons.

Half an hour after I was arrived there, Duke Charles Guillaume of Anhalt, who resided at that place, sent a Gentleman on horseback, with four of the Duke's footmen, to compliment me, and to desire me to lodge at Court; which I refused, but would not fail to kiss his Highness's hand the next morning.

Notwithstanding this, the Duke sent his own Brother, in a Coach with six horses and half a dozen footmen, fetch'd me to Court, treated me with a noble Supper, and forc'd me to lodge at Court. The next day his Highness sent me in

his Coach to Coswill; four gentlemen, many Pages, footmen, and Trumpets of the Duke's going along, and there caus'd me to be treated at Dinner, after which, about four o'Clock, I went to Wittemberg, and so further up the Country.

On the 19th I arrived at Haym, four miles from Dresden, whither a Commissary of the Elector's was come the day before to compliment me from the Prince, and to take my Credetifs from me, whom I told I had none, and that I came to the Elector as a private person upon his Invitation. Nevertheless, half a mile from the Residence, I was met with twenty-four Coaches with six horses, with the greatest men of the Court in them; and abundance of Cavaliers on horseback; beside about five hundred of the Elector's troops, with Trumpets, Kettle Drums, and other sorts of Musick: after that I was complimented, I was set in the Elector's own Coach; on both sides there went halbertiers bare-headed, all the soldiers and constables stood in arms, and in this manner I was conducted to the Castle and lodg'd there in the best Room, called the Elector of Branden-burgh's Quarter.

There were ordered to wait upon me, Mons' van Kosbott, Counsellour of the Court, and Justice, as Commissary and Cupbearer;

Mons' van Hangwitz, gentleman of the Elector's privy Chamber, and Major of Horse, as Marshall;

Mons' van Nostis, captain and gentleman of the Elector's privy Chamber;

Mons' Schaffer, Commissary of the Court;

Two gentlemen as Carvers;

A Page of the Elector's Chamber;

The Fouriers of the Court and Chamber;

A Trumpet;

A Footman;

All the Elector's Coachmen de Corps and Waggon-holders;

The four Officers of the Court, viz., Kitchen, Cellar, Silver-chamber, and Baking-house;

The Elector's Bed-master;

The Tapizier;

The Silver-keepers;

All the Watches of Drabants and Switzers.

That night I supped in my Apartment and was very handsomely served, Count vander-Nath being, amongst other Great men, at table with me. Mr. Tobin and my Secretary had the Marshall's table: and the rest of my servants were likewise all treated at Court.

The next morning, which was Sunday the 21st, at 5 of the Clock, the Music of the Dragoons, which were hautboys, came under my chamber windows and welcomed me. At 7 of the clock I was fetched to the Church by the abovesaid Gentlemen, who, to the number of a dozen at least, went always bareheaded before me.

There was an extreme fine Italian and other Musick with Trumpets and Kettledrums before and after the Sermon. After this I was brought to my chamber; and then fetched to my public Audience; brought to my chamber again; and then fetch'd to dinner in the same manner.

I was set at the upper end, the Elector at my right, and Electoral Prince at the left hand; next to him sat Prince Maurice, the Elector's brother, and over against him Prince Christian of Halle. Item both the Trisen Privy Councellors, and Prince Maurice's Governor. At night I supped at my lodging, and

On Monday, being the 22nd, in the forenoon, I saw the Chambers of Art, the Stables; and dined in my Chamber. In the afternoon I saw the Hunting House in the Old Town, being carried thither in a Coach with six horses; and followed by another with two, and waited on by the said Gentlemen.

On Tuesday morning the 23rd, which was the day of the Feast, about six o'clock, were three great guns shot off for a signal; and afterwards, about 7, all the guards of Germans and Switzers appeared in the Court, and under my Chamber windows, all very well cloathed and exercised. At 9 o'clock I received the visits of the Imperial and Danish Ambassadors. At 10 o'clock I was fetch'd in great state and carried upon the Riesen Sahl (a great hall in the Court), which was hanged round about with crimson damask, and on the ground with red Cloth. There was an Altar made at the upper end, upon and about which were abundance of wax Candles burning upon great silver Stands and Lamps. At the right hand was a Throne and Canopy for His Majesty, and a Chair set for me below it. Over against was one for the Elector, and under it, over against me, Chairs for the Electoral Prince, Prince Maurice, and Prince Christian of Halle.

About both the Thrones there stood six pages in blue satin clothes, with gold laces, very rich; and a little lower four gentlemen with halberts. When the Elector came in, which was after ten o'clock, there went about fifty great guns off, and salve was twice given out of Musketts.

In the mean time the Elector came in, in his robes, under the sound of twentyfour Trumpets and Kettle-drums, who were all in a yellow satin livery, with black and golden laces.

Afterwards the great music of Italians and others, who were on the lower end

of the Hall, began, which lasted an hour and a half, and then the Vice-Chancellor Van Oppeln made a very handsome speech in high Dutch, in praise of the Garter, upon the words, "Hony soit qui maly pense." I have a Copy, and will see it translated into English. Thus done, the Music began again, and the Elector went out in the same manner. So that day, about a hundred great Guns were shot off.

About 12 o'Clock we went to dinner in the Riesen Gemach, as they call it, joyning to the Great Hall, which was very magnificent.

There was none at table but the Elector, Electoral Prince, Prince Maurice, Prince Christian, and I, plac'd as the Sunday before; waited upon by none but that wore the golden key, and the greatest of the Court.

St. George, the Dragon, and the words "Hony soit que mal y pense," were everywhere seen upon the Dishes, Meat, sweetmeats, and silver-gilt plates. All the wine was credenc'd, and the several Musicks changed from one to another, which lasted till 5 o'clock in the evening; and I was brought to my chamber again.

On Wednesday the 24th there was held a Running at the Ring, by the Elector, Electoral Prince, Prince Maurice, and Prince Christian of Halle, beside abundance of gentlemen of the court, all in extreme rich cloaths, and rich furniture of horses. It began at 10 o'clock and lasted till one. After which we went to dinner in the Stone Room, and were plac'd as yesterday, except that some of the greatest of the Court were at table. There was all sorts of Musick, and amongst them the Singers of Silver Miners, in the Elector's livery, which lasted till half an hour past Five.

At seven o'Clock we went to the Play House, where there was acted the Comedy of Jason and Medea, in high Dutch, wen lasted till 10 o'Clock at Night.

On the 25th I dined in my Chamber, and supped with the Elector in the Churchroom, which is near the chapel. At 9 o'clock the Fire-work of Jason's conquering the Golden Fleece at Colchos began, and lasted till 12, which was an extraordinary thing, and hardly better seen. There was a castle built upon the wall near my chamber-window, with five towers full of fire-works and rockets within. On the top whereof stood Jason armed; on the ground was the dragon; and the two oxen, spitting fire; and the plough. Round about the castle were planted 75 great mortar pieces full of fire-works, and abundance of small shot in the wall; whereof the history is printed in High Dutch at Dresden.

There have been 28,000 rockets; among whom there were some of two hundred and odd pounds weight. This Fire-work has been kept for an extraordinary

occasion these twenty-four years, and has cost above 20,000 crowns, the Elector (as he told me himself) having made most of it himself, when he was Electoral Prince.

On the 26th I dined alone, and supped with the Elector in the same Room. After which there was an Opera acted, of the rarest Voices, containing the matter of the Comedy. The words "Hony soit que mal y pense" were seen burning all along above the Theatre, and there were two Ships fighting at Sea, whereof one was called the Dragon, and the other St. George; which latter burnt and sunk the former: a great many small Mortar pieces having been planted about the Playhouse, which were shott off under the Fight and sound of trumpets and kettle-drums.

On the 27th I dined in my Chamber, and went to Moritzburgh in the Afternoon with the Elector, who had caused all his Musicians to come thither.

On the 28th, after seven o'Clock in the morning, I was fetch'd to the Chapel, which is very fine, where there was an excellent Musick before and after the Sermon. After which we dined below, where there were several great men of the Court at table.

On the 29th, in the Morning, at 7 o'Clock, the Elector returned to Dresden again, and I was carried to Radeberg, conducted by a Company of Horse. All the Gentlemen that were ordered to wait upon me; and Mons' de Metzrad, House-Marshal, Mons' Klengel, Colonel of the Artillery and Inspector of some of the places where I was carried to, besides Trumpets, Pages, Footmen of the Elector's going along. We dined at Radeberg, and went to Stolpen that day, where we supped and lay that night.

N.B. The Castle lies upon a high Rock, which is harder than iron, and grown so strange that it is to be admired, whereof I have brought with me two pieces, which I intend to send for England. There is likewise a Fountain cut, or rather forced with fire in the rock, of very great depth; and a Park about the Castle, wherein there are several hundreds of white Stags.

On the 30th we went to Pirna, and further to Konigstein, the strongest place by Nature in Europe, which lies upon such a great and high rock, that fifty men are able to keep off an Army of 50,000. There is a Fountain cut in the rock to the very bottom of it, which is 300 fathom deep, and a great Fatt full of Wine which holds 2200 Aumes, as also a fine Wood, Corn-fields, good buildings, and Arsenal above, and reckoned a great favour unto him that is admitted to come up. After we had dined above, we went down that night to Pirna, the Castle whereof is called Sonnenstein, where we supped and lay that night.

On the 1st of May I returned to Dresden, where I arrived at noon, and was treated by Count Vander Nath.

On the 2nd there was held a Shooting with Crossbows, and I dined with the Elector in the Shooting-house.

On the 3rd I was treated by Mons' D'Alefield, the Danish Minister there.

On the 4th in the morning I had my Audience of congé of the Elector, and in the Afternoon I went down to my Boat in the Elector's Coaches, accompanied with abundance of Gentlemen of the Court, and having taken my leave of them at the Bridge foot, where all the soldiers and constables were in arms, they returned into the Tower again; and I went that night to Meissen, in company with the said Gentlemen that were with me in the Country.

On the 5th in the morning I saw this Castle, and afterwards went down to Gorgan, where I arrived in the Evening, and was very handsomely received and treated.

The next morning, being the 6th, I saw the Castle, which is of an excellent building, and afterwards went down to Wittenberg, which is an University.

On the 7th, after dinner, all the Gentlemen and Attendants of the Elector left me, and I went that Evening to Coswick, where I was again treated by the Prince of Anhalt, who was come thither but a little while before me; and I was lodg'd at Court.

On the 8th in the morning I went into my Boat again, and arrived at Hamburgh the 12th.

Mons'. Van Oppeln's Speech on St. George's Day, 23 April, 1678.

HONY SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE.

This, may it please your Electoral Highness and Gentlemen, is the Motto of the Royal Order; the Memory of its Institution is the occasion of this Day's solemnity; and this shall likewise be the beginning, middle, and end of my Speech.

The auncient Albion had not yet bowed his knees before any foreign Government, being, from the time it was first inhabited, acted by principles of the most heroic Virtue. And though the first Emperour Julius (who was never conquered, till he fell a sacrifice to the falseness and treachery of his own people,) landed the first foreign forces upon its shore, yet found much resistance, that in none of his wars he atchieved less than in those with the Britons.

In after times, especially under the two Emperors Claudius and Domitian, it was, after so many bloody wars, not so much conquered as received into friendship and alliance with the Romans, who set so high a value on the courage and gallant behaviour of its inhabitants, that they called this Island by way of eminence the Roman Island; who took their best men out of it, and employed them for the defence and protection of their other Countries and Provinces against the Invasions of the barbarous Nations; whereupon it was so weakened of Men that afterwards those Britons that were remaining, being involved in the distractions of an intestine war, and the Romans being hindered to assist them, were forced to call in the valiant Saxons, long before this time renowned for their noble Actions, who delivered them not only from the Picts and Scots, but part of them remained there also, from whom (the brave Norman being afterwards joyn'd to them) the noble Nation of England had the Original; who were at present known to be victorious within and out of Europe, and in the other Parts of the World.

The King of Birds—the Eagle—doth not usually bring forth a Pigeon, nor is a flying Deer, or fearful Sheep, the common issue of a Lyon; but when the latter mixed with the Pardelin, the offspring is a Leopard, so the coalition of these two so gallant Nations entailed upon their successors an everlasting zeal to attempt brave actions. And because they knew that honour and knowledge of justice was the right tinder and support of Virtue, they wakened the active and vigorous blood in their breast, by rewarding their generous actions, and putting them in mind to follow the brave examples of their Ancestors, if not to surpass them.

They rewarded their youth publicly with Shield, Sword, and Girdle, declared them therewith fit for service of War, and separated them from the common people under the Names of Noblemen and Knights. They found out almost as many Orders, as they observ'd the different ways whereby they gave proof of their good conduct and virtues. Those that excelled in horsemanship they made Knights of the Golden Spur. The Knights of the Bath were not looked upon so much for the cleanness of their bodies, as the purity of their spirits, and the innocence of their morals; and the bravest they rewarded with embroidered Flags, painted with the Arms of their Families, and created them Knights Bannerets. To say nothing of the Valvasors, weapon or shield-bearers, and the Knights of Batchelors, who were formerly used with them.

Arthur, an ancient King of Britain, did set the most renowned Officers with him at a Round Table, to show the high esteem he had for them; that he esteemed them all equal, and himself no more than they; from whence came the Order of the Round Table.

King Richard the First, together with those under his royal conduct, with King Philip of France, went into the Holy Land against the unbelievers, Saracens, and their King Saladin, who had already made himself Master of Jerusalem and other the best Towns.

And the siege of Acon or Ptolemais, which is now commonly called by the Inhabitants and others Tolometta, happening to be very long and tedious, made choice of some of his best Noblemen, and tied a leather Thong about one of their legs, thereby to lay the greater tye upon them to prosecute the service they were upon with the greater zeal; took also the Town, and laid in a manner the first stone upon which in the following times the most famous Order of the Garter was built; for when afterwards King Edward the Third, victorious in his Wars against the French and Scots, distributed the same for a Signal, won therewith several Battles, and having taken prisoners King John of France and King David of Scotland, he thought it reasonable to reward the virtue of them that had behaved themselves well and more gallantly than others, and that the memory of such great Victories might be preserved to after Ages, He in place of the leathern gave a blue silk ribbon with this embroidered Inscription, Honi soit qui mal y pense; did appoint a certain number of the Knights, and Rules and Laws for the Garter; ordered also that the Holy Knight and Martyr George of Cappadocia (who, three hundred and three years since our Saviour's birth, at the time of the cruel Persecution of Diocletian, was martyred and beheaded at Nicomedia in Bithynia,) should be the Patron of it (as was usual then), gave his Picture unto the Knights to wear, and commanded that on this day they should meet at Windsor (which was the place of his birth, and of the two Kings' Imprisonment), and that all should be obliged to celebrate the same there, except those that were far absent and hindered by any extraordinary occasion from coming thither; nevertheless should do it in their respective places.

It is not to be expressed with what passion this Order has been accepted by the greatest heads of the World; and how happy and venerable have they been accounted that have been honoured with it ever since its Institution.

The Emperors Sigismund and Charles the fifth thought it no lessening of their greatness to receive the Order in person from the hands of King Henry the 5th and 8th. Others received it by splendid Embassies. And, though in examining the rules of the Order (which at once suffer no more but twenty-five Knights besides the King as Sovereign) it appears that in so many Years the Number doth not amount to five hundred; yet it is remarkable that, amongst them, eight Roman Emperors, near thirty foreign Kings, and as many or more Electors and

Princes, beside the English, can be counted, which cannot be affirmed of any Order whatsoever.

There was one thing wanting, which might add a new lustre and glory to this illustrious Company. The famous Nation of the Saxons, after they had been carried into the Islands of Britannia by the great King Hengist, were so taken with its largeness, pleasantness, and fertility (in all which it surpasses all the Islands in Europe, and I may say in the World), that they remained there, and took possession of the land.

The noble root of Witikind dispersed itself in so many branches, that their agreeable shadows covered most part of Germany. And when formerly England, through the King Coel's daughter Helena, had given to the world the great Constantine for an Emperour, so had these through the great Otho and his successors done the like, and to this day preserved two famous Circles of the Empire, principally by this Electoral House, under the protection of which we live. Of this so illustrious House, there was a stem wanting in the fine and fertile Garden of the Royal Garter Order, and the same was happily planted in, when almost ten years ago, viz. the 19th June 1668, the now reigning and most potent King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Charles the Second, Defender of the Faith, as Sovereign of the Order, in an Assembly of the present Knights, not only nominated and chose the present Serene Elector of Saxon and Burggraffe of Madeburgh, Duke John George the Second, but also with a splendid Embassy, who brought the Habit of the Order along, was invested and publicly declared a Knight of this Most Noble Order with all due Ceremonies.

What the costly Habit of the Knight is; and what jewels they wear are and signify; as also wherein their Rules and Laws consist; has been formerly explained in this place, and is to be had in print.

His Electoral Highness my gracious master, at present keeping this day according to custom, acknowledges with particular satisfaction and humble Thanks that His Majesty of Great Britain, as Sovereign Protector and Master of the Order, upon the Elector's notification, was not only pleased with this his intention, but also to demonstrate the same has sent his Embassy, by which the Feast appears the more glorious, His Electoral Highness obliges himself that he will endeavor to merit it with all due and agreeable Services to His Majesty, and thanks the Ambassador for the pains of having taken upon him a troublesome Journey, and will do all whatever may tend to the satisfaction, honour, and interest of His Majesty and the whole Fellowship of the Order.

We cease not at all times to echo forth our joyful acclamations of all happiness

and prosperity, and heartily wish that this excellent Union of these great Persons may tend to the constant Defence of the Honour of God, to a restoration of a Peace for the quiet of Christendom, which his Majesty hath hitherto laboured to procure, with great zeal, to His immortal praise, and at last to the prosperity of all the Members of the Order, especially to both the Royal and Electoral Houses great flor, to a good understanding betwixt them, whom God grant long to reign in all happiness; as also to the Protection, Welfare, and Increase of their Kingdoms, Electordom, and Lands, and that by them and their successors this may not be looked upon to be only as a Common Motto of the Order, but may be and remain a maxim of eternal Truth—

HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE."

a The transcript in the margin says sic.

XIV. Relation of the Lord Fauconberg's Embassy to the States of Italy in the year 1669, addressed to King Charles II.; transcribed from the original MS. signed by Lord Fauconberg himself, preserved in a Volume of the Sloane Collection in the British Museum, No. 2752. Communicated by Sir Henry Ellis, K.H. F.R.S. Director.

Read 5th and 19th March, 1857.

. Granger, in the Third Volume of his Biographical History of England, gives the following account of Lord Fauconberg:—

"Thomas Bellasyse, Viscount Falconberg, was one of the Council of State to Cromwell, whose daughter Mary he married. He was much in favour with Charles II., and was sent ambassador by him to the State of Venice, and the Princes of Italy. In 1672 he succeeded his uncle John, Lord Bellasyse, as Captain of the band of pensioners, and was created Earl of Falconberg by King William, April 9, 1689. He died December 31, 1700."

May it please your most Excellent Majesty.

Warranted as well by the generall practice of Ambassadors of the late and present age as commanded by your Majesty's instructions of the 10th of January, in the 21 years of your Majesty's most happy raigne, at such time as you were graciously pleased to honor me with the caracter of your Extraordinary Ambassador to divers of the Princes of Italy, I most humbly prostrate at your Majesty's feet, and doe with all submission and reverence offer to your Majesty's consideration this following accompt of the Observations I made in the several places where I carryed that caracter.

I left London on Tuesday the 18th of January, 166%, towards Dover. At my arrival at Calais the French king, pre-informed I suppose of my caracter, had given order I should bee received with all honor and respect due to one who was employed by your most excellent Majesty. The governor and civile magistrates of the town visited me. The officers of the custome house brought me an order, under the king's hand, commanding them to let passe my baggage trayne and servants, coaches, and 62 horses, without searching into the one or paying for the other. I was treated with the same respect and honor in all the citties and garrisons by which I passed until I arrived at Paris, where I understood Madame was retired to Villars Costeretz with Monsieur, who had conceived some disgust at the disgrace then lately befaln the Chevalier de Loraine. I omitted not to

waite upon her Highnesse in her said retyrement as my duty obliged me, and, encouraged as well by her as convinced by the reasonableness of the thing, I went to St. Germain's to wait upon that King, who received me with all imaginable kindness. I was treated with much respect in that court, to which I was not altogether a stranger.

I forbeare to say more of that Prince or Court, the interest of that crown and government your Majesty is not uninformed of; besides, it is the province of another of your Majesty's servants who has resided much longer there, and doubtlesse is better able to informe your Majesty minutely of these things then I can reasonably be supposed to doe.

I doe not pretend to make a long Narrative; the short stay I made in every of the places where your Majesty sent mee not allowing time enough to inform myself exactly of which otherwise I might have done.

The present Duke of Savoy was borne June the 20, 1634, soe that he will bee this June, 1671, 36 yeares old. His father was Victor Amadæus, and dyed Octob. 7, 1637. His mother, who was sister to your Majesty's mother of blessed memory, after her Lord's death continued the administration of the government until the present Duke attayned the 14 yeare of his age, which was June 19, 1648, on which shee unexpectedly declared her regency to bee determined. This present Duke has been twice marryed; first in 1663, to Mademoiselle de Valois, daughter to his uncle the Duke of Orleans; but shee dying, as also his mother did before the end of that yeare, hee within few moneths after tooke to wife Maria Joanna Baptista de Savoy, commonly called Mademoiselle de Nemours, shee being a princesse of his owne family, and unto whom hee must have payd a considerable dower if shee had marryed elsewhere. Shee is 27 yeares old, and has only one sonn, born the 14 May, 1665; and, as I find, they have noe great likelyhood of more.

The Duke of Savoy is vigorous, active, amorous, free of discourse, a great lover of buildings; hee spares no cost to accomplish his pleasures. Witnesse his pallace a la Venerie, built in a mountain, yet finished with all perfection, in a place of ill accesse, incapable of enlargement of gardens, courts, or parterres, without removing of hills or raysing vales, which yet this prince has atchieved in two or three yeares time. Hee delights much in hunting, as appeares by the building of this place, and is noe lover of the French; as the same place may alsoe witnesse, for hee has incomparably a better house, and a more convenient place for that sport, were it not scituated within view of Pignerol, the only argument as hee told mee himself that induceth him to come so little there. This prince's great earnestnesse in that sport is evident from severall escapes hee has had, almost to a

miracle, of which I can give your Majesty a verbal accompt; hee has in his nature such a familiarity, as renders him beloved by all that converse with him.

This Duke is exceedingly beloved, I may say adored, by all his subjects great and small, from whom hee takes with moderation, though his government makes all lawfull to him. Hee is more mindfull of his businesse then hee seemes to bee, and has more money in his coffers then hee would bee thought to have. Hee is in continuall action, and though in appearance hee bee a man of pleasure, yet I dare assure your Majesty hee is very diligent in his affaires, and neglects noe matters of moment. Hee is out of debt and a good manager, yet abates in nothing which may tend to the advancement of his grandieur, as his guards, which for habit and armes are not inferior to any I have seen.

The Dutchesse is a most excellently accomplished princess, and exceedingly beloved by all that Court. I had the honor of seeing her often, not only en Ambassadeur, but en particulier, and severall times some houres together along with the Duke only; in which time I never observed her to say anything which had not weight and judgement in it, which together with her complaisance has I suppose produced that great power and interest shee has in the Duke, to such a degree as hee seldome acts anything of moment without her advice.

The Duke is of a black haire, and a sanguine complexion; not very tall. The Dutchesse is rather fat then leane; of a faire complexion, gray eyes, a round face, indifferent tall, and well shaped. They have only one sonne, who at my being there was just recovering of a dangerous sicknesse. If this prince dyes and the Duke have noe other children, that dukedome descends to the Principe di Carignano, eldest sonne to Prince Tomaso, that dyed some 8 or 9 yeares agoe at Turin, and was brother to the last Duke. The said prince, though dumb, is a lover, and has possibly one of the handsomest ladyes of that Court to his mistresse. The said Prince Tomaso's second sonne is called Eugenio Conte de Soissons, who is still liveing at Paris, and marryed Mademoiselle Mancini, Cardinal Mazarini's neece, by whom hee has severall children, two of which live at Turin with their dumb unkle: the eldest, il Cavagliero di Savoya, may bee some 9 yeares old; the other, il Conte de Dreux, about 7. I visited the unkle and nephews and was visited formally by them, of which I have some passages to relate to your Majesty, which possibly may not bee disagreable. These have all the title of Altezza, and pretend in the same manner as the princes of the blood of France to the hand of all ambassadors; but in my particular they were strangely respectfull, and avoyded any third place where I happed to come. The father of these young princes has many other children, and is in a faire way of encreasing them.

The Princesse Louise, who is the Duke of Savoy's sister, may have some 40 yeares of age; a very masculine woman, and has a great deal of witt; shee was marryed to her unkle the Cardinal, but never had any children. The women here doe not succeed in the inheritance of the State, though they doe in private patrimonies.

Though the Duke bee a soveraigne Prince, and may determine all matters forreigne and domestick as himself thinks fitt, yett hee has thought good to make use of a privy councill, composed of the persons hereafter following: the Archbishop of Turin, the grand Chancellor, the Marquis of Pianesse, heretofore Chief Minister (who though retired and leading a religious life, comes yet and assisteth at the Council, as often as hee is sent for, else not), the Marquis de Villa, knight of the order and generall of the artillery, the abbot d'Aglie, the Marquis St. Thomas, premier Ministre and Chief Secretary of State, and the Conte de Boutilliere his sonne, who has the reversion of that place after his said father, and now acts at this time jointly with his father as secretary of state; as his said father heretofore did with his father before him.

The grand Chancellor and Chief Secretary of State are of this Council by vertue of their places, the rest ad libitum Principis, and come not unlesse called; soe that when they dye those who succeed in their employments have not thereby any right to bee of this Council, unlesse the Duke think fitt to advance them thereunto on the accompt of their experience and merit, or his favour and good will.

But your Majesty may bee pleased to know that there are only two who may bee said to bee the persons on whom this Duke does chiefly rely in all matters abroad and at home. The one I have already named, the Marquess St. Thomas, who may bee 55 yeares of age but seemes much older, being of no healthy constitution; hee is subject to catarrhs colds, is rich, and desires to bee richer. Hee has been alwayes bredd up to businesse under his father, who was (as I have observed to your Majesty) secretary of state before him, so that it is noe wonder if hee bee well versed in the affairs pertinent to his function; though otherwise I think I have conversed with many men of better talents. The other is one they call Generall Trucchi, that is to say, grand Tresorier, a man of elevated parts, but of low extraction; I finde the Duke relyes very much upon his abilities and fidelity, and to say the truth hee well deserves it. The manner of his being introduced into his master's service will affoard your Majesty a greate deale of satisfaction, as being full of passages very curious and not ordinary. I hope your Majesty will affoard mee the opportunity of relating it to you, it being fitter for your eare then for your eye.

This Government is monarchial, lesse limited then that of France, yet much better beloved then the other by his subjects, the reason of which your Majesty may collect from the caracter I have given of this Duke, who though hee has right to take from his people, not only what is necessary, but what hee is pleased to think soe, does yet make use of this prerogative with such moderation and treates his subjects with that clemency as render him wonderfully beloved by men of all conditions. I begin with the accompt of his debts, for I esteeme all Princes rich that are free of incumbrances of this kind, as the Duke of Savoy is; hee haveing payd those very great ones which his mother left upon him. The only remayning one is that of a million of crowns due to the Duke of Mantoa for Montferrat, of which 494,000 crownes of gold with interest for the same, the said Duke of Mantoa ought to receive from the Crowne of France, as was agreed at the treaty of Querasque.

Moreover the Duke has due to him the intire portion of the Infanta Catharina d'Espagna, which is a million of Crowns of gold, in right of whom hee is in a faire probability to succeed to the Crown of Spayn; being next heire, if the present King of Spayne and the Emperour dye issue-lesse. Hee has moreover very considerable summes in his treasure, and particularly in his Cittadell Ast, nor does hee value himself a little in being better provided with money and stores then any of his predecessors have yet been. The sumes which hee does receive from his people and from his own lands, court offices, and the like, in times of peace amount to 600,000 sterling; in times of warre much more. I am prepared to give your Majesty a particular accompt how and whence this treasure does arise, when you shall bee pleased to comand it. His constant expences are about two-thirds of it, in his family, forces, buildings, &c. so that hee layes up some 200,000 sterling p Añ.

As to the interest of Savoy and the Duke's present designes, soe farre as I was able to penetrate into them, I must acquaint your Majesty that this Duke, led to it not only by that generall policy which makes all Princes jealous and æmulous of their neighbours, but more particularly by a number of unkindnesses and incroachments of the French, is at a stand how to carry himself towards that monarch, who has already possessed himself of Pignerol, seated in the middst of this Duke's territories, and made, if not impregnable, yet very strong. Moreover, Dauphiné coasteth all the length of Savoy to the east from Beauuoisin to Suze, upon which place Chaumont borders within halfe a league. Some part alsoe of Dauphiné comes up within a league of Pignerol, and Briançon itself is but 18 miles English from it; soe that it is impossible this State can have any cordial affection

for soe powerfull, soe neere, soe incroaching, and soe fierce a Prince. Hence it is he endeavors to entertain soe good a friendship with the state of Venice, and other Princes of Italy, as knowing they hold to be equally their owne interest to preserve him, hee being their outwork as it were, and haveing the keys of severall inlets into Italy; and hence it is that he covets your Majesty's protection, which hee has soe oft repeated in totidem verbis, and I may safely tell your Majesty, if this Prince has any partiall affection for any one, it is for your Majesty and your people. Some little disputes there are between him and the Genoeses, but themselves as well as their neighbours are sollicitous enough to accomode such differences; though for my part I should think this Prince as likely as any one to come to a rupture, in regard hee is hasty, resolute, full of courage, and an undertaker. Towards the French hee is somewhat sharp, to say no more, and the young Prince, his sonne, doeth patrizare. I have two or three pretty passages on the accompt of this Prince to informe your Majesty, which, though light in themselves, may yet serve to confirme your Majesty in the beliefe of some things herein offered to your consideration. This Prince has great pretentions on the Montferrat, and I am apt enough to think he may probably attempt something there. There are also some jealousies passe between him and Milan; but having a prospect of succeeding to the Crown of Spayne, tho remote, yet possible; or peradventure in respect of the great power of that monarch in Italy, of which his country has had woefull experience not long since, hee is rather desirous to keepe faire with the ministers of that King, and especially at this time, when to weaken that monarchy were but to strengthen another, whom hee apprehends much more. This Prince, as the rest of Italy, would upon any occasion erect such another allyance or confederation in the East as your Majesty has in the West. In the meane time they all consider your Majesty as their protector and benefactor, not sticking to ascribe the peace they enjoye to your Majesty's interests and influences.

The militiaes of this Prince are divided into 2 parts—those of Savoy, and those of Piedmont. Savoy being a mountainous barren province, yields not many soldiers, but they are esteemed to bee stout and hardy. Hee can upon occasion draw 6000 able foot, but no horse from thence, the country indeed being hardly capable of keeping any; but Piedmont is the province that yields him both men and money. The province is divided into 8 parts, or quarters, each of which has a militia of 10,000 men, all armed and disciplined; and reduced into regiments and companies, under Colonels, Captains, and other appointed officers. These, on occasion of invasion or warre, are to doe service any where in the Duke's domi-

nions, and out of these his Highnesse may arme 20,000 foot, and 5000 horse, all select, expert men, very good, and as ready at their armes. I doe not remember to have seen a man out of his owne house but with his gun upon his shoulder, in any of those countreys, especially in Savoy, where the woods and hills affoard great store of game, and those his Highnesse can maintain without burthening or oppressing his people.

I will now descend to give your Majesty an accompt of the forces which hee entertains in this time of peace in constant pay; which are about 7000 foot in severall garrisons, besides the guards hee keepes about his person, which are one company of gentlemen archers, two companies of Suisse foot, a troop of Cuirassiers, and another of Arquebusiers. Madame Royalle has likewise two troops of the same, as has Madame la Princesse, in all six troops, admirably well appointed, and in good order. The riders are most gentlemen. The troops consist of 60 men each, and may be in all 400, officers included. His foot guards are 300. Over and above those, hee entertains a regiment of horse in Piedmont, consisting of 10 troops, which make 600 horse effective, who are ready on all occasions.

His territories are well garrisoned. In Savoy there is not a mile of ground but affoards many strong places, that is, scituations capable of impeding any force whatever. Montmelian, however, is the chief place of strength in that province, where hee alwayes keeps a strong garrison, and a large Magazin of Corne and Armes; some of the French King's territories, and one of his frontier forts lyes within sight of it, that is to say, within 2 English miles on the way from Grenoble thether, in Piedmont. Hee has Turin, a strong town, regularly fortified, the walls of freestone, the graffs very large, and easy to bee filled with water in a few howers, nor have I any where observed a towne soe watered as this is. The Duke has also in Turin a cittadel after the manner of that of Antwerp, with a well in it, where 500 horse may goe downe and up to and from the water, without hindring one another.

Hee has also Verceil, one of the strongest places of Europe; yet the Duke goes on fortifying and adorning it, not with earth, but good brick and freestone. There is now a garrison of 2500 in it. Besides these hee has Trin, Verrue, Hyvree, Ast, where the Conte de Maffé is governor with a garrison of 2000 soldiers, Villeneufue, Albe, Carmagnole, Querasque, Cuneo, Ceve, Suse, the forts of Bard and Verres. In these there are garrisons, and in time of warre he can clap soldiers into many other good towns. Hee has also garrisons in the citty and castle of Nizza, Villa Franca, and St. Hospitio. The castle of Nizza is reported to bee a very strong piece indeed; but, if once beseiged by land, I should not think it long tenable, in

regard neither this Duke, nor any of his ancestors, have ever yet attempted to keepe any vessels upon the sea, whereby to releive it that way. In these garrisons hee maintaynes the before-mentioned 7000 soldiers. Besides the places aforesaid, his Highnesse has many good citties well inhabited, and much bigger then Turin itselfe, as Saluces, Savillan, Fossan, Mondovi, Quiers, Chivaz, Brielle, Sainthia, Aoust, and others. His country is very well peopled, and Piedmont altogether as fruitfull as Savoy is barren.

This prince's Country is not very broad but long, from Pontbeauuosin to Verceil I esteeme it to bee 9 dayes journey at 30 English miles per diem, which is 270 miles, but in broadest parts it exceeds not 50.

This Duke's country abounds chiefly in raw silk, of which shee sends great quantities yearly to Lyon, Paris, Tours, Genoa, Florence, all which places work up this pretious commodity, and many of their own silks soe wrought up are brought hither again and here sold; now indeed they begin to set up silk manufactores of their own, and both doe and may affoard to undersell their neighbours 25 and 30 per cent. And on these termes they say they will furnish your Majesties subjects with excellent goods of the several sortes.

They are very ingenious, industrious, friendly, sociable, and honest in their dealings; the Duke himself, as also his ministers, extreamely desirous to court the English above all others to begin a commerce here, to which end they have caused an exact mapp or charte to bee made of the port of Villa Franca, which I sent to your Majesty. They have also opened the wayes in order thereunto between Villa Franca and the Po, for all carts and waggons to passe, which is not above 2 dayes journey; and then by the said river they can transport through all Lombardy, even to Venice, sugars, salt, fish, stuffs, spices, lead, tynn, cloth, callicoes, &c., which now are landed at Genoa and Leghorne, and sent by mules over these and other provinces. Your Majesty may easily gluesse that this conveyance being once opened, the trade of Genoa and Livorno will abate of what it now is. In order to this alsoe that prince did very readily as well as generously instruct mee with his part of the ratification of the treaty made by Sir John Finch, your resident at Florence, with the ministers of the said Duke of Savoy, for a free trade att Villa Franca; that part of the ratification which your Majesty ought to confirme, I am engaged by writeing and honor to see sent to him; and beseech your Majesty I may acquit myself of it as becomes mee.

This country can furnish your Majesty's subjects with wines, oyles, rossoli, corn upon occasion, orenges, leamons, sweets, all sorts of wrought silks, raw silk, ribbons, canvas, hempe, soape, strong waters.

This Duke has but little extent of territorie on the sea, and his subjects lesse accustomed to traffic. It will bee then a work of time before they bee invited to venture much abroad, which is not the worse for strangers. This Duke being, as I have represented, active, and a great undertaker, he may, I presume, designe to buy or build some ships or gallies, as his neighbours doe, and, it may bee, adventure somewhat in trade on his own account. Hee is now every day encourageing and inviteing his nobility and gentry to looke into trade, telling them hee will ayd and help them on all occasions. I conceive it is your Majesty's interest to encourage the trade of your subjects there, and for that end to entertain an agent or resident in this prince's court for some yeares, the better to countenance and support it at its beginning; and if your Majesty's subjects shall neglect this trade the Dutch will certainly stricke in with it, and that very soon.

Your Majesty will now permit mee to vary from the methode I have observed in my accompt of Savoy, the government of Genoa differing from it in all respects, soe that here I shall not trouble your Majesty with the relation of the governing family, or the persons who now are in credit, in regard that once in a yeare, or lesse, they are all removed. I shall therefore here, as alsoe at Venice, observe to your Majesty the manner of their government; secondly, their revenue, extent of territorie, forces, and trade; lastly, their present interest and designes.

The government of Genoa is aristocratical, where the patricians beare sway, who may bee neare 700 families besides absents; and such that have not attained the age of 22, till which they admit none into the grand council. Part of the Plebei are sometimes added to this body upon the account of money or merit. Out of this great council two hundred are every yeare elected, who ought to be at the least 27 yeares old; but I think the age is not alwayes exactly observed. Those are the lesser council.

There are two Colleges which preside over these 2 councils; one of 12 senators and the Duke, the other of 8 procurators and all such as have been dukes; which generally make this college consist of the same number with the other, as it does at this present, but not alwayes. These in conjunction are called Sereni Collegi, and treat of the most weighty affaires.

The Senate may call the procurators to attend them when they please, and they goe not but when called.

The first weeke in January these two colleges meet and convocate the lesser council, to the end the said council may make choice of 30 of the best cittisens,

who are to elect the lesser council for the next yeare. The said 30 meet the next day, and out of the body of the great council doe elect 200 for the purpose aforesaid, which they generally dispatch in 2 or 3 dayes, soe that by the 12 or 15 of January the new lesser council is in execution of their authority.

Generally they choose the self same persons; with some variation in respect of such as are absent or dead.

The senators or procurators are chosen by the ballot in this manner: there is a box called bussolo del seminario, into which the names of 120 of the nobility are put, each being 40 yeares of age. Every six moneths they draw out five, as it happens; the three first are senators, the 2 last procurators for the two succeeding yeares.

For the constant filling this 120 the lesser councils meet the beginning of June before the two colleges, and each of them gives in the name of such persons as hee thinks fitt for the degree of a senator or procurator, who must bee 40 yeares old; then the whole council proceed to vote thrice upon every such name, and haveing considered how many are wanting to supply the 120, they set apart double that number, and soe carry them before the grand council, who out of such double number elect soe many as make up the 120, when either the great or lesse council meet. It must bee by the convocation of the two colleges, who must alsoe bee present.

When the Duke's two yeares bee expired, his successor is thus chosen as followeth: the colleges summon the great council, who being assembled are first numbred, and soe many balls made out as there are persons, of which 50 are guilt, the rest sylvered. The colleges draw noe lot, neither are any balls put in for them, in regard they cannot propose any man to bee Duke, but are afterwards to give their votes, as I shall informe your Majesty, they that draw the guilt ones retire, each man writeing downe the name of him whom hee thinks fitt to bee Duke, who must bee 50 yeares of age. Most times persons soe nominated by the said 50 are 20 at least, it being rarely seen that any three agree in one man; and, indeed, they must continue to propose untill twenty several persons are proposed. As soon as twenty are nominated then the said 50 proceed to vote man by man, and those 15 who have most votes are set apart to bee the next day proposed to the lesser council, who doe the like, and those six who have the most votes in the said lesser council are carryed back again to the grand council, where hee of the said 6 that has more votes is Duke, and in all those votings or ballotings the colleges have a part.

The said Duke and two senators may determine authoritatively some small

matters, and in case of urgency great things alsoe, but then they must immediately have recourse to the senate or colleges for their approbation.

Though the Duke and senators represent the State, yet are there those that judge even of the actions of every one of these. The Duke and colleges may doe all things not particularly by law excepted; as, for example, they may determine all civill controversies, or referre them to be determind; they can adnull or confirme wills and contracts, in a word, they rule and govern. In criminall matters neither they nor any of the nobility intermeddle to avoyd injustice, mallice, bribery, revenge; but they have forreign judges, whom they alsoe change every two yeares.

In all cases where the being of the State or Government is concerned both the colleges must meet and consult, sometimes calling on the lesser council to ayd, and in extraordinary cases the greater, in either of which two councils there are alwayes present 5 conservators of the lawes, who are to see that nothing passe contrary to law; and tho they have municipal lawes, yet to comply with exigency of times and other occasions, such lawes may bee altered or abrogated, the manner of which is thus: If the great council propose, it must bee to the two colleges, who represent it to the lesser councill, and they again to the greater, where, if it then passes, it is a law; or else the two colleges propose it to the lesser council, and they carry it to the greatest one, and if there it passe it acquires the force of a law; but now, lawes which doe not alter or abrogate old ones may bee proposed by the two colleges to the lesser council, and if it passe it is a law, without the concurrence of the grand council. But over and above these two colleges and councils they have other peculiar magistracies for particular functions, it being thought unreasonable that the 2 legislators should always sit, and it is impossible the two colleges alone can determine all matters that would come before them.

They have 7 inquisitors, whose care is to prevent all publique dangers.

There are six who oversee all things relating to warre.

There are 5 who superintend granaries and stores.

And as many that consult all things relating to boates, ships, and gallies.

There are other 5 who supervise the walls, wayes, streets, moles, and aqueducts. There are other 5 who regulate markets, weights, measures, and prices of all comodities.

They have 5 called syndics, who censure the actions of all such as have any publique authority or employment of what soever degree, high or low; but in case these syndics find occasion to proceed against any duke, senator, or procurator, whilst such, they must inform the lesser council of it, which said council (the

said 5 syndies presiding) may take cognisance of it, and acquit or condemn without convocating the 2 colleges or the greater council; and in all cases where the syndics alone condemn, an appeale lyes before the lesser council, but from thence not. In the last place they have certain magistrates called the protectors of St. George's howse, who are of very great authority in this state. The occasion of their erecting was this: In times of long and chargeable warres, when the public moneys were exhausted, this, as all other states, was forced to borrow money, and to farme out to such as would lend the public rents and incomes. To the end such lenders might bee secured, the commonwealth gave them authority to elect 400 out of themselves, whose duty it was to see that all such creditors were duly payd; and to the end the credit and interest might bee more reverenced, the commonwealth intrusted them with the priviledge of choosing the 8 procurators, together with some magistracies also. These take cognisance of all controversies, and crimes relating to public monies without appeale; they lett to farme, and receive all the customes, gabels, farmes, &c., and the powers they have are most religiously observed; whence it is that strangers and forainers repose such trust and faith in them as to leave their moneys in their banks, of which there is constantly in this treasury upwards of 5 millions of scudi d'oro; nor was it ever seen or known, in the greatest warres and calamities, that the state did soe much as cast an eye towards this treasury-a howse soe sacred, that even the heyres of condemned traytors, nay, traytors themselves, both before and after condemnation, have received and disposed of the sumes they had there deposited. Moneys here kept beare no share of the publick charge; and if any will let out their moneys here to the public they may receive 21 interest, and what the state can advance over and above the said 21 is employed in public works, -as the New Mold, a work great enough for a monarch to undertake; the new Lazaretto, capable of receiving 8,000 people; Fortifications wherein they spare no cost, as at Savona, Vada, and especially Corsica. Besides, the Stat has of their owne 5 millions of scudi d'oro in banke there.

w yearly from	1 tha	OI W	ine			130,000 Hver
From that of oyles .						180,000
From semina	aries					120,000
From corn						100,000
Tabacco						100,000
From goods exported .						200,000
Goods for strangers imported						200,000

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Nor are the private persons lesse rich, the moneys of this state setting the law and exchange on all the moneys and trade in Europe; and well they may bee rich in moneys, seeing they are soe poore in land, their country being little and barren, soe that there is noe roome left to lay out any thing in purchasing, but are forced to keep their moneys at interest in trade, or, which is worst, dead by them.

Vintimiglia is the frontiere towne from Genoa towards the west, and is distant from it one hundred Italian miles; not but that Final, which is the King of Spayne's, and Oneglia which is the Duke of Savoy's, intercept their free passage by land; besides, the Duke of Savoy layes clayme also to Savona.

Her inland territories are very narrow, the broadest not exceeding 20 miles, and in many places not eight; the generality of it also is mountaynous and barren, though they have some vallies rich in abundance, both in fruit and corn, as some of their hills are in olives, chesnutts, and vines.

It has eleven walled citties. It has one archbishoprick, viz., of Genoa, and six bishoprics, towards the west. It is limited by the river Varo, and towards the sea by Macra.

The forces of this and of most republiq' consist more in mercenary soldiers then natives, see that upon occasion they use to hire 10,000 or more as they have occasion; their pay is good and certain, so that they cannot want; now that they are in a secure place they entertain 2600 soldiers in severall garrisons.

They have in and about their citty 8000 who are of their militias, being listed and reduced into companies and regiments, but they rely not much on them, as indeed none of the princes of Italy doe on their owne countrymen; who generally are effeminated and enervated either by vice, peace, or luxury; for sure it is they inherite not the ancient courage or vertues of the Romans and Latines; but Genoa need not much feare; her country being almost impregnable through the barrennesse and rockinesse thereof; they live therefore in too great security to be good soldiers in fight, whatever they may bee in handling their armes: the Genoeses have some places very well fortifyed and strong by nature also, as Savona, Gavi, and Santa Maria; in Corsica they have Bonifacio and Calvio, two very strong places; Corsica and Liguria together (for soe the state of Genoa is called) may

have 70 thousand lusty men, fit enough for warre in respect of body, but not to bee much relyed upon: 45 thousand of which number are of the terra ferma, the other 35 thousand of Corsica. Genoa has alsoe an armory with 30 thousand good armes in it. This state has now six gallies and is building six more; she has alsoe 2 men of warre of 60 guns each; besides there are alwayes kept 6 gallies more by private persons in their port for the service of the King of Spayne, who payes them yearly 60 thousand livers each, soe that the proprietors of those gallies have noe ill time of it, seing they seldome are upon service, and they let their slaves shift for themselves. This state has some 1500 slaves, Turks and Christians, for their gallies; and besides these they have neere 2500 slaves more in the town, whom they make use of about domestick occasions.

This State does every 2 yeares make a cense of their houses and inhabitants; the last was of 25,000 houses, and somewhat under a hundred thousand inhabitants. This disproportion ariseth hence; in 1657 they laboured under a great plague, which from 100,000 they then were reduced to 50,000, by which reason very many of their houses are yet uninhabited; nay, in some whole streets few people are to bee seen; yet such is their pride and ostentation that they goe on building, and I believe in a few yeares they will have filled all that vast mountainous space of ground which lyeth behind the city inclosed within the outer walls which are 8 miles about, with pallaces, villas, gardens, houses of delight, and the like. One great reason of the paucity of their inhabitants I conceive to bee, the men seldome marry till they are forty, and then for the most part their power of propagation spoyled; another is, the draynes of religious houses. There are about 100 Jewes, I meane public ones, that live in this citty; and in truth a stranger would judge most of the men and women hee meets were of that nation; but I doe not think that the Genoeses are, as their malicious neighbours say, Jewes, in regard they are too hard and crafty for the Jewes. In all other places of Italy the Jewes thrive and live well, here they are all beggars, and cannot get a subsistance.

The trade and commerce stands thus: they furnish England with argal, soape, hemp, rice, oyle, oranges, leamons, paper, corall, silkes of all sorts, and marble; they receive from us all sorts of woollen manufactures, lead, tynn, hydes, tobacco, sugars, fish, all sorts of Indian commoditys, linnings, spice, dying wares, druggs, &c. most of which they transport over land by mules and waggons into Lombardy and up to Venice itself.

The Genoeses use all strangers very ill, and your Majesties subjects as bad as any; their nobility are all traders, but when the merchants have any demands, however just, upon them, it is impossible to procure any right against them. There

are many complaints of this kind now on foot. I endeavoured what I could in it; brought away very faire promises that all should be ended according to my desires, but since I find nothing effected. I foresee your Majesty will have applications made to you to use some more effectuall meanes to procure them to doe your subjects right, and I think your Majesty might give them a great blow by encouraging the trade at Villa Franca, and causing your marchants to withdraw from Genoa, at least threatning them with it; this is certain, when once the trade of Villa Franca is open, Genoa will loose very much of the commerce she now has. Possibly in this juncture of time, and dureing the jealousy this state has of Villa Franca, your Majesty might obtain considerable advantages by a body of articles from this state for your marchants, if your marchants think fit to continue a trade there; and at the same time procure them to doe your subjects reason, whereas now their nobility are in truth above the law, which makes it a businesse befitting your Majesty to interpose in. I believe there may bee at least £20,000 sterling due to your subjects, which the respective debitors are well able to pay, but cannot bee compelled to it for the reasons aforesaid.

Genoa was running altogether into Spayne, even when Spayn was in its height, contrary to the policy of all the rest of the Italian princes and states; the truth is, they drove a great trade with that monarch both in Spayne and the Indies, lent him moneys, furnished him with gallies, men, ammunition, &c. conformed themselves to the Spanish habit, and in a word were in a faire way of being swallowed up by that monarchy, many of her greatest nobility being suspected to have such designes; but at length the State being advised of it began to looke about and court the French, not soe much for love to that nation as to their own preservation, and this they did notwithstanding the French King styles himself Lord of Genoa.

They also e discountenanced all such as were of the Spanish faction, and have opened a commerce between Provence and their citty, by which they are furnished with all sorts of provisions, which formerly came from Sicily, Naples, &c. At this time the rest of their neighbours esteeme them to bee right set for the public interest of Italy. Genoa has noe jealousy of any neighbour but the Duke of Savoy, whose pretences upon Savona keep them on their guard; but that Duke will find it difficult to force that town from them soe long as hee has noe ships nor gallies of his owne able to master them, unlesse some prince powerfull at sea should ayd and assist him, and in such case I conceive the difficulty would not bee very great, for that the territories of Savoy lye very neare it, and 'twere no difficult thing to bring 10,000 men before it in 3 or 4 dayes time; the place, however, is very strong both by art and nature.

I parted from Genoa in a gally assigned mee by that republiqe, according as your Majesty's commands directed me, to Livorno, where at my disembarking Sir John Finch informed mee of the grand Duke's death, who in the time of his sicknesse (out of a true sense of the honor your Majesty had been pleased to doe him) had given such orders for my reception as, being continued by his successor the present Duke, though my credentials were not directed to him, yett was I received with all the honors and respects the father could have shewn towards mee. Hee received your Majesty's letters of credence, though addressed to his father, and entred into a treaty of negotiation with me for the bettering the condition of your subjects who trade at Livorno; in all which hee expressed a great kindnesse and propensity to comply with anything your Majesty could desire from him. True it is I was not received with some public testimonies of joye usually practised towards others invested with that character your Majesty had been pleased to honor mee withall, in regard his highnesses father had not been dead above 10 or 12 dayes, otherwise I dare assure your Majesty there was nothing left unsayd or undone that might expresse even the greatest deference and observance towards your Majesty in the person of your unworthy minister.

I was defrayed from my landing to the last towne in his territories: his highnesse also caused his letters to bee sent to the legates of Bologna and Ferrara, by which places I was to passe, to advertise them of my qualification, and to dispose them to treat mee with that honor which is due to your Majesty's servants in the condition you had put mee; hee sent mee also a present, which your Majesty has seen, the first I had received since my comeing out. I am the more particular in these things, that your Majesty may see what impressions you have made in the minde of that most excellent prince, who I am sure is a passionate lover, as well as great admirer of your Majesty.

I shall hold myself excused from giveing your Majesty any character of him, since hee is personally known to you; neyther need I say much of the Dutchesse, whom your Majesty cannot but have seen in the court of France, by whom hee has only one child, a sonne, of some 5 yeares of age, who seemes not to bee very strong grown. The Duke has one brother also, il Prencipe Francesco, a youth of 11 or 12 yeares of age; no very strong constitution; whose province it is by the custome of this court to receive all ambassadors at their comeing, and to conduct them at the departure. This Duke has one unkle liveing, the Cardinal de Medicis, who at my being at Florence was at Rome, so that I can say little of him.

It was the common voyce of all men whilst I was there that the present

Duke would pursue his father's way of government: at that time hee had not made any change in the governors his father employed, nor since, as I heare, Marquis Richardi excepted. It is believed hee will prove a prince of singular esteeme, in regard of his many good qualities; that hee has seen the world; and is very generous, in which some of his family are thought to have been a little deficient.

This prince governs by himself in chief, and for his ease hee is pleased to have a cabinet council, as his father had, which yet consisteth of 2 persons only besides himself, the Marquis Ricardi, who is chief steward, and Conte Bardi, who is Secretary of Warre and Chief Minister. Hee has the Conte de Nouellari, who is Lord Chamberlaine, and in great favour, as is also the Marquis Vitelli, captain of his guards. The master of his horse is Marquis Corsini. Marquis Cerbon del Monti is master of the warderobe. Danti di Castiglioni, who attended his highnesse in England, is first gentleman of his bed chamber. Signor Leonardo Tempi, a marchant, but a gentleman, is a treasurer. These are all in good credit with him, and hee adviseth with them as hee sees occassion, but communicates little of his secret thoughts and designes to any but the two first, who are of his cabinet council. Ferrante Caponi and Auditore Farinola are his judges in causes criminal, the first being alsoe his atturney generall in his ecclesiasticall matters.

The grand Duke's territories are not very well peopled, nor indeed is any part of Italy, soe occasioned chiefly by the church, which draynes them exceedingly; but as to his dominions particularly other reasons may bee assigned, which, perhaps, are not see fitt to be named. I will observe to your Majesty one I remarked between the two towns of Pisa and Livorno. In the former there were once four hundred thousand inhabitants, and they frequently entertayned 130 or 140 gallies at sea at such time as they contended with Venice and Genoa, but now it lyeth desolate and uninhabited, haveing scarce 10,000 soules in it, and of those at least one-third appertayning to the church, there being 22 monasteries and 17 nunneries in it, the least of which has sixty persons, and many one hundred in them; besides, there are at least 500 secular priests who are not in orders; the town miserably poore, in many streets not an inhabitant, but grass growing in all of them; and, since I am on the subject of the church, I begg your Majesty's permission to make a short digression. It was my hap to dine at a monastery of Franciscans between Livorno and Florence, where I was entertained by the Grand Duke's family. In the church I found a printed paper, contaying the summary of a Cense made of their order in 1648, at which time there were 180 thousand men of it, and 210 thousand women,—farr bee it from mee to call them maydes;

and lastly, 26 thousand howses of this order then standing. I submit it to your Majesty to make inferences and deductions; but to returne to Livorno, between which and Pisa I was making some kind of corollary. Livorno, which within these threescore yeares had not 1,000 inhabitants, is now by trade encreased to thirty thousand, of which say they there are 9,000 Jewes, 6,000 strangers, about 1,000 soldiers, and the rest Italians; but for my part I think they reckon 6,000 too many, for I cannot conceive how soe little a place can contayne soe many people. They begin to complaine of the decay of trade; that is to say, that the Grand Duke's own subjects doe not consume soe much as formerly they did, and some observing persons there are who impute it to the decrease of his subjects. The last Grand Duke made it his businesse to keep them poore, which 'tis thought has made them also fewer, as well as poorer; many of them retiring dayly, especially of the Pisans, into other states and territories; but I would not have your Majesty uninformed that the Pisans, being a conquered people, doe abhorre the government and family of the Medicis, soe that possibly these dukes may have reason in what they doe, especially if faire meanes make no impressions on them. As Livorno is the only place of traffic in this Duke's territories, soe is it alsoe of strength, and guarded proportionably. The fortifications are very regular, and well mayntained. They were designed by a subject of your Majesty, though hee withdrew himself from his country, old Rob. Dudley, the titular Duke of Northumberland, whose sonne I saw at Bologna. The towne has 4 companies of foot in it, the governor's consisting of 350 men, the second company consisting of 250, and the two last each of 200, in all a thousand; most Germans; none of the princes of Italy affecting to have their own subjects acquainted with the use of armes. The governor of the town is the superintendent of the justice, the governor of the armes is a separate thing, and they are not subordinate to one another, soe that between these two there used to bee often peekes and grudges, but at present they, being brothers, agree very well. Their names are Sacrestero, and the later is a knight of Malta. There are two other governments within this place, independent and separate, who act by orders and directions from Florence, and are not under the governor's command, viz. the old and new forts. The captain of the port too has separate commission, and is not under the governor's authority. The designe of this multiplicitie of officers is to prevent any intelligence amongst them to the prejudice of their lord and master. Sir Bernard Gascoyne had been governor of the towne without all doubt, had not the late Duke's favorite, and who was Sir Bernard's friend and kinsman, dissuaded the Grand Duke from it, upon this single account, that there being frequent disputes and æmulations between your Majesty's subjects, the Dutch, and other foreigners, it was to bee

feared Sir Bernard's affection to the English might induce him soe farr to take their parts on all occasions as to disgust the others, and force them to forsake the port, to the ruine of the trade there in a great measure.

Florence may have some 70 thousand inhabitants in it on a strict account, and all the Grand Duke's subjects doe not exceed a million and a halfe, soe that your Majesty may compute his strength. His revenue is at the least 400,000 sterling per annum, which he drawes from his customes, gabels, land taxes, the church, his owne domaines, and trade. His expences doe not exceed the one halfe of it, soe that it is conceived hee may have at least three millions and halfe of pieces of eight in banco, besides a vast treasure in gold and sylver plate, pictures, jewels, and such like curiosities.

Hee keeps many garrisons on his frontiers towards the Spanish and ecclesiasticall territories, but they are in small forts rather then great towns, and not above 100 in a place, in all to the number of 2,000; most foreigners.

Hee entertaynes only 3 gallies; his predecessors usually kept six and seven, but reduced them to the aforesaid number, finding them of late to bee uselesse; the style of sea affayres altering as factions doe at land. Noe galley can withstand our new fine light-sayling frigates.

These two gallies your Majesty has ordered to bee built at Genoa and Pisa went but slowly on before I came thither; how they have done since I know not.

The Duke's port of Livorno is the scale of trade of all the Mediterranean sea, and it is a magazen where our comodities of spice and linning are landed, to bee afterwards dispersed over all Italy, into Turky, Barbarie, &c.

They receive also and disperse great quantities of your Majesty's cloth, lead, tynn, stuffs, fish; and your Majesty's subjects there made certain proposals to mee for the removing some impediments, and procureing other advantages in trade. I transmitted them to my Lord Arlington, after I had represented them to the Duke, who received them with great readinesse, and assured mee of his propense desires to doe every thing that might ease your Majesty's subjects in their commerce within his states. The little stay I made there rendered it impossible for mee to perfect them; besides, your Majesty's instructions directed the leaving that province to your Majesty's resident there, Sir John Finch. This I conceive a fit juncture of time for your Majesty to procure a body of articles and concessions for trade there, which may secure and preserve many benefitts to your subjects. I will give your Majesty two reasons for this my judgement; first, I conceive the present Duke to bee well inclined to your Majesty's person and people in regard of his knowledge both of the one and the other. I am sure hee professes it very much. Secondly, I conceive hee is jealous, least the Duke of Savoy by his franck

procedure in his treaty should draw away your merchants to Villa Franca, a place as well seated and adapted for trade as any port of Italy; and the people I conceive much better, they being not soe crafty, jealous, and unconversable as the Italians; neither soe light and inconstant as the French; but of an open, honest, affable genius.

All the princes and states of Italy who border on the sea are contriveing, à Fenvie of each other, which of them shall draw more pigeons to his dove coate; soe that your Majesty may prevaile on this occasion to obtayne any thing in reason which you can propose. I foresee only one obstacle which your Majesty will find a difficulty in, soe priest-ridden they are all here, that I feare it will bee impossible to obtayne any exercise of religion for your merchants, who though I think have noe great concerne for any such priviledge, yet it would redound much to your Majesty's honor and interest, as you are a Protestant monarch, if the freedom of such exercise could bee obtayned. The Grand Duke, as soon as I proposed it to him, did most readily assent to it, as a thing which hee thought would bee acceptable to your Majesty as well as advantageous to trade itself, provided the merchants would use this indulgence with that discretion that the Pope might take noe umbrage; assuring mee hee for his part would not recall it untill the Church took notice of it, whom hee was bound to obey right or wrong; adding, the Church would not take information of it unless they were too open and scandalous (see hee tearmed it) in the exercise of it. Hee was pleased to confirme this once and again; but I perceive now of late the Church stormes against Venice, Genoa, Legorne, and Savoy, for some connivances in this kind practised in the three first, and promised by the last alsoe. In Venice the inquisition is nomen inane, that State holding fast their authority in ecclesiastical as well as civill matters, and they find it drawes a great confluence of marchants to them who have freedom in religion; Genoa attempting the other day by their ambassador at Rome, Il Signior Durazzo (who had the same character here to your Majesty), to obtayne the like exemption from that jurisdiction. The Office fell upon the debate of Florence and Savoy, which I have before observed to your Majesty, and which is now in agitation. Since my takeing leave of the state of Venice, the Venetians have indeed got some little head of the Church, but the rest of the states of Italy are in great awe of the Pope, soe as in these cases they dare doe nothing that may clash with their holy father, who can arme even their own subjects against them, especially if they bee second and third-rate princes.

Touching the interest and present designes of this family, though they were advanced to their state by Charles the 5th, whose natural daughter Alexander de

Medicis the first Duke marryed, yet they soon began to weane themselves from the interests of the howse of Austria, as knowing they who made them might easily unmake them; soe that for their own preservation they openly courted the French, and continue soe to doe to this day, though at present it bee upon other motives. The territories of the Grand Duke are every where surrounded by the dominions of the King of Spayne and the Pope, see that both the power and vicinity of that King makes him jealous and vigilant upon all his motions. His policy and interest is to mayntaine the peace of Italy, and though hee courts the French, yet it is not with any designe of bringing himself under that protection, nay at this present both the Grand Duke, as all the rest of the princes, who are content with their portions, are rather afrayd of the French then of the Spanyard, the condition of those 2 monarchs haveing received a mighty change within this 40 yeares, which has also changed their interests, unto which they are very constant; they doe owe, and all impute, the peace they now enjoye to your Majesty's wisdome and influence in the triple allyance for which they own you as their patron and benefactor.

I find all the princes of Italy contriveing wayes rather of finesse then force for their support; which makes mee doubt there are few of them to bee relyed upon in any league, soe apt they are to play fast and loose, as it best suites with their humors and designes.

I shall not bee more particular in the relation of this Duke's territories, interest, revenue, or present posture, in regard your Majesty has entertained a minister soe many yeares in that place, who, being now upon his returne, will bee able to give your Majesty both a more exact and fresher account of that court; from whence, after 3 dayes' stay only, I departed towards Bologna, where the cardinal legate sent severall coaches with six horses to meet mee, and, within halfe an houre after I was alighted at my inn, sent mee a present of all sorts of provisions and confitures, which I acknowledged to him by my secretary, who was received by him very civilly. The next day I passed forward to Ferrara, where I was met with the same entertainement, and observed the same method; and soe to Venice; where I continued 20 dayes incognito, partly to get my gondolas ready, and my house (the biggest and best in Venice) furnished; but principally I was detayned soe long by a difficulty the college made to receive mee in the Cloyster, which I insisted upon, and was at length after long disputes granted. The case being not ordinary, I shall humbly beg your Majesty's permission to acquaint you with it before I fall upon the relation of that government. It has ever been the Venetians' custome to receive ambassadors in a certain island called Santo Spirito (antiently a convent

of fryars), 5 miles distant from the town, to which place a cavalier of principal quality, attended by 60 senators in their robes, are appointed to meet them in an upper roome, where the ambassadors did constantly give the hand to the said cavalier, from the chamber where he was received unto his gondola, by reason that chamber and place was understood to bee the howse of the said ambassador. This practice constantly continued till about 6 yeares since, that the Count Sernini, extraordinary ambassador from the emperor, to avoyd giveing the hand would needs bee received in the church, alledging that to bee a third place, and consequently the hand due to him, which after some dispute was yielded to by the senate.

Not long after this, arrived an ambassador from Spayne, who insisted upon the same priviledge, and had it granted; but the cavalier arriving in the church went strait up to the altar, and there kneeling down, as did all the senators, left the ambassador standing alone for some time.

This present French ambassador, who arrived some moneths after, had the same successe, but in some measure avoyded the affront, by kneeling down at the same time with them.

This put mee upon the difficulty of a hard choice, either to receive the said cavalier in my chamber, and consequently give the hand, or in the church, where, being the minister of a Protestant prince, it was impossible to avoyd the same affront they had before given to the Spaniard; to obviate both which inconveniences, I demanded permission to receive the said cavalier in the cloyster, which being a third place hee could not pretend the hand, nor myself meet with any neglect by his going up to the altar; but this was for several dayes absolutely refused, untill they understood plainly from me that I could not make my entry upon other terms untill I had received your Majesty's comands from England; and that I believed your Majesty would call mee back, which apprehension prevayled with them (though very unwillingly) to make me this concession.

I shall not further trouble your Majesty with the circumstances of my entry, or other ceremonies relating to it, which, I may say, was not short of any that had ever preceded; but fall upon the relation of the government itself.

The government of Venice is aristocratical in truth, though it have the appearance of the monarchical, and somewhat of the democratical too.

The supreame power and authority of the commonwealth resteth in them who are at this time about 700 of the nobility, and forme the body of the great council. Hence it is that this government has some shew of being popular, seing there are soe many who have a share in it, and that the vertue or wealth of the cittisens may open the dores of the nobility to them also.

1. The Great Council. This Great Councill does dispense much of its executive power and authority to other officers and magistrates, yet still retaynes their primitive right in the enacting, abrogating, and amending lawes, in distributeing magistracies, in conferring dignities, and the like. These choose the Duke, create the College, erect the Pregadi. In a word, this is the mayn spring that gives motion to all the other wheeles of this government.

The Pregadi are properly the senate, to whom the grand council reserveth matters of peace and warre, the supervisal of the introitus and exitus of the public treasure, imposition of new levies or subsidies, creating new temporary offices, matters of state, and the most important affaires of the Republic. Antiently this council consisted of 60 only, called *ordinarij*; afterwards 60 more added as their government enlarged, called *della Gionta*. In processe of time the whole criminall council of 40. All the college consisting of 26.

The Council of X, consisting of that number in this our computation (though otherwise, the Duke and the six councellors of the college are added to them, which makes them 17); the Procurators of St. Mark, originally 9 only, now 36; the master over salt and corne; all Ambassadors after they returne from their embassies, and some others who have undergone public and weighty employments: soe that at this time they consist of 276.

The College consisteth of the Duke, six counsellors, one for every of the six quarters of the citty, three Capi, or heads of the 40 criminal judges, six Savij grandi, five Savij di terra ferma, and 5 Savij alli ordini; in the whole 26.

The Duke has little or noe authority besides that of makeing the Primicerio of St. Mark's church. Some few cannons' places hee disposeth of; and some few offices not pertayning to the government. Hee has nothing of soveraignty but the names, title, and a ducal capp; yet they allow that moneys should bee coyned in his name, but not by him; and public letters are directed to him. Hee has noe guards, is rather an honorable prisoner than a prince; but one supreame Prince they would have, to fill a place which otherwayes some man's ambition might aspire to.

They choose them old, to the end the dignity may passe into many families in a little time. His servants are all hired by the state, and payd by them too. They seldom choose any whilst he is marryed, yet hee is the fourth or fifth only that ever was see chosen.

Hee never stirs his cap but to a soveraigne prince or cardinal. The Doge, with 3 of the 6 counsellors of the purple robe, and one of the three Capi of the 40 criminal judges, forme the representative of the State, or body of the Prince.

The Senate called Pregadi, because they were pregati di venire al consiglio as often as occasion required the meeting of them. The last 60 are chosen by vote, not lot, to the end judgement not affection should elect them.

The Procurators of St. Mark that were added gave during the warre 20,000 D. each for that honor, but as they die, they are not to bee filled up, but reduced to 9 again, who are still called of merit as the other are of money.

The College.

The Duke or Doge primicerio is overseer of the wax candles and lampes, &c.

The six Counsellors are chosen, viz., one out of every of the six quarters of the citty; the oldest in sicknesse or absence of the Duke, is a kind of Vice duke, for hee takes his place, and heares all those causes which the other ought to doe, They hold but eight moneths, dureing which the Duke does nothing without them.

The three Capi, or heads, of the 40 criminal judges, have place in the colledge in The heads of the the right of the said magistracy: of these more hereafter.

The six Savij grandi, or Savij del consiglio, after the colledge is up, retire with the five Savij di terra ferma into a consulto, where they discourse, digest, and prepare matters for the senate, which are carryed thither by the Savio of that weeke (for they take their turnes), and in his time hee may propose what hee pleases,

The Savij di terra ferma are 5, and of a lower forme then the former, yet they Savij di terra ferma retire and consult with them. They have a vote in the colledge, but not in the senat. They choose two amongst themselves, one to bee cash keeper, who receives Savio cassiere. and payes all public moneys according to order, and the other to secretary or superintendent of the Militias. The Savij alli ordini are five, and are young men, who have place in colledge, only to heare and observe the methods and rules of government. Now the businesse here transacted are matters of petitions, opening of letters, receiving of ambassadors; unto whom for the present the doge gives some general answer of respect; the point of businesse being reserved to the Senate, and this is all they have in a manner to doe.

The Procurators of St. Mark were formerly 9 only, now 36, the 27 which are added paying money for it in the warrs, and are thence styled Procurators of Mark, vid. ant. para-Money, as the other nine are of Merit. They have place and vote in senate, are exempt from ambassies, unlesse extraordinary ones, as also they are from governments, many of which are very expensive. They are of great honour, and hold during life. They have, however, but little authority, unlesse it bee the oversight of St. Mark's Church, of orfanes, and pupils, and some such like charitable matters. They enter not into the Council of X, nor into the Great Council; but when the great council meets, the procurators ought to bee in the court to direct and command the officers of the arsenal, who are then there as a guard. They goe all in scarlet, as the Duke does.

This Council of X consisteth now of 17. The Duke and the six counsellors being added to them. This council is exactly of the nature of our cabinet councils, as they are now used in England, France, Spayne, &c. with two differences, first, the Duke enters not, but when sent unto; secondly, they have infinitly more authority to heare and determine the very greatest things; they can judge the Duke himself, or any other magistrates. Their generalissimi after their three yeares service

criminal judges.

Savij grandi.

purge themselves here with feare and trembling, more, peradventure, then in a battle. They punish most rigorously and capitally all treasons, revealers of secrets of State, defrauders of public moneys, but cannot proceed against a noble Venetian without interessing the whole council.

They have impenetrable wayes to discover secrets and offenders; they are masters of the denoncias against perjuries, invaders of the government, &c. and their authority is very great, as it ought to bee, to prevent disorders and to punish great offenders.

The counsel of the 40 criminal judges.
Quarantia civil vecchia.

Quarantia civil nova.

Present state of Venice, 1670.

In relation to the peace and the Turks.

The Quarantia criminale is a supreame council too, and consists of forty, and there are three counsellors preside there who represent the person of the Prince. They are most of them of the nobility of the second forme, to that end those of the first rank should not ingrosse all. They have place and vote in the senate. There are other two magistracies each consisting of 40. The former determineth appeales in things arising in the citty, as the second does in things arising on the terra ferma; they succeed each other every 16 moneths, the second comeing into the place of the first, and the third of the second, soe that in time they all come into the Senate, and have knowledge of matters of weight. These are the chief magistracies, and are of greater authority in the republique.

I will now consider the present state of this Comonwealth in relation to her neighbours. Shee has lately made peace with the Turk, and most probable it is this peace may continue, at least soe long as the public one of Christendome does; the Turk generally takeing advantage of our dissentions, to devoure us one after another. Besides, seing with what difficulty and expence of men and treasure hee has managed a warre against this state, it is not probable hee will attacque them yet awhile; the private divisions in his own family, and some discontents at home, induce mee to believe that monarch will breath awhile, before hee attempts anything against this state, whatever hee may doe against some other Christian princes.

Their public debts.

Trade.

Stores.

The state of Venice dureing the 25 years warre has incurred great debts, haveing consumed on a strict account 180 millions of duckats. They have alsoe lost a great part of the trade they formerly had, and lastly exhausted their stores of warre. To recruite these is their present designe, which they hope to accomplish under the benefit of the present peace, and to that end they spread all their netts to discharge their debts. They reduce interest from 7 to 4 per cent. They goe on selling the remainders of Church lands assigned by the late Pope to bee employed in the warre. They retrench their militias by sea and land. They improve their revenue by exact menage, and they take the utmost advantages of

confiscations. To encrease trade, they give all encouragement imaginable; the port being free, the Turks begin to come thither in some numbers, and the State treats them with all kindnesse; they are every day recruiting their arsenall with all necessaries, and they hold this as needfull as paying of their debts, or haveing money in their purses; and to this end they appropriate 250 thousand duckats per annum; which rightly applyed will goe a great way in it.

Their revenue is almost 4 millions of duckats per annum.

Their charge is about 3 millions and a halfe.

Charge. Their militia by land in garrisons is 2000 foot, and about 1100 horse; by sea Militias by land. they maintayn 5 shipps, 24 galleys, and 4 galeasses; these are their constant Fleet by sea. guards upon establishment. In their fleet they expend 360,000 duckats annually, and in their land soldiers somewhat above half as much.

The Venetians are in their lives and conversation vitious enough, and not lesse In relation to carefull to preserve their spirituall then their civil liberties. Dureing the late warres, induced by necessity, and bribed by the Pope with the liberty of dissolving two orders and selling their lands, which amounted to 800 thousand dukats, they gave way with much unwillingnesse that the Jesuites might inhabite there, but in conversation they keepe at distance.

A breach between the Pope and them would ruine both, and involve all Italy To the Pope. in warre and destruction. It is certain that the Pope has pretention just enough, which yet he dares not set on foot. The Polisene di Rovigo is part of the Dutchy of Ferrara, which whole dutchy was bought by the apostolic see in the time of Clement 8, to the infinite regret of the commonwealth; but, for the reasons aforesaid, the Popes dare not attempt the recovery of it. This state seemes to stand Savoy. well enough with Savoy, nor does there appeare any probable cause of breach, unless it bee for the ayry title of King of Cypress to which both pretend; but they will doubtlesse joyne to preserve and mayntaine each other, wherein the public peace of Italy is concerned, and of which that Duke keepes a strong key.

This State keepes a good intelligence with the house of Medicis, which family, Florence. though raysed by the Austrians, yet finding itself surrounded by Spanish garrisons, and that the Kings of Spaine are powerfull enough in Italy to oppresse it, does maintayne a neutrality, seeming however more addicted to France than Spayne; but, however, this state is very confident that prince would never bee content to see the armes of France planted in Italy, and entertaines a strict intelligence with that family, as being well assured they will alwayes joyne hand with this republique for the keeping out of strangers and maintayning the public peace.

Revenue

Genoa

As to Genoa, all the world knowes the antient animosities and rancors that have been between this and that common wealth, which are not yet forgotten, at least by the Venetians; for even when the Venetians in the late warres were offered ayds and helpes from the Genoeses, provided their forces might goe jointly together, this state slighted and rejected the motion. There is noe apparent cause of any unkindnesse between these two henns of the game. Venice did one while consider Genoa with a jealous look whilst they were soe mightily ligued with the Spaniard, but now begins to have some esteeme of their policy and foresight, since they have found a way to maintaine a correspondance with France, by which meanes the navigation of Provence being open, the citty of Genoa is well supplyed with provisions, without being necessitated to expect them from Milan, Naples, and Sicily.

Mantua.

The state of Venice has alwayes endeavoured to maintayn a good intelligence with the Duke of Mantua, styling him her sonne; and indeed on all occasions testified a parental care of him; frequently engageing herselfe in his quarels, the better to assure his dependance upon her, and secure Casal in Montserrat, which serves as a bulwark to all Italy on that part of it.

Modena

As to Modena, the state of Venice has alwayes endeavoured to maintaine a good correspondence with the Duke of Modena, but begun to look about her when she understood that Duke Francis was of an active, unquiet, ambitious temper, desirous of enlargeing his narrow bounds, particularly that he was intent upon the recovery of Ferrara, induced thereunto from an opinion hee had that the people of that province were weary of their new churchmen, and longed for their old masters. The said Duke went to Madrid to engage the king in his behalf, but received a denyall; from thence hee went to Paris, and received a ready promise, provided hee would first ayd them to conquer Milan. The French knew they had nothing in Italy to loose, soe that they run noe great hazard. The Pope was not uninformed of it, and the Venetians, to necessitate the said Duke to retire from such designes, were desirous the Pope should put a strong garrison into the place, and all this to preserve the peace of Italy, which alone renders her considerable in the eyes of the rest of the monarchs of Europe.

Parma.

That is would give license to sell wine, flesh, and bread in his howse, a considerable advantage in itself, but injurious to the State. The republique of Venice does usually preserve a faire correspondence with the Duke of Parma, who reciprocally endeavours the same, and to that end entertayns always a resident in Venice; but soe it happened, some eight yeares since, that the said resident, pretending to keep a butchery and a buttery in his howse, the Senat sent to him to forbeare it, which hee not doing, they complained to the Duke, who recalled him indeed, but yet tooke the senat's complaint to heart, for

hee presently gave sufficient evidencies of his dissatisfaction by sending all those that were condemned as slaves in his territories unto the state of Genoa, whom untill that time hee had constantly sent to Venice.

This State has not see cordiall and sincere affection for any people as for the As to the Grisons Suisses and Grisons, because, first, shee has noe jealousy of them, and secondly they, like herself, are chiefly intent upon preserving their liberty and freedom; the maine end of all Republiques. This republique will certainly joyn with either of the two crownes against that which shall endeavor to usurpe the Grisons and the Valtoline; as shee did between France and Spayne, not out of love to the former but out of self-preservation, the state of Venice desiring to keepe things in Italy in the condition wherein they now are. True it is this State never makes use of these in any of her warres. The reason I conceive is, because they are her neighbours, and if any of such auxiliarys should play them a trick, there are more at hand to second them. But withall this State does indeare those of the Valtoline; does at her owne charge maintayn a certain number of young men of that province at their studies at Padoa at her own charge; and in Swisserland maintayns a constant resident.

The republique of Venice has great feare as well as jealousie of the howse of As to the house of Austria; first, because the territories of that family surround this State all on the coast of Germany; secondly, because they are powerfull in Italy, as well as ambitious; and lastly, because they know that they have usurped a great deale from that family, particularly of the patriarchshipp of Aquilea. When this monarch was rampant, and attempted an universall empire, this State did all they could to thwart them, as questionlesse they now would any other that should set up in the same way. They often invited the Turk to invade them; supported the defection of Bethlem Gabor; sided with the Prince Palatin; encouraged all the troubles in Germany; ayded the Duke of Mantua with open and great force; and joyned with France to bring Gustavus Adolphus into Germany. They alsoe advised and counselled Queen Elizabeth to support the Hollanders. By all this it is easy to judge how they then stood affected; and judgeing by the same rule it is as easie to know how they now stand disposed. They only endeavor'd to impede the growing grandeur of the howse least it might have swallowed up their republique. Nor would they now see that monarchy ruined, apprehending the same consequence upon their own; they are very jealous also of their dominions in the Adriatick Gulf, in which they have noe other competitors then the subjects

Besides all this, Brescia, Bergamo, and Crema are antient members of the VOL. XXXVII. 2 B

of that howse.

Austria and Spayne

Dutchy of Milan. By this your Majesty may see the Venetians thus farr have been jealous of the Spanyards, but now much more apprehend the French, as I shall evince.

As to France, the Venetians have had frequent experience of the sad consequences which befall them as often as they have France for their neighbours; and of their advantage when most remote from them; soe that they would have France guardant, not rampant; they would have them live but not devoure. Had not the warre of Candia taken up all their thoughts, eyes, and eares, for some yeares, this State would have been making parties against them; and now that they are free from troubles, assure yourself this State will run into any league to divert the progressions of that monarchy, which is already too formidable. Nor are those wanting who averr this warre of Candia to have been the product of Richelieu's brayns, to the end this State might bee taken up in the cares of preserving itselfe, and not hinder the proceeding of their neighbors. Withall, the mayn end of Besiers comeing hither was to draw this State into a league with that King, and on those termes he engaged to recover what was then lost in Candia. But this State, unwilling to depend on any party, excused itself in faire termes, and the King in a huff recalled his ambassador, who for haveing spoken somewhat too roughly in the college was not very wellcome to them, nor doe the Venetians stick to say that the French lost Candia by their base deserting it.

As to England, there has ever been a good intelligence between this State and England, possible in regard England is remoate from them; has noe pretentions to annoy them; and by trade affoards them many advantages. But more especially the Venetians court that kingdom as arbitrator of the affayres between the two pretending crowns, and considering it is the concerne of that monarch as of their own state to keepe the ballance even. Though there have not been many leagues between that crown and this State, yet their common interests have united them, soe that there has ever been a good correspondence, and never any breach between them, the Venetians still acting the same things in the east which the English doe in the west. As to Denmark, Swedeland, &c., this State is little concerned with the first of the two crowns, nor much with the last; since the descent of Gustavus Adolphus into Germany, which this state did at that time encourage, for the reasons præalleadged, avding him then with great sums of moneys. As to the Hollanders, when the Hollanders first revolted, the Venetians encouraged England and France to and them; and they themselves contributed large sums to their support; nor were the Dutch ingratefull for it, seing they sent to the Signorie upon that occasion of the excomunication of Paul the 5th to offer

them whatsoever moneys or men they desired, as England alsoe did; moreover in the warre of Gradisca the Hollanders did send 600 foot payd by themselves to serve the Venetians against the emperor; but when in processe of time this republique perceived that the French seconded by the Hollanders went on victoriously in every place, and that the Spanyard could not hold up the buckler against them, she began to withdraw her hand, it not being her designe to ruine, but only to humble, the Spanyard. The Dutch to this day pretend an arrear of six millions of florins due to them from this State, on accompt of that league, which the Venetians at length deserted. The Commonwealth at this time hath a good correspondence with the states of Holland; their interests of peace, trade, and obstructing the overgrowing greatnesse of any monarch, being the same.

As to Poland, this State maintaynes a good intelligence with Poland, as being a mayn buckler rgainst the Turk; shee still endeavors to keepe all quiet in and about that kingdome, and is herself grieved when they suffer, either from without or within, as was manifest in the late warres, where the Cossacks, who used to infest the Black Sea, and forced the Grand Signor to divide his fleets, did then, by reason of their owne private dissentions, become a prey to the Turks, and unwillingly help to fill his gallies against the Venetians.

As to the Turk, certain it is this State would alwayes maintayn peace with this monarch; trade, not warre, encrease of wealth, not enlargement of empire, being the object of this government. They only seated themselves here for peace and commerce; their lawes, their affections, their vertues and their vices dispose them altogether to these things; but whatever state lyes neare the Turkish moon must suffer eclipses; they have already robbed this State of three crownes, viz. Morea (formerly Thessaly), Cypress, and Candia. I should feare Zant and Cephalonia I mention not would follow, but I think not yet, that monarchy having seen with what difficulty Scutari, Durazzo, hee has wrested the last from this State; but I cannot think they will long Sta Maura, not remaine secure, the animosities between them and us, through difference of many others. religion, lawes, habits, languages, and in a word of all things that serve as a common ciment or ligament, give mee reason to doubt, as I say, that the Turk will not long leave these places inattempted; but that hee will not yet attempt them, I suppose may bee reasonably concluded from the general peace of all Christendome. The knowledge that monarch has of the resistance this State can make in case of a rupture, the private divisions in his howse and family, and possibly other necessities that government may have at present, that doe not yet fall under my observation.

This is certain, the republique applyes herself sedulously to maintayn this peace

Priamo, Dulsigno,

and to endeare it by Commerce, which begins to flourish apace between this signorie and that large monarch. Besides, the State keepes an ambassador constantly there at a great expence, whose mayn business is to purchase the affections of the great men at court, and sometimes too of the Sultanes by force of money and the like.

I forbeare to say anything of the scituation of this place, when and on what occasion it was founded. These things are to bee found in many who have particularly treated on them, such as Cardinal Contareno, Bernardo, Giustiniao, Munster, Bardi, Sansovini, and many others.

Thus much only I thought was fit to be presented to your Majesty's view by,

Sire,

Your Majesty's

Most loyal and obedient subject,

FAUCONBERG.

XV. Some passages in the Life and Character of a Lady resident in Herefordshire and Worcestershire during the Civil War of the Seventeenth Century, collected from her Account-book in the possession of Sir Thomas Edward Winnington, Baronet, of Stanford Court, in the county of Worcester; with Historical Observations and Notes by John Webb, M.A., F.S.A.

Read April 17, and May 1, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,

Tretire, December 12, 1856.

Since I had the honour of reading these papers to the Society of Antiquaries, I have been tempted to conclude that they would hardly be deemed of sufficient importance to be received into their Archæologia, though, in the absence of more learned inquiries, I know of no good reason why the curious old diary of an elderly lady of an ancient house should be beneath the notice of an antiquary. Your official communication has however settled the question; and, as I find that the MS. has been selected for publication, I send it to you very little altered from the form in which it was read. Should it appear that the subject has been anywhere treated with less gravity than may become these pages, it may be pleaded that the feeling was in some measure forced upon me by the nature of the materials themselves, in moulding them into the form in which they now appear.

I remain, yours sincerely,

JOHN WEBB.

At the period to which this brief memoir refers, the family of Conyngesby had long been settled in the counties of Salop and Hereford. Their first introduction from Lincolnshire, where they were of great antiquity, was into the lordship of Neen Solars, him Shropshire, by the marriage of Margery, daughter and heir of

a Conyngesby. Out of an ample choice of the modes of spelling this name, varieties of which will hereafter occur, that has been adopted as the standard which appears in the prose inscription on the tomb. For the orthography of Jefferies I have taken Nash, the historian of Worcestershire, as my guide.

b In the hundred of Overs, near Tenbury.

Roger de Solars, Lord of Neen, with John, son of John, Baron de Conyngesby, who was slain at the battle of Chesterfield, in the reign of Henry III. They afterwards established themselves in the noble mansion and domain of Hampton Court in Herefordshire; but Conyngesby of Neen was in these parts the elder branch of that honourable race. Towards the latter end of the sixteenth century, Humphrey Conyngesby, Esq. was lord of the manor of Neen—a singular person, whose ardour for foreign travel and chivalrous enterprise led him far and long from his home, and finally threw an impenetrable veil over his death. Less known than good old Sandys, whose celebrated "Journey" in the reign of James I. was for awhile one of the most popular accounts of the then existing state of Italy, Greece, Palestine, and Egypt, and for truth and classical illustration may still be read with profit and pleasure, Conyngesby had preceded him, as a traveller, about sixteen years; but during his life no communication had been made to the public of what he had observed and experienced abroad, and, but for the affectionate care of one who loved his memory, his fate and story would never have been handed down to posterity. But these were detailed upon a tomb erected in the church of Neen Solars in a remarkable epitaph, the most material part of which is as follows. It will speak for itself, and at the close will introduce to your notice the person who is afterwards to form the principal feature of this communication. Without reciting the quaint verses, which, according to the custom then prevalent, were inserted in sundry compartments, the prose will be of

a This battle, or rather surprise of the rebellious barons under Robert Ferrers, Earl of Derby, by Henry the King's nephew, son of the Earl of Almaine, took place in the year 1266.—Dugdale, Baronage, i. 263.

b In the parish of Hope-under-Dinmore, now the property and residence of John Arkwright, Esq.

o MS. pedigree of the Conyngesby family.

d Indeed he ended, as far as we have any account of him, within a few months after Sandys began. Conyngesby, as stated below, set out on his first expedition in April 1594, and on his last, October 10, 1610, the year in which Sandys went to Paris, on his way to Venice, about the time that Henry IV. was assassinated, in the early part of May.—Relation of a Journey, &c. p. 1.

[°] For a further description of the present state of this monument, and a corrected copy of the inscriptions, I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Richard Baker, Rector of Neen Solars, and Miss Baker, my own copy taken at the beginning of the last century being not altogether perfect. The monument is mural, and represents Humphrey Conyngesby in armour: it is in the south transept, and is surmounted by the family arms and crest; but the motto, Tacta Libertas, existing in 1719, has disappeared. Under the arms are these verses, in four separate compartments:—

^(1.) TYME CYTTETH DOWNE THE BODY,

BYT CHRIST RAISETH VP THE SPIRIT.

sufficient length to exercise your patience, and will inform you more particularly who Humphrey Conyngesby was, and what he did.

- (2.) HERE CONINGESHE IN LIVELT SHAPE THOV LIEST
 WHO SOMETIMES WERT THE CHAMPION OF CHRIST
 DIDST TRAVAILE EVROPE FOR HIS ONLIE SAKE
 AND (FOUND THE FOE) HIS QUARRELL UNDERTAKE
 WHAT GREATER VALOUR PIETIE COULD BEE
 THAN BLEED FOR HIM WHO SHED HIS BLOOD FOR THEE.
- (3.) ALASS! OVE LIFE ALTHOUGH WEE STAIR AT HOME
 IS BUT A TOYLESOME PILGRIMADGE ON EARTH
 BUT THOU A DOUBLE PILGRIMADGE DIDST ROAME
 THOU WAST ALLMOST ABROAD EVEN FROM THY BYRTH
 THY JOURNEYS END WAS HEAVEN OF HOMES THE BEST
 WHER TILL THOU CAM'ST THOU NEVER COULD'ST
 TAKE REST.
- (4.) OVE LIFE IS LOST YET LIV'ST THOV EVER
 DEATH HATH HIS DVE YET DI'ST THOV
 NEVER.

Beneath these verses is the prose inscription given in the text, and under it are the following lines:-

MAN STAY SEE MVSE MOORNE AND MINDE THY END FLESH POMPE TYME THOUGHTS WORLD WELTH AS WIND DOETH PASS

LOVE FEARE HATE HOPE FAST PRAY FEED GIVE AMEND MAN BEAST FISH FOWLE AND ALL ELS IS AS GRASS SEE HEARE THY SELFE FRALE FLESH AS IN A GLASS NO ODS BETWEENE VS BVT VNSERTAINE HOWRES WHICH ARE PRESCRIBED BY THE HEAVENLY POWERES FOR DEATH IN FINE ALL KIND OF FLESH DEVOVRES

RESPICE FINEM

FAREWELL THEN SISTER FLESH AND THINKE OF ME
WHAT I AM TOMOROW THOY MAYST BE.

The arms were repeated in the transept window with this legend:-

These arms were set up in the memory of Humphrey Conyngesby, Esq. sometime Lord of Neen Sollers, by his half-sister and sole executrix, Joice Jeffrys.

Anno Domini 1628.

But these have long since perished.

THIS STATVE AND MONVMENT WAS MADE IN COMEMORATION OF HVMFREY CO-NYNGESBY ESQ*: ONLY SONE OF JOHN CONYNGESBY OF NENE SOLERS ESQ*: AND OF ANNE HIS WIFE DAVIGHTER OF THOMAS BARNEBY OF HVLL IN THE PARISH OF BOCKLETON* AND COVNTY OF WORCESTER ESQ*: WHICH HVMFREY CONYNGESBY WAS LATE LORDE OF THIS NEEN SOLERS AND PATRON OF THIS CHVRCH AND HEIRE OF THE ELDEST LYNE AND FAMILY OF CONYNGESBYS FROM WHOM THE REST ARE DERIVED WHICH BEFORE KING JHONS TYME WERE BARONS OF ENGLAND AND THEN RESIDED AT CONYNGESBY IN LINCOLNSHIRE HE WAS A PERFECT SCOLLER BY EDVCATION AND A GREATE TRAVAYLER BY HIS OWN AFFECTION HE BEGAN HIS FIRST TRAVAYLE ON APRIL 1594 BEING 27 YEARS OF AGE AND 2 MONETHES AND FOR FOVR YEARS AND VPWARDS REMAYNED IN FRANCE, GERMANIE SICILYE AND ITALY AND THEN RETURNED HOME FOR A LITTLE WHILE AND TOOKE HIS JORNEY AGAIN INTO BOHEMIA POLONIA AND HVNGARY WHERE FOR DEFENCE OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH HE PVT HIMSELF VNDER THE BANNAR OF RODOLPH 5 THE 2" EMPEROR OF THE ROMANS (AS A VOLVNTARY GENTLEMAN) AT THE SIEGE OF STRIGONIVM O IN HVNGARY AGAINST THE TVRK AFTERWARDS TO SATISFIE HIS DESIRE WHICH WAS TO SEE THE

Bockelton is in the upper division of the hundred of Doddintree. Hull, in that parish, so called from its situation on a hill, belonged to the family of Barnaby in the 16th and 17th centuries.—Nash, i. pp. 115, 116.

b Rodolph II. eldest son of Maximilian II. and Mary of Spain, was born July 28, 1552; crowned King of Hungary, September 25, 1572; King of Bohemia, September 21, 1575; elected King of the Romans, October 27, and crowned November 1 of the same year. In the year following he succeeded his father as Emperor, and died January 10, 1612, aged 39.—Pfeffel, Nouvel Abregée de l'Histoire d'Allemagne, tom. ii. pp. 218, 219.

^c Strigonium, now Gran, a town of Lower Hungary, near the confluence of the Gran with the Danube. At the close of the 16th and opening of the 17th centuries it was considered the bulwark of Christendom. It was thrice besieged between the years 1595 and 1605, and at last won by the Turks, from whom it had been taken in the first siege by the Imperialists, after an occupation of fifty-two years. These operations were attended by many fierce and sanguinary struggles, and were very attractive to soldiers of fortune throughout Europe, as partaking of the character of a croisade. To have been present at these feats of arms seems to have been a feather in the cap of the gallants of the age. Ben Jonson introduces it as one of the vaunts of his vain-glorious braggart, Bobadill:—

[&]quot; Wellbred .- Captain Bobadill, why muse you so?

[&]quot;Bobadill.—Faith, I was thinking of an honourable piece of service was performed to-morrow, being St. Mark's day, shall be some ten years now.

[&]quot; Elder Knowell .- In what place, Captain?

[&]quot;Bobadill.—Why, at the beleaguering of Strigonium, where, in less than two hours, seven hundred resolute gentlemen as any in Europe lost their lives upon the breach. I'll tell you, gentlemen, it was the first, but the best, leaguer that ever I beheld with these eyes, except the taking in of—what do you call it?—last year by the Genoways," &c.—Every Man in His Humour, act iii. sc. 1.

d The writer of this inscription (it could hardly have been composed by Mrs. Joyce Jefferies, though she might have supplied the materials) has apparently committed an anachronism in placing any siege of

MOST EMINENT PERSONS AND PLACES HE WENT INTO TVRKEY, NATOLIA, TROY IN ASIA BY SESTOS AND ABYDOS THROUGH THE HELLESPONT AND INTO THE ISLES OF ZANT, CHIOS, RHODES, CANDY, CYPRVS, AND DIVERS OTHER PLACES IN THE ARCHIPELAGO. HE VISITED SVNDRY ANTIENT AND FAMOVS PLACES OF GREECE, AS ARCADIA, CORINTH, THESSALONICA, EPHESUS AND ATHENS, WENT OVER THE PLAINS OF THERMOPYLÆ BY WHICH XERXES PASSED INTO GREECE AND SO ARRIVED AT CON-STANTINOPLE IN THE REIGNE OF MAHOMET THE 3" EMPEROR OF THE TVRKS WHO TO DO HIM HONOVR GAVE HIM A TVRKISH GOWNE OF CLOTH OF GOLD AND HIS MOTHER THE SYLTANA EBRITA GAVE HIM ANOTHER RICH GOWNE OF CLOTH OF SILVER AND 50 CHEQVINS IN GOLD. AFTER 13 MONETHES ABODE THERE HE RE-TVRNED INTO ENGLAND, TO THE JOY OF HIS FRIENDS WHERE STAYING AWHILE HE WENT INTO SPAIN AND CAME BACK IN SAFETY, AND AGAINE THE FOURTH TYME HE TOOKE HIS JORNEY FROM LONDON TO VENICE THE TENTH DAY OF OCTOBER 1610, AND FROM THAT DAY WAS NEVER AFTER SEEN BY ANY OF HIS ACQVAINTANCE ON THIS SIDE THE SEA OR BEYOND, NOR ANY CERTAINTY KNOWN OF HIS DEATH, WHERE WHEN OR HOW. FROM HIS FIRST JOVRNEY TO HIS FOURTH AND LAST WAS SIXTEEN YEARS AND SIX MONETHES. HE LIVED A BATCHELOVE, LEAVING BEHIND HIM ONE SISTER OF THE WHOLE BLOOD NAMED CATHERINE THE WIFE OF EDWARD FREEMAN OF EINLOD . IN THE COVNTY OF WORCESTER ESQ**. AND ONE OTHER SISTER BY THE MOTHERS SIDE NAMED JOYCE JEFEREYS WHOM HE MADE EXECUTRIX OF HIS WILL AND TESTAMENT APPOINTING HER THEREBY TO ERECT HIM A TOMB WITH AN INSCRIPTION OF HIS CONDITION, LIFE AND DEATH WHICH SHE HATH HERE PER-FORMED THOUGH SHORT OF HIS PERFECTIONS.

TEMPORA MVTANTVR. ANNO DOMINI 1624.

This lady, Mrs. Joyce Jefferies, who has taken such pains to convey the above information to posterity, is the person to whom, in her turn, I wish to invite your attention; and from her autograph account-book, in the possession of Sir Thomas

Strigonium at this period. The first and only siege during the lifetime of Mahomet III. was in 1594. This must have been when Conyngesby was on his first journey in France, Germany, Sicily, and Italy. Having set out in that year, he continued out four years and upwards, returned to England, and set out on his second tour, in which, as is stated, he became a volunteer at the siege. "Afterwards" he travels through Greece, and arrives at Constantinople while Mahomet III. was on the throne. Now, neither of the two other sieges alluded to in the former note occurred till the reign of Achmet, who succeeded Mahomet III. See Knolles, History of the Turks, in Mahomet III. and Achmet.

^e Emload, Emlade, or Evenload, in the upper division of the hundred of Oswaldeslaw, a manor belonging some time to the priory of Worcester, but given with other lands at the Dissolution to Sir Philip Hoby, Knight, from whom it came to Lord Compton, from him to Mr. Croker, and after this to Mr. Freeman, and his son Mr. Coningsby Freeman, who sold it.—Nash, i. p. 393.

Edward Winnington, Bart., of Stanford Court, in the county of Worcester, who has kindly permitted it to be shown to the Society, shall be extracted such passages as will bring her before you. The book is kept in a clear hand, and comprises the receipt and expenditure of nine years, embodying a number of curious particulars bearing upon the events, persons, circumstances, and manners of the age, and setting forth simultaneously, what is hardly less notable, her own very extraordinary self—the general representative of a class that is now exhibited nowhere exteriorly to the eye of an observer, save in the family pictures of the country ladies of the time—individually, a character not unworthy to be drawn from its long obscurity, existing at a period that must ever be interesting to us, and distinguished by peculiarities too remarkable to be forgotten.

An extract from a MS. history of the parish of Clifton upon Teme, in Worcestershire, where she spent her last days, has supplied this notice of her. It was written by her great-nephew, Mr. Henry Jefferies, and is preserved in the library at Stanford Court.

Joyce Jefferies was daughter to Henry Jefferies of Hom-Castle,^a by Anne, widow of Ja^a Conyngsby. She had 200 marks by her father's will given her. She lived with her mother, the lady Kettleby, at Cotheridge,^b and after Sir Francis's death and her mother's, who survived him, with Sir Tho^a Conyngsby of Hampton Court, co. Hereford, a perpetual companion to Philippa his wife. From the gratuities of her friends, not forgetting Mr. Humphrey Conyngysby of Neende Solers, a great traveller, her half-brother, her great benefactor, she soe angmented her effects that by her account book she received at once ^c 900*l*. per annum. Being over free to her god-children, whereof Joyce (Elizabeth) Acton was one, who married Mr. Geers of Garnons, and to whom she gave 800*l*. though not so largely to others; by building a house in Wigmarsh Street in the suburbs of Hereford, the expense whereof was 800*l*., as by her book—which was ordered to be pulled down in the time of the late rebellion under King Charles, and the materials sold for 50*l*.; by other calamities of war, but worse by knavish servants, (she) had so far consumed it, that had she not come to Holme Castle under the guidance and protection of William her nephew, she had come to want in her old age. However, something pretty considerable from this shipwreck was found,

a "Hame, or Homme," says Nash, "is a manor in the parish of Clifton-upon-Teme. Here was anciently a castle, the seat of the family of the Jefferies of Clifton, who purchased it of Edmund Withypole in 25 Eliz-Henry Jefferies, Esq. resided here in 1569; as did William, his grandson, in 1634; whose son, Henry Jefferies of Hom Castle, Esq. a man of considerable learning, and much respected in this county in his time, was the last male heir of the family. He died July 30, 1709, and left all his estates to his niece, Jane Bloome, on condition she married Edward Winnington, Esq. and assumed the name and arms of Jefferies; since which time it hath passed along with Clifton, and now belongs to Sir Edward Winnington of Stanford Hall, Bart. 1779."—Hist. and Antiq. of Worcestershire, i. pp. 239-244.

^b The seat of a branch of the Berkeley family, about four miles west of Worcester.

o i.e. was at one time in the receipt of.

which he very well deserved for himself and his children, those born up to the time of her decease, which must be in the vacancy of the register of Clifton, from ann. 1647 to 1653. She was buried in the chancel of Clifton in her brother's grave, next to the old monument in the north wall. The codicil of her will (is) dated 3d April, 1650. The probate 9th Nov. 1650.

In this ill-expressed, rambling statement there is a little air of pique. I cannot collect that her income amounted on an average to 500l. per annum, though, during three or four years, it considerably exceeded that sum. While the war continued, and after it was ended, her receipts decreased; but, on the whole, it may be admitted that she had lived far beyond her means. This was not brought about altogether by over-indulgence in costly luxuries: the luxury to which she was addicted was that of showing kindnesses to all around her. In this, at least, her failing, though it might expose her to imposition, "leaned to virtue's side," and her own record is nothing but a tissue of benevolence from beginning to end. Three-fourths of the entries appear to consist of sums bestowed in presents, excused in loans, or laid out in articles to give away. But the part of this record, perhaps, most attractive to the local antiquary and historian is the minute exhibition of her contemporaries in the county of Hereford, and the multitude of particulars attached to the private life and manners of that class in society to which she belonged, as well as the glimpses that it occasionally affords of her own feelings and sufferings in those days in which England was convulsed by civil agitation.

In the opening of her book she shows herself resident in Hereford. It is entitled, "A New Booke of Receights of Rents, Añuities, and Interest Moneys begininge at St. Mary Day, 1638: written at Heryford at John Fletcher's howse." This house stood in Widemarsh Street, which leads northward to the Leominster Road, and was somewhere in the suburb near the City Gate: the new house mentioned by her relative, as yet uninhabited by her, and other houses, her property, were also in the same suburb, without that gate. She continued in the city till the year 1642, when, driven by stress of war, she abandoned it, and sought refuge in the dwellings of others. Ultimately, in 1644, she gave up housekeeping to the day of her death.

Her income was drawn from a great variety of sources, from the proceeds of certain estates called "Bradward, Warton" and "Free Town," the former of which she kept in her own hands under the management of her steward; from two an-

^a Broadward. A farm and township so called about a mile to the south of Leominster, on the Arrow. Mrs. Jefferies held it under Brazenose College, Oxford. Wharton is adjacent to it on the south.

b An estate in the parish of Tarrington, in the county of Hereford, between Ledbury and Hereford. This estate was, however, sold in 1638.

nuities, the one left to her by Sir Thomas Conyngesby, the founder of that hospital in Hereford that bears his name, the other by her half-brother, Humphrey Conyngesby, secured upon land at Neen Solars; and these were paid to her, while he had it in his power, by Fitz-William Conyngesby of Hampton Court, son of Sir Thomas, a noted royalist and sufferer in the cause of Charles I. Besides, she had various sums placed out at interest on bond and mortgage, varying from three to three hundred pounds and upwards, one loan to John Hackluit of Warton amounting to eight hundred pounds. These securities were frequently shifting; and the number of persons who paid to her, irregularly enough, in this way, taking the two first years of 1638 and 1639 as an example, was little short of a hundred. The borrowers of these monies were knights, gentry, yeomen, farmers, and tradesmen: among them are, Sir Robert Whitney of Whitney Court, Messrs. Aubrey of Clehonger, Hereford of Sufton, Brabazon of Eaton, Baskerville of Staunton, Barnaby of Brockhampton, Salway of Stanford; all round the country, some in London, some in Worcester; burgesses and aldermen and mayors of Hereford, with many others. The collection of interest upon principal so detached and widely dispersed must have been often attended with difficulty; the principal itself must have incurred risk of diminution: but the convenience of the Three per Cents was then unknown, and eight per cent. was the interest upon these loans.

Her gratitude and veneration towards the Conyngesby family, the chief founders of her fortune, frequently breaks forth and overflows from her pen, when she is statedly recording the benefits derived from them, and it is usually dwelt upon in this precise manner:—

Rec^d of worthy [sometimes it is "right worshipful," sometimes "noble"] Sir Fitz-William Conyngesby [sometimes "Mr. Fitz-William Conyngesby, Esq."] my ½ yrs ann^y given me by my loving brother Humphrey Coningesby, Esq. deceased, out of the lordship of Nene Sollers and Cuttston, and my half yrs ann^y given me by worthy Sr Thomas Conyngesby, Kn^t.

Her thankful cast of mind occasionally appears in an expression of pious acknowledgment to the Giver of all Good, as, for instance, the summing up of a twelvemonth is thus recorded:—

Somme totall. Receued the whole years, About as well from Bradward as all places ells, for all maner of comodities what so ever, the years Ending on St. Mary Eve, 1642, 529l. 17s. 3d.

^a The annuity left by Sir Thomas Conyngesby amounted to 10l. per annum, the other to 66l. 13s. 4d.

b Her nephew William has drawn out at the end of her diary, "A note taken the 27 8ber, 1650, of such debts as were due by bill or bond to my aunt Jefferyes." These in the first statement amount to 743l. 18s. 8d., and in a second, dated June 23, 1651, to 664l. 16s., making a total of 1408l. 14s. 8d.

At another season, when trials and troubles awaited her, her thoughts assume a tone of resignation, and she marks the opening of the year "at John Fletcher's house, in Widmarsh Streete, in heriford, where I now dwell to God's pleasure."

Permit me to offer a slight sketch of the personal appearance of this lady in a specimen or two of her dress, among many that occur in her book. Her style of apparel will, perhaps, be deemed costly for her rank; at any rate we may be sure it was such as became a gentlewoman of her condition. In 1638, in her palmy days, she wore a tawny camlet coat and kirtle, which, with all the requisite appendages, trimmings, and making, scrupulously set down, cost 101. 17s. 5d. She had, at the same time, a black silk calimanco loose gown, petticoat, and boddice, and these, with the making, came to 18l. 1s. 8d.: this was in July. In the following month, a Polonia coat and kirtle cost in all 5l. 1s. 4d. The two former were made by a Mr. Stockwall, a tailor in London; the latter in Hereford. Tailors were the male dress-makers of the time. She employed them in Hereford, Worcester, and London.

Sir Philip Warwick, in a passage of his Memoirs that has frequently been quoted, describing the appearance of Cromwell in the House of Commons, remarks that his clothes "were made by an ill country tailor." But the country tailor was not the only artist who was unskilful in the trade. His metropolitan brother, as in this case, did not always execute orders so as to satisfy his employer. These tawny coat and silk calimanco dresses were made so badly in London that they must be altered by a country tailor. She had about the same period a head-dress of black tiffany; wore ruff-stocks, and a beaver hat, with a black silk band, and adopted worsted hose of different colours, sometimes blue, sometimes grass-green. Among the articles of her toilet may be observed false curls, and curling-irons: she had Cordovan gloves, sweet gloves, and gold embroidered gloves. She wore diamond and cornelian rings, used spectacles, and carried a whistle for a little dog, suspended at her girdle by a yard of loop black lace. A cipress (Cyprus?) cat, given to her by a Herefordshire friend, the Lady Dansey of Brinsop, was no doubt a favourite; and she kept a throstle in a twiggen cage. These are but slightly sketched outlines of her portrait. Her book is a repertory of the costume then in vogue. Not to dwell on this part of the subject by too detailed an enumeration, but just to carry the point a little further, the young lady above mentioned, who resided with her, was dressed at her expense in a manner more suitable to her earlier time of life: for instance, she had, in August 1638, a green silk gown, with a blue taffeta petticoat. At Easter following she went to a christening

^{*} Memoirs of Sir Philip Warwick, 3d edition, p. 247.

arrayed in a double cobweb lawn, and had a muff. In April, 1639, she was dressed in a woollen gown, "spun by the coock's wife, Whooper," liver-coloured, and made up splendidly with a stomacher laced with twisted silver cord. Another article of this young lady's wardrobe was a gown of musk-coloured cloth; and when she rode out she was decked in a bastard scarlet safeguard coat and hood, laced with red, blue, and yellow lace: but none of her dresses were made by female hands.^a

Returning to her best times, it is observable that the household establishment of this worthy lady is by no means, for a single person, on a contracted scale. Many female servants are mentioned: two in particular, Eliza Hackluit and Ann Davies, at wages from three pounds to three pounds four shillings per annum. with the addition of gowns of dark stuff at Midsummer. As to any others in her service, she seems occasionally to have provided them all with clothes. Thomas Bedford, her coachman, receiving forty shillings per annum, had at Whitsuntide, 1639, a new cloth suit and cloak, and when he was dressed in his best, exhibited fine blue silk ribbon at the knees of his hose. The liveries of this and another man-servant, Thomas Harris, were, in 1641, of fine Spanish cloth, made up in her own house, and cost upwards of nine pounds. Her man of business, or steward, Mr. Matthias Rufford, had a salary of 5l. 16s. A horse was kept for him, and he rode about to collect her rents and dues, and to overlook her agricultural concerns; he also bought and sold for her. She appeared abroad in a coach drawn by two mares, which on one occasion she lent Mrs. Bodenham to take her to Bristol; and a nag or two were in her stable; one that a widow lady in Hereford purchased of her, she particularly designates as a "rare ambler." I see hints, but no precise designations of her journeys on horseback, though it is probable she was forced upon this mode of travelling in her removals and visits to her friends after the loss of her coach and mares. Her family feelings are strong, and her expressions of natural affection flow warm from the heart. The death of Mrs. Catherine Freeman, widow, of Neen Solars, her half sister, in 1640, is touched upon with much tenderness, and she appends to it the parting expression, "a saint in heaven." She had a host of country cousins; for in those days, family connections were formed in more contracted circles than at present, and the younger people inter-

^a The spelling of this book is one of its curious features: it is a transcript of speech as well as an exposition of thought; for it corresponds closely with the mode of expression and pronunciation prevailing among the common people of Herefordshire, Worcestershire and Salop at the present day. Thus in January, 1642, we have a striking example relative to the dress of Miss Acton. A yeard an a half of scarlet baize was bought to make her a wastcoate to dress her in, and four yeards of red galoon to bind him, i.e. the wastcoate. Instances of the dialect of our peasantry occurring in its pages are without number.

married nearer home; and she was evidently a great object of interest and competition among such as sought for sponsors to their children. She seems to have delighted in the office of gossip, and the number of her godchildren became a serious tax upon her purse, for in this way she appears to have noticed them all. A considerable list of her christening gifts might be made out. For instance, in 1638:—

But of all those to whom she was attached by this sacred bond, no one obtained a larger portion of her love and favour than Miss Eliza Acton, whose apparel has been already described. It is not easy to assign to what branch of that family she belonged. An Acton of Ivington, near Leominster, and another of Hereford, appear in her book. But it is a name of frequent occurrence and early date in the genealogies of Worcester, Hereford, and Salop, and as to the latter county, is still held in no ordinary respect and affection in and around Acton Scott, one of the places from which it was doubtless originally derived. This young lady, adopted by her, was, for the most part, with her up to the time of her marriage, as friend and companion; was very useful to her, and certainly partook very largely of her bounty. It was this that excited the displeasure of Mr. Henry Jefferies, already quoted, where he remarks, with a feeling bordering upon jealousy, that she favoured her "more than any others." I have not detected any relationship between the Actons and Jefferies; and probably there was none: hence he might have looked upon her as an intruder. She had godchildren among her own kindred; and among them a Henry Jefferies, the complainant himself. Certainly, to Eliza Acton she was almost more than maternally generous, and was continually giving proofs of her fondness in all sorts of indulgences, supplying her lavishly with costly clothes, and sums of money, more or less, as she had need, -money for gloves, for fairings, for cards against Christmas,—money repeatedly to put in her purse. More than all this, she bestowed upon her a portion of eight hundred pounds; and exulted in having concluded a match for her with a scion

of the house of Geers of Garnons, one of the most respectable of its class in the county of Hereford.

The limits of this paper do not permit me to enter very largely into her system of housekeeping. In summer she frequently had her own sheep killed; and at autumn a fat heifer, and at Christmas a beef or brawn, were sometimes slaughtered and chiefly spent in her house. She is very observant of the festivals and ordinances of the Church, while they continue unchanged; duly pays her tithes and offerings, and, after the old seignorial and even princely custom, contributes for her dependants as well as for herself in the offertory at the communion at Easter; has her pew in the church of All Saints in Hereford dressed, of course, with flowers at that season by the wife of the clerk; gives to the poor's-box at the minster, and occasionally sends doles to the prisoners in the gaol at Byster's Gate. Attached to ancient rules in town or country, she patronises the fiddlers at sheepshearing, gives to the wassail and the hinds on Twelfth Eve, when they light their twelve fires, and make the fields resound with toasting their master's health, as is done in many places to this day; and frequently in February is careful to take pecuniary notice of the first of the other sex among those she knew whom she met on Valentine's day, and enters it with all the grave simplicity imaginable:—

Sends Mr. Mayor a present of 10s. on his "law-day;" and on a certain occasion dines with him, when the waits, to whom she gives money, are in attendance at the feast, and contributes to these at New Year's and Christmas tide, and to other musical performers at entertainments or fairs; seems fond of music, and strange sights, and "rarer monsters." "Gave to Sir John Giles, the fiddler, and to 2 others, on 12th day;" and at another time "to Ruell and his fellow-fiddler, and John a Tomas," the degenerate wandering minstrels of former times. "To a boy that did sing like a black bird." To Cherilickcome "and his Jack an apes," some vagrant that gained his living by exhibiting a monkey; and at Hereford Midsummer fair, in 1640, "to a man that had the dawncing horse." To every one who gratified her by a visit, or brought her a present, she was liberal. When she paid her own servants, she would sometimes make them advances; when she was in the houses of her friends, as a boarder, the attendants, often to the lowest in

a Garnons is situated at about seven miles westward from Hereford, and is the seat of Sir Henry Geers Cotterell.

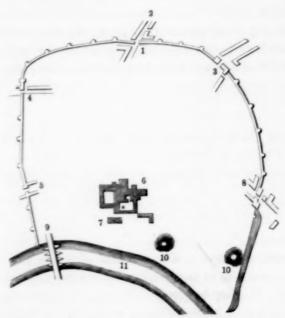
the list, failed not at certain times to receive some kind remembrance of their attentions towards her. She provided medicine and advice for those who were sick, and could not afford to call in medical aid; and she took compassion upon those who were in the chamber of death and house of mourning.

In many instances the feeling is worth far more than the gift bestowed. She makes a little boy happy by three-pence to put into his purse; and, to a poor fellow that was stationed to keep watch and ward at one of the city gates near her house,

It may be believed, on a review of a multitude of acts of this kind, that hardly any one with whom she was in anywise concerned was overlooked in the distribution of her bounty. We may be sure that it was sometimes misplaced, sometimes abused: indeed, she herself bears testimony to it. But in all her remarks on men and circumstances, though she has frequently complained of the harsh treatment experienced from her enemies, and described the conduct of the "fearful soldiers" and their officers as barbarous and inhuman, and characterises the oppressive acts of the Parliamentary committee-men as wrongful, I detect not a single direct expression of ill-will in any of her comments. Mr. Garnons, an occasional suitor for relief, she styles "an unthrifty gentleman;" amuses herself in setting down a small bad debt; and after recording the name of the borrower, and the trifling sum lent, adds, in a note by way of anticipation, "which he will never pay." In another case, that of a legal transaction, in which a person had agreed to surrender certain premises to her use, and she had herself paid for drawing the instrument upon which he was to have acted, she observes, "but he never did, and I lost my money." In all matters she exhibits a gentle and a generous mind.

On a future occasion we shall endeavour to trace what befel her subsequent to the commencement of her diary; for the public tranquillity that this favoured country had long enjoyed was gradually yielding to discord, and that civil strife was approaching which distracted the homes of our forefathers, and in which our benevolent lady had her share.

VOL. XXXVII.



THE CITY OF HEREFORD.

- Widemarsh Gate, by which Sir William Waller entered the City.
 Widemarsh Street without the Gate, leading towards Leominster. In this street
- the Now house and other houses of Mrs. Jefferies stood.

 3. Bye Street and Gate, leading towards Bromyard. At this gate the Earl of Stamford entered with his detachment from Worcester.

 4. Eign Street and Gate, the road towards Garnons and Kilkinton, leading to Hay.

 5. Friars Gate. 6. The Cathedral. 7. The Bishop's Palace.

 8. St. Owen's Street and Gate, leading towards Ledbury.
- The Bridge, Street, and Gate leading towards Ross; the road that the levies would take to join Lord Herbert's army.
 Site of the Castle.
 The river Wye.

Continuation of some passages in the Life and Character of a Lady resident in Herefordshire and Worcestershire during the Civil War of the Seventeenth Century.

Read May 1st, 1856.

In the former part of this memoir our story was "left half told." In fact, we were chiefly engaged with points of character and domestic matters incidental thereupon. These will now come to be blended with the history of the times; and, as we are entering upon another part of the subject, it may not be unfitting nor unacceptable to take a brief retrospect of the principal personages represented in this curious diary. First and foremost in the group is Mrs. Joyce Jefferies herself, a maiden lady, related to the Conyngesbys of Herefordshire and Salop, and the Jefferies of Homeastle, in the county of Worcester-a person of unbounded liberality, whose life seems to have been devoted to acts of kindness, and who appears to have considered an ample fortune merely as an instrument to minister to the satisfaction, benefit, or necessities of those around her. Then there are her cousins—Fitz-William Conyngesby and others who bore her name, and a family named Geers of Garnons, near Hereford, relatives and country cousins, in various quarters. Immediately about her person is Miss Elizabeth Acton, a darling god-daughter. There is her steward, Mr. Matthias Rufford, and her menial servants. We have seen that one of the successors to her property, Mr. Henry Jefferies, to whom we owe some account of her, thought her too liberal and partial, and that, if she had lived much longer, and continued in the same course of extravagant beneficence, and been subject to the fraudulent treatment of which he complains, she might have come to want or dependence upon her friends before her decease. Happily such evil was averted. She left, he admits, a considerable property; and, as it fell out, and she became a burden to no one, we may conceive her vindication to have been fairly expressed in that scriptural passage— "Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own?"

But, be this as may; having recapitulated the principal personages, we may now proceed to the scenes and times in which these actors lived. Hereford is the place in which she is first found in 1638. Her hired house, already mentioned, belonging to John Fletcher, was in Widemarsh Street, without the gate of that name. She had houses of her own in the same street without the walls, all let out to tenants, except one, built recently at considerable expense, but as yet unoccupied by her. A reference to the annexed skeleton plan of the city will better explain this, and other situations to be alluded to hereafter. The beginning of the diary coincides very nearly with that of our domestic troubles upwards of two centuries ago.

Of all periods of this nation's history hardly any one is more captivating to Englishmen than that of the dispute between Charles I. and the Parliament. The book passes through nine years to the end of 1647, and these witnessed the greater part of the strife. Without entering into the politics of the age, with reference to the origin of the contest, it may be remarked that no county throughout England was more forward or persevering in the royal cause than that of Hereford. Symptoms of the approaching convulsion soon begin to appear in our account-book.

In 1638 Mrs. Jefferies pays the unpopular impost of ship-money, unsuccessfully

opposed by Hampden at the end of the year 1636, as well as another tax called the King's provision; and she finds a soldier for her farm at Broadward, and for her property in Hereford, when the trained bands are called out and exercised.

May	1.	Paid Mr	. Mail	ard,	mercer	, and	John	Tra	hern,	shoe-	maker,	for	the	shipping	money	for	this
		yeare															3l.
	Paid	ship-mo	ney fo	r 15	acres	of gra	inge l	land	by L	eomir	nster					28.	6d.
		Paid to															2d.
		rch 26.			-	-											58.

In the Midsummer of 1639 a training of three days occurs, and ship-money is collected again. In August the public disquietude in Hereford seems to increase; at least, precautions are taken to prevent mischief.

For watching one night at Widemarsh gate								28.
--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	-----

Soldiers, or loose characters under the guise of soldiers, are wandering about to the annoyance of peaceable people, who suspect them, and give them money through fear.

1639, Septr 5.	Gave	a	strainge	sowldier,	wth a	blue	fether	in his	hatt,	that	said	he	came	from	
barrwick .														28.	
Octr 24. Gave	a cour	iter	rfett sow	ldier or a	theef :	rather								4d.	

Now, too, old ancestral armour, or trainband equipments that hung rusting in manor-houses, were taken down and repaired.

To Mr. Brian Newton for putting buckles on the tasses of the armor of Bradard .-

In 1640 the King raised an army of 20,000 men against the Scots, and some of her friends and relatives take up arms and go to the North.

April 2.	Gave Mr.	Miles Hac	kluit wh	en he w	ent to th	e war	res Ag	gainst S	cottla	nd .	. 2	s. 6d.
Gave	my cosin	Will ^m Con	ingsby w	vhen he	went to	Scottla	and to	the wa	rres .			18.
July 10.	This day	the trained	l sowldie	ers went	towards	Scott	land.	Gave	John	Lincoln	that	went
	wth Captain	Button .										6d.
	3 sowldier											4d.

August. Again the ship-money, 3l., is paid to James Barrell, the mayor, and her soldier continues to be trained for seven days, and is under the command of Captain Richard Wigmore. This family furnished several officers for the King's service, and suffered severely during the war. A watch continues to be set at Widemarsh Gate.

a Sum not inserted.

In the spring of 1641 several subsidies were levied, and

Sept. 14. I paid Mr. Philip Simons, Junior, & Mr. Thos Church, colectors for the powle-money that was graunted the king's matie in this pesent Parliament, 1641

The times became still more restless. Prynne, and Burton, and Bastwick, had been agitating; Archbishop Laud had been impeached and imprisoned; and the Earl of Strafford was brought to trial, and on May 12 beheaded. She now took a decided interest in passing events, and sent for some of the pamphlets and newsbooks that swarmed from the press.

It may be suspected that her library contained an odd assortment; but we shall see more of it. The plot thickened in 1642. Soon after the year set in, the quarrel took place between the King and Parliament respecting the militia. Mrs. Jefferies had soldiers discharging their muskets, probably in a disorderly way, at or near her dwelling. As this was on Ascension-day, and it was the day on which Mr. Weaver, one of the members for Hereford, universally regretted, was buried, it is not easy to account for this demonstration. Whether it was any part of the ceremony that took place, or whether she noticed their proceedings by way of encouragement, or through timidity, does not appear.

May 18. Gave the sowldiers that shott off at my window, 1s., and beer.

In the month of July the militia were embodied in Herefordshire. In August she receives another supply of literature—news-books, pictures, and pamphlets—fresh to the times.

4 books of pictures and pamflets. Bought by Mr. John Edmunds, Scrivener, the booke of the works of Justine, cost 8s. 6d. for 26 pamflets of parliament nuse, & ye picktures of the yong prince of orainge, William of Nassaw, and his wyfe, the Lady mary daughter to king Charles, at 2d. a piece.

This is the Princess Mary, the King's eldest daughter, who had been married to William of Nassau, son of Frederic Henry, Prince of Orange, at Whitehall, May 2, 1641.

To the carier for bringinge down bookes & picktures 6d.

Carriers still went from Hereford and Leominster without interruption. By

the latter conveyance Lady Harley, though at some risk, sent up in July the plate from Brampton Brian Castle to her husband Sir Robert Harley, to be his offering in the Parliament's cause.

The political horizon grew rapidly very gloomy at the beginning of September, 1642. On the 9th of that month the Earl of Essex, the General for the Parliament, left London for Northampton at the head of about 15,000 men. In Hereford they began to think about putting themselves into a posture of defence.

These preparations were none too soon. The Parliamentarians were making rapid advances. Essex had entered Worcester on Saturday the 25th of September, and the townsmen of Hereford became seriously alarmed for the safety of their own city. Two days before this, evidently amidst great distress and confusion, Mrs. Jefferies packed up beds and furniture and boxes, and took her flight, in her carriage, to Kilkinton, a house inhabited by her cousin Penreece, and not far from Garnons, on the west of Hereford. Here she stayed a few days, when, probably thinking that she should be more secure at Garnons, the house of her friend Mr. Francis Geers, she removed thither on the 27th of that month.

I cam to kilkinton to my cosin penreeses howse from heriford for feare of ye parliaments army, Septem. 23, 1642. The 27. I came from thence to Mr. Geeres at Garnons.

This is still further exemplified in the following extracts, selected from many confused entries that betray the agitation of the writer.

When she reached Garnons she might think herself more secure; but it proved

^a Letters of Lady Brilliana Harley, Camd. Soc. 1854, p. 177.

^b Assessment or contribution.

quite otherwise. From Worcester, where he had taken up his quarters, the Earl of Essex despatched Henry Earl of Stamford, Lord Grey of Groby, to occupy Hereford, that had neither garrison nor governor. The place was in a state of feverish excitement for several days, while the cry was "still, they come." Their forlorn hope entered without resistance on Friday the 30th of September. Stamford followed them on the Sunday, with a regiment of foot and some troops of horse, and established himself at once in the Bishop's palace a He presently showed what was the chief object of his coming; to confiscate the property of the Royalists. He had under his command several officers, expert pilferers, fresh from the German wars. Captain Kyrle, the son of Kyrle of Walford, Lieutenant-Colonel Massey, afterwards the gallant governor of Gloucester, and Captain Hammond, who signalised himself by his transactions when his Majesty was conveyed a prisoner to the Isle of Wight,-these and others had been guilty of much excess in pillaging the houses of the Royalists in Worcestershire and elsewhere, and they came to do the same execution here. They were experienced in their work, and could carry out their system of wrong and robbery, and murder in case of opposition, unchecked by man's remonstrances and unmoved by woman's tears. "Plunder," it is well known, was a word new to the English language. It is said by honest Fuller to have been a word of foreign importation; but, if the origin of the new expression were obscure, its meaning was plain enough, and all agreed with Taylor, the Water Poet, and Mrs. Jefferies, that plunderer, interpreted in English, meant a thief. The Earl of Stamford, a weak unprincipled character, began by professing that no wrong should be done to any man; but, having himself been proclaimed a traitor, he thought it just that certain parties should be singled out as objects of his displeasure. Mr. Geers, of Garnons, with whom Mrs. Jefferies had sought a refuge, was one of them, and she tells us what befell her in her retreat.

Friday, the 30. The parliaments Army cam to herifford frö Worster, Henry Gray, Earle of Stamford, ye Generall. On Tewsday morning, October 4, captain Hamon and his barbarous company plundered Mr. Geereses howse at Garnons, both them and me of much Goods, toke a way my 2 bay coache mares and som money, and much Linen: and Elyza Acton's clothes. I cam frö Garnons ye same Tewsday to Mr. John Garpinder's to Hinton, a mile off, and staied there till the 14 of December following.

^a Letters of a Subaltern Officer, &c. in Archæologia, XXXV. p. 332. The Bishop was Dr. George Coke, who died in 1646.—Duneumb, Collections towards the Hist. and Antiq. of the County of Hereford, i. 490.

This, however, was not a solitary instance of the excesses then committed. The spoilers issued from Hereford in various directions. They searched the habitations of the suspected for arms, and a warrant to search was a licence to steal. It may be mentioned, incidentally, that at this time Swift, the Vicar of Goodrich, an ancestor of the celebrated Dean Swift, fell beneath their lash. Kyrle, the captain already mentioned, one of that family who claim the Man of Ross, brought his men into Goodrich Castle, then the property of the Earl of Kent, and tormented all the Royalists in that neighbourhood. In five visits to the vicarage his followers carried off everything on which they could lay their hands, left his wife and children and servants hardly a garment to shelter them from the winter's cold, and threatened any one with vengeance who should dare to show them mercy. Ten weeks his myrmidons remained in garrison at the castle, living upon the spoil of the country, and on quitting it paid two parting visits to the vicarage, which they stripped of the last loaf of bread: a wanton soldier, as a final act of inhumanity, seized the infant's porringer from the nurse, threw out its contents, and carried it away."

But we are to follow Mrs. Jefferies in her flight, who had been all this while secreting herself, as well as she might, with a trembling heart, at Hinton. Though she had sustained much loss in her clothes, and favourite horses, and money, she had suffered no personal injury: neither was all lost. In this retirement she found security, and the portion of her goods that had escaped was lodged in safe keeping, as it afterwards was, on its being brought back to Garnons, when she returned thither December 14, 1642. They seem to have been dispersed in several hiding-places in the parish of Mansell Gamage, where they continued unmolested while she remained in that part of the country.

Two articles upon which she set some value were recovered by her steward from Captain Hammond's soldiers that had taken them at Garnons.

Soldiers had been in the meanwhile quartered at her house in Hereford, where she had left maid servants, and occasionally placed Eliza Acton in charge.

^{*} Mercurius Rusticus, p. 71, et seq.

b Mansell Gamage, in the hundred of Grimsworth, about eight miles W.N.W. of Hereford.

November 30.	I sent	Bes	Newton	by	Thos	Harris	s to b	ye	pvision	for 4	1 sou	ldiers	that	diette	d at
my howse															108.

The conduct of Lord Stamford's soldiers at the house of her friend and relative Mr. Geers, as well as at her own in Hereford, where she sustained considerable damage, produced a lasting impression of terror upon her; but she indulges in a little exultation at having in one instance eluded their rapacity.

And she could not but be a little pleased to regain something that had been in his lordship's possession, who seems to have shifted his head-quarters from the Bishop's palace.

But she would not trust herself to leave her hiding-place till the day (Dec. 14) on which he marched out of Hereford. The Royalists then took possession once more of the city, and her friend and cousin Fitz-William Conyngesby of Hampton Court, sheriff of the county, and one of the commissioners of array, came in and was appointed governor for the King. Next follows, what is not at all to be wondered at, after her fright, fatigue, peril, and loss, that she became ill.

Dec. 16.	Gave Doctor	Harford's	man when	I was	s sick	at G	arno	ns		. 2s. 6d.
Paid	for a matt to	put by my	bed-side	w						. 20d.

Governor Conyngesby had much difficulty at first in procuring money to pay his garrison. It was raised by regular assessment and contribution, and of course she was called upon for her quota. She did not, however, confine herself to this, but sent him a voluntary offering, which no doubt was highly acceptable.

At Garnons she spent the remainder of the winter in peace. The country was

^a His commission from the Marquess of Hertford bears date December 20, 1642.—Papers of Sir Edward Walker, Harl. MSS. Brit. Mus. 6851.

b Bridstock Harford, a physician of great repute in Hereford.

undisturbed. The labourers lit their Twelfth Eve fires as usual, and she helped to promote their mirth.

Twelf eve, Dec. 5. Gave to the wassell for ye bailiff and ye hindes . 6d.

But trouble was once more at hand. In February, 1642-3, Lord Herbert of Raglan had raised an army of 1,500 men, which he rashly marched towards Gloucester, where the Earl of Stamford had left that active soldier Massey as governor. Part of the Herefordshire levies, with the royal commissioners of the county, appear to have joined them at Ross. She witnessed the departure of the men of her own parish with glee.

1643, March 27. This Monday morning the men of Little Mansell and all this contrey of hery-fordshire went to Rosse to meete the other army, and I gave them (5s. dashed out) . 1s.

They marched full of confidence in expectation of obtaining great advantages against the governor of Gloucester, to block up the place, and compel him to surrender. They little knew the adversary with whom they had to deal. Their first step was to take possession of Highnam, the seat of Colonel Cooke, in the neighbourhood of the city; when Sir William Waller, the Parliamentary general, by one of his celebrated night marches, joining his forces with those of Massey, pounced upon them, and captured all the foot, together with the commissioners of array for Herefordshire, and, among the latter, her dear friend " noble Fitz-William Conyngesby," of whom, till he comes to be sequestered, we find no more. This serious blow to the Royalists of the county could not abate the timid lady's alarm, though she has passed it over, being at a considerable distance from the scene of action. Hereford, where Colonel Herbert Price succeeded Conyngesby in command, was the object of another expedition from Gloucester in the ensuing month; when Waller again made a dash into the county, and appeared before the city walls on the morning of April 24, to the utter dismay of the feeble garrison and townsmen, incapable of effectual resistance. Several feints were made at Saint Owen's and Eign Gates, but the true point of attack was at Widemarsh Gate. Her residence being not far from this entrance, was injured a little in the scuffle,-for it can hardly be dignified by the name of a fight, though Mrs. Jefferies has thought proper to set it down as a siege.

a See the narrative of Sir Richard Cave in Duncumb, i. 245, et seq.

Some of these intruders were probably not over scrupulous as to part of her property.^a

Paid Richard Winnye smith for mending lokes and kayes at heriford weth the plunderrs brooke 16d.

Many of them were billeted at her house, as she says, "for nothing."

By some false confidence she had so far prevailed upon herself as to visit her "new house" about a fortnight before; but the renewed expectation of the enemy drove her once more from the distracted city to her quiet nook at Garnons. In great distress she had migrated, April 20, before their arrival, lodging one night at the dwelling of a peasant on her way.

I find her moving her goods, trunks, and chest from house to house in May and at other times in 1643, and once more sitting down in the family of her cousin, Mr. Geers, for a whole year. Foot-prints of war are visible in several parts of her account for 1643.

Still she was at a distance from the scene. About April, 1644, after Prince Rupert had been appointed president of this and many other counties, Herefordshire and Shropshire were seriously disturbed by the activity and excesses of the contending parties. Hopton and Brampton Bryan Castles were taken by Sir Michael Woodhouse, and Massey was conducting a series of operations against the governor and garrison of Hereford. In this month of April, fertile in military occurrences, Mrs. Jefferies suddenly is on the wing again. Apparently for the last

^a Sir William Waller carried off considerable booty of plate and money in this excursion. Mrs. Jefferies was rated among the highest in the contribution extorted from Widemarsh Ward. She paid 40l. Only three householders were assessed so high, and no one above it, in the whole city.—MS. Papers of Price, the Mayor, in 1642–43, by favour of the Rev. W. Poole.

time as a housekeeper, she pays a visit to the city, discharging all her debts, and bestowing her favours upon the servants at Garnons before her departure; and these entries show the sort of establishment then existing in that family:—

encor cutta	CO DECT. CIL	0 0010 01	0000						0			-0		
April 17.	This day I can	m from G	arnor	ns to l	herifo	rd.								
Imps. I	paid my Ce	osen ffran	cis G	eers	and I	his wy	fe, s	om t	yme l	Mrs.	Elizal	beth	Acton	, for
	one monthes	diett, for	my	self,	and	Joyse	Sim	ons 1	my n	aide,	due	this	Wen	sday,
	Aprill 17, 16	44 .											0	50s.
I gave the se	ervants at Ga	rnons whe	n I c	am a	way fi	rõ ther	nce to	heri	ford t	o my	owne	how	se.	
	gave ould A													18d.
	buttry her ma													18d.
	he deymaid 1													
Gave ould S	nead a workn	nan .												6d.
	Irs. Geerses s													
	uld Joane Ga													28.
	Irs. Shusan G			_										
	planatory a l out of pla		or n	nemo	orand	lum i	s ap	pend	led t	o thi	s, to	shov	v wh	y he
Cooksey	y ys my cosin	Ffrancis	Geer	ses be	ov. an	d I ga	ve hi	im					1.4.	
	lizabeth Yong				-	-								
									,					
Then we h	ave her ow	n journ	ey :-	_										
from G	Thursday, at arnons to He Garnons on	riford												
Here sl	he stops or	aly two	nigh	ts ar	nd a	day;	and	on t	the t	hird	day,	with	son	ne of

Here she stops only two nights and a day; and on the third day, with some of her goods and attendants, takes leave of this edifice, on which she had spent so much money, apparently for ever:—

I cam from Heriford to Homeastle on Good Friday, Aprill 19, 1644.

Her steward had charge of this removal, and it is accounted for in the month ensuing:—

a Wolverley (?), two miles north-west from Kidderminster, in the county of Worcester.

We are now arrived at Homcastle, so often mentioned, the house of her cousin Jefferies, pleasantly situated on the river Teme, in a most retired and less disturbed part of the country, leaving Hereford and its warlike occupants to their fate. Still, as proprietor, she is exposed to charges there.

At that time Hereford was placed under strict military control, and the then governor was Colonel Nicholas Mynne, one of those who brought their regiments out of Ireland to aid the King. No braver Cavalier ever drew his sword for Charles I. It was hoped that he would have proved a match for the governor of Gloucester, who had become the terror of the Royalists in those parts. Mynne began well: his operations were conducted with vigour and success, but the fortune of his antagonist, Massey, prevailed, and in a bloody action at Redmarley. in August, 1644, on the border of the county, the Royalist colonel, with the greatest part of his Anglo-Irish regiment, was slain.4 He died lamented by the soldier and the townsman, and his memory is cherished by those who claim to be descendants of that family, and are with us to this day. It is little known, though matter of local history not uninteresting nor unprofitable, how deeply Hereford was implicated in the vicissitudes of that eventful quarrel. Twice entered and occupied, with little or no resistance, in the earlier part of the war, once gallantly and successfully defended, once captured by stratagem against a bold struggle, it changed hands four times in the course of the contest, till at last it was permanently occupied and retained by the Parliamentarians, under Colonels Birch and Morgan. Of the five governors that held it for the King, two were taken prisoners, two were slain sword in hand, and the last, after opposing with great applause the attempt of the Scots to gain possession of the city by regular siege, was surprised in his bed by the entrance of the enemy on a winter's morning, and escaped with disgrace and difficulty across the moat.

Throughout the period that intervened between the spring of 1644 and the

^a Corbet. Military Government, &c. in Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis, p. 111. Gloucester, 1825. Small 4to.

b Hereford was surprised December 18, 1645.—A New Tricke to take Townes, &c. London, printed by E. G. 1645, small 4to.

^c One of them, Colonel Barnard, killed afterwards at the storming of Canon-Frome, held it only for a short time in 1644, between the death of Mynne and the appointment of Scudamore.

autumn of 1645, crowded as it was with military occurrences, and trodden down as the country was with roving soldiers, she seems personally to have been undisturbed. Still, though she had her lodge, as it were, in a wilderness, the tumult and withering consequences of these hostilities would sometimes reach her ear and her purse. For awhile she received rents from her property in Hereford. Receipts and disbursements indicate the state of affairs there. At last a removal of furniture takes place, and she gives up her rented house.

On this occasion her coach, though the mares had long since ceased to draw it, was brought forth from its place of concealment in the country.

Gave Mr. Dockter Aldern's man for his horses to fetch my coach from Garnons to heriford 1s.

October. Paid Mrs. Fletcher and her mother-in-law one yeares rent for the ould howse I did
dwell in Widmarsh streete in heriford, due at Micklmas, 1644; then I left y* howse, 6l.

A party of foragers or plunderers visited one of her estates, and she was terrified at the news.

A side-note in July of the same year gives a hint of a visit from one of the military chiefs at the place where she was residing. The name of his companion is concealed by a blank omission.

Saturday, ye 12 day, generall Garritt cam to Homcastle wth with him and went away on Sunday.

Sir Gilbert Gerrard—a name simple enough, but variously twisted by the writers of the time—was then governor of Worcester. At last, with respect to her possessions in Hereford, came one of those dire necessities of warfare, in which private property must yield to the whirlwind of the hour. The demolition of suburbs is a well-known operation in the expectation of a siege. Massey destroyed them at Gloucester in 1643, and Colonel Barnabas Scudamore at Hereford in 1645. Mrs. Jefferies shall tell you how this affected her. The whole of the environs were laid bare up to the walls; and most effectually was the work of

* Corbet, ut supra, p. 45.

destruction accomplished. Sir Henry Slingsby, a noted Royalist officer, who was well acquainted with the place, and admired the beauty of the parts adjacent, mentions the havoc in terms of much regret. The orchards, gardens, trees, and houses, were all destroyed. He looked in vain for the house in which he had been once quartered. It was pulled down; and he affirms that the mistress of it, his landlady, at sight of the ruin, had died of very grief. Not so our cheerful and benevolent lady: not a syllable of the hardship of this proceeding escapes her. Finding it inevitable, she notes it as matter of course, and makes the best of it.

Before it was put in execution, she sent her steward to save some part of the property, and make presents of the produce of her garden.

In the following January the aforesaid trunks re-appear.

The razing of her buildings is testified by the sale of the materials: it is total destruction; great, but not entire, loss.

June, 1645. The severall names of those men that bought my 3 houses in Heriford wthout widmarsh gate, when I was constraind to sell them or have them burned against the earle of Leven: general Lessley wth his Scotts (being 2500 men°) cam to be seege Heriford 5 weeks & went away wthout hit.⁴

^a Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby, p. 163. Oxford, 1836. 8vo.

b Serjeant Hoskyns, an eminent lawyer, member for the city of Hereford in the reigns of James I. and Charles I.

d i.e. without taking it. In this expression more is meant than meets the eye. The people of Hereford city and county entertained a contemptuous feeling towards the Scots on account of their failure. The siege was raised September 2, 1645.

Imp ^a . yong 500l.),	y Mr holme w th a grea						-						
ther too	0												501.
It. Haiwaz													called
Gowldi	ing Halle f	or .										3	l. 15s.
Phillip Pree	ce Bought	Maud	le Pric	het's H	falle and	the inn	er F	toome					41.
Walter Mer	rick and o	n But	ler bot	ight the	e greate	Hale, a	nd t	he Re	oome	es over	hit		111.
Joseph Bow	ker Bough	t the	Roome	s over	the Stai	iers case	by t	the w	ell a	t .			31.
-							•						1. 158.

Other effects of the changes produced by the war obtrude themselves on our notice, and she acquiesces in them. Lecturers are introduced into the parish churches more extensively, and the Directory supplants the Common Prayer.

Tuseday, 8: of Desember. About 12: a clocke at noone Samuell Jeffreys, my cosin Willim Jeffreys 8th sonne, was borne, and Baptised after the new derectory: on Saturday, God bless him.

Next we have the Parliamentary committee-men laying their hands upon property in all quarters, and straitening her means. Her friend and kinsman Fitz-William Conyngesby was most heavily mulcted; and through him she suffered. His estates at Hampton Court and elsewhere, already deeply pledged, fell into the hands of strangers. His mansion, in a state of desolation, was all but untenanted; while the owner sought refuge in a foreign country, leaving his wife and family to look for bread where they could find it, or implore a pittance from their rapacious adversaries. Her annuity of a hundred marks out of the

and wife of the owner of Hampton Court, Cecilia Conyngesby must have enjoyed something more than the common advantages of life prior to this reverse. But by the pressure of the time she was reduced almost to the condition of a pauper, and became an earnest suppliant and humble dependant upon the tender mercies of a capricious and not very honest junto. From 1650 to 1652 her applications for relief, still preserved among the Composition Documents in the State-Paper Office, are frequent and most importunate. In her petition to Goldsmiths' Hall, dated September 20, 1650, she begs for a fifth out of her husband's estates in the counties of Hereford, Worcester, Salop, and Leicester, "to maintain her and her great charge of children;" and an order is sent to the commissioners of these counties that they cause the said estates to be sequestered, and make allowance accordingly. On the 16th of August, 1651, nothing having been done, she again addresses the board in London, setting forth that the country commissioners had given no obedience to the first order; and that, though another had been made, and received their signatures, it had been

estate of Neen Solars was for a time cut off, and only in part recovered before her decease. She is herself fined in Herefordshire; but relieved by the kind offices of a friend.

Then come the Shropshire committee upon her.

- 21. gave him to beare his charges to wenlock, when he went with my brother H. Coñ will to shew hit to the Jury, to extend Mr Fitzwill^m Coningesbie's Land in Shropshire for his dett to Sr Tho. Allen of London

suppressed. The property was then once more ordered to be sequestered, and an inquiry to be made as to who had received the rents; and "they shall consider of a fifth part." On September 8th, 1652, her application is renewed, with a plea of urgent distress: "Your petitioner's condition is more than ordinary sad, by reason of her children's want of a natural support of food. Your petitioner therefore once more implores your honours' favourable order for a fifth part out of Shropshire lands." An answer, deferred till the 29th, informs her that the estate is under extent to Sir Thomas Allen, and while it is so "we can allow no fifths." In October and November, being only supported, as she avers, by the little credit left her, "she renews her solicitation, and controverts the truth of the plea of "extent;" and, after some apparent shuffling on the part of the clerk of the country committee, an order is obtained from London that an inquiry be made and a certificate drawn up by the Salop commissioners themselves.

The struggle is thus ultimately narrowed to one-fifth of the annual rent of Fitz-William Conyngesby's claims upon the very Neen-Solars estate out of which Mrs. Jefferies's annuity was also paid, the London creditor having, as to all his other property, laid his hands upon the lion's share; and it helps to show that her suspicions as to the fraudulent intentions of the agents in Salop were not altogether groundless.

How much longer Cecilia Conyngesby was teased and kept at bay in this state of indigence has not been discovered. Yet the case, hard as it may appear (and that there was some unusual difficulty in it cannot be denied), is not the worst of the kind that might be selected. Surely the sickness of hope deferred must have been epidemic among the sufferers in the royal cause.

As to her husband, he had all this while, though absent from England, been plying the sequestrators with petitions on behalf of himself and his family. His affairs, however, had fallen into a most complicated condition. Before the war broke out, in 1641, his estates were deeply encumbered with a debt, according to his own representation, of 20,000l. In December 1650 he owed Sir Thomas Allen, a money-lender in London, 4,836l. 12s. He had borrowed at 8 per cent., and every month and six days, by his creditors' showing, his liabilities were increasing 40l. In October 1655 his fine, as one who had been a Member of Parliament, was set at 4,243l. 3s. 3d. In the confused and inaccurate "Catalogue of the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen that have compounded for their Estates," printed for Thomas Dring in 1655, his name does not appear.—Composition Documents, State-Paper Office, Series I. vol. i. f. 575, et seq.; vol. xvii. f. 101, et seq. ff. 110, 113; Series II. vol. xlviii. ff. 311, 320, 321.

^a He was a bailiff at Neen Solars, and seems to have occupied also a portion of the estate; for mention is made of his lease. Here a little trait of kind consideration peeps out. His journey was a failure for his employer, but he was no loser by it. He got a good wetting by the way; but something to make amends for it.

He is no sooner returned when he is ordered up to Shrewsbury on the same errand, and an official must be feed.

delivered Humfrey Hardman at his jorney to Shorsbery to shew the will to ye Jurye there
that I had a right to 100 marks p ann.—to give the vnder-sheriff of Shropshire frome 20s.

In the month of June he must appear before them once more.

The Hereford committee, by a scrutiny that was ultimately instituted, were found guilty of great iniquity in the management of Royalist sequestrations. Something they allowed her; but, while they abstained from total deprivation, they seem to have tampered with her income, part of which was withheld from her to the last.

But the menial door-keeper, as well as the clerk, must have his gratuity.a

Item, my cosin Jeff's gaue ye dore keep. of ye comitties chambers in ye pallas of heriford, 1s.

As she herself was thus injuriously treated, so she could extend her compassion to others who were suffering under more direct and open outrage; and this shall be the last incident noticed that bears on the war.

a In act ii. of Sir Robert Howard's satirical drama, "The Committee," two Cavalier colonels, who come to compound for their estates, fee the doorkeeper of the committee-room, both at their entrance and exit.

She seems to have been born, as it were, in some measure, and within her little sphere, to mitigate the asperities of a cruel time, and to set an example of charity and patience "in running the race that was set before her." Sir Michael Woodhouse, the governor of Ludlow for the King, was one of those officers who had served in Ireland-brave, but of a temper stern and severe. Woe to the Puritan divine or Roundhead soldier who had offended him, and fallen into his hands! He might deem himself fortunate if he escaped with his life. At the siege of Hopton Castle, a fortified mansion on the borders of Salop and Herefordshire, the little garrison, after a gallant resistance, surrendered to him at mercy. Without more ado he drew them up near the castle walls, and put them, in cold blood, every one but More, the governor, to the sword. His name was long held in abhorrence in those parts. Antiquaries owe him no respect. He took, sacked, and destroyed by fire, Sir Robert Harley's residence, the neighbouring castle of Brampton Bryan, and in it a noble and valuable library—a former Harleian collection, containing, it is said, documents inestimable for the history and antiquities of England and Wales.b

Passing now from public events, our remaining observations shall be chiefly confined to personal character. As years advance a symptom or two of infirmity make their appearance. The spectacles, and the favourite spoon and diamond ring, are missing, and found and brought to her by her attendants, who always have a reward.

1646, July 5.	gave Elinor Hill for finding yo silver plate of my	speckta	cles s	t Hor	meastle	е.	6d.
30.	gave Bes Jones for finding my diamond ring .						6d.
1647, July 20.	gave Joyse Simons for finding my Guilt spoone						6d.
Dec. 16. gave	Vrsula for finding the red cornelian ring that was m	y cosin	Harl	erd J	effrev	ses	6d.

Suspicion is always disagreeable, often unjust; but there are times and circumstances under which it forces its way in spite of ourselves. After what Mr. Henry Jefferies has told us of the knavery of her servants towards her, it is perhaps not

^a Blakeway, Sheriffs of Shropshire, p. 216, et seq.; The True Informer, March 16 to 23, 1643-4; King's Pamphlets, small 4to. British Museum.

b Dr. Bentley has an allusion to this library in the Dedication of his Horace to the Earl of Oxford, where, after mentioning the Harleian Manuscripts then existing, and increasing in number, he adds: "Hic tibi instrumentorum veterum, partim in Urbe, partim rure in avitis ædibus, Bramtoniæ castello (quod ab Edwardi usque I. ætate per Bryanum Harleium, equitem, ad seros adhuc nepotes demissum est) thesaurus adservatur; quotidiano quidem is auctu crescens, et jam nunc multo ditior futurus, nisi ad alia damna per Civiles superiore sæculo tumultus, castellis, templis, villis, nemoribusque vestris illata Bibliothecæ quoque locupletissimæ direptio accessisset."—Hor. Bentl. Dedicatio. Edit. alt. Amst. 1713. 4to.

unfair to suggest that these instances may, some of them, be symptomatic of the manner in which she was, now and then, treated by those who had daily access to her. It has been related of Prince Eugene of Savoy, that his servants took dexterous advantage of his foible of immoderate anger, and threw themselves in the way of his fits of passion, that they might get a sound beating from him and its neverfailing accompaniment, a reward to make it up. Thus, probably, the attendants of Mrs. Jefferies, though in a different method, might make a profit of her failing memory by hiding and reproducing these valuables in order to a remuneration. Here is another minute fact that savours as much of simplicity in the one party as chicanery in the other, if our hypothesis be not unjust. A fair is held at Worcester, and the maids from Homcastle of course attend it. What does she do in this case?

164	4.	gave	the	4 ma	ids at	Home	astle at	W	orcest	er fair	e on	our	Lady	y day:	vide	el: Hest	ter	Packer
	ye	butler	, 1	Elinor	burras	ston y	coock,	Ba	rbara	ye day	ma	ide,	and	Elysab	eth	Joanes	ye	baker,
	to	eche									•							18.

What ensues?

Whence the not unnatural suggestion ariseth, that the ingenious Barbara had discovered a method of overcoming the generally received impossibility of "eating the cake and having it." But the maids were always in her favour, and, if she could find no readier excuse for showing it than by making them presents at stated times, she invented vicarious means of slipping vails into their hands.

1647, Sept. 10.	Friday my cosin	katheri	n Homes	went	to V	Vorcest	er,	and	went	towa	rd London
on Monday	following in parsho	re Wag	gon .								. 408.
I gave her more;	I gave her to gi	ve the	maids at	Hon	acastle	e, and	ye	man	cook	and	housekeep,
and so she w	ent towards Lond	on									2s. 6d.

The gentle current of her declining days was towards the close disturbed by a sad event, which she describes with melancholy exactness.

1647. At hom castle, November 1. legge cutt off. My cosin Harberd Jeffreys died about 12: a clock at noone when his left legge was cutt off closse vnder the knee: on Monday, Alholand day, he broke his legge at Clifton: 22 day in the hole of a yeat post, anent Anthony borastons howse, and was caried in to that howse Saturday: and was caried home to Homcastle on the morow: and as soone as his legg (was) cut off (by 2: surjons of Worcester, Mr. Marshall and Mr. Addis) he died, and was bur. on Wensday ye 3th day in Cliftons chancell.

Age seems to have abated nothing of her generous feeling, or of the ardour of her domestic affections. In all those events which usually bring joy to families, and occasion entries in our parish registers, she heartily sympathised. A marriage, even of a servant, was an occurrence that always appeared highly to interest her. In the year before she transplanted herself into Worcestershire she derived the highest gratification from that union of Miss Acton with one of the sons of Mr. Geers to which frequent allusion has been already made. Besides giving her, for those days, a handsome portion, she took upon herself the arrangement of the settlement, defrayed incidental expenses, and makes the following memoranda descriptive of her satisfaction.

The clerks in these solicitors' offices are not forgotten.

She was manifestly very proud of her. The portion was made up by instalments, and on the last payment she has this note:—

1647, Munday, November 15. 150l. paid in full of 800l. porson and made even. I delivered my cosin Jeffreys to goe to pay Mr. francis Geers of Garnons: the ellder: in full for his daughter in Laws porsion: 100l. and 50l. more he receved of mr. Tho. Veinoll in full: both was 150l. So I praise God all the 800l. is paid, and we are even.

But, it may be repeated, her greatest triumph, and one that her relations and acquaintance took care she should frequently enjoy, was at a christening. Here she was perfectly "happy and glorious," if we may judge from what she herself tells us.

Childe borne called Joyce.—Memorand. that my cosin Mrs. Jane Jeffreys of homcastle was delivered of a daughter about a query of an howre before 9 a clock at night on thirsday night, being christmas eves eve; and the 23: day of Desember, 1647—and hit was baptised on ye monday following, being St. John's day 27: day, 1647: and named Joyce:::ould Mrs. Barckley: and my

self Joyse Jeffreys weare Gossips. God blesse hitt: Amen. hit went home wth nurce nott to the smeeths in greate Shelsleys parish, a ye same munday after diner to nurce.

December 27. Gave the midwyfe, Good wyfe hewes of vpper tedston, the christening day 10s. Munday. Gave nurce Nott ye same day 10s.

This was only about a quarter of a year before she ceased to keep her diary; and, if the expressions should be thought to savour somewhat of anility, it can hardly be denied that they are the offspring of warm and benevolent feelings, still in their freshness, vigorous, and impenetrable to the chill of age. But what at this season gave the strong spur to her emotion, was the circumstance of the infant having been called by her own Christian name.

Into whatever part of this document we examine, as it draws towards the end, it abates nothing of its proofs of her generosity. In the disbursement account a great, it may be said the greater, number of the items begin with the word "Gave." In the receipts it is again and again "I forgave." The payments of rent, and interest, and arrears were cramped by the pressure of public and private difficulties; and this good lady apparently scorned to add to them in others, though she must herself have felt them heavily, recording them with the same artless mode of expression that prevails throughout the book.

Oct⁷ 22. I rece. at Homcastle of Mr. Tho. Veinall, of Heriford, for 2 yeares demy use for 50li. due June 29, 1647, 10li. of which I forgave him 40s. and had 8li. clear to my purse.

Thus did she continue to go on, with blessings upon her lips and her right hand full of gifts, without intermission, till the grave closed over all that was mortal, and amiable, and singular in the character and conduct of one whose parallel is

a Shelsley Beauchamp, a parish in the hundred of Doddingtree, and county of Worcester, 8½ miles southwest from Stourport.

^b Tedstone Delamere and Tedston Wafer are parishes in the hundred of Broxash, and county of Hereford, within 5 miles towards the north-east of Browyard.

^e The latter part of it betrays some failure and irregularity in the handwriting. Her last entry of receipts bears date April 1, 1648; of disbursements, March 27, 1648.

⁴ Sufton Court, the seat of Richard Hereford, Esq. near Hereford.

not easy to be found. It has frequently occurred to me, in looking through the pages of this diary, that the independent and bountiful disposition of the writer may not inappropriately in part be compared with that delineated in a well-known epitaph:

What I gave, I have. What I spent, I had. What I left, I lost.

But the comparison holds good only in part. The closing passage of the triad, though not intended as an expression of selfish regret, may perhaps convey the notion of it too nearly to suit the disposition of Mrs. Joyce Jefferies, since it was hardly possible that she who was so openhearted to others could have envied her successors what she left behind her.

The outline that has been here attempted is, I am aware, very imperfect; indeed, the selections made from this book form but a small portion of its riches. The copiousness of the subject is its embarrassment, and the original can alone set her forth in her true proportions. The portrait of herself, sketched unwittingly by her own hand, rude and artless though it be, is highly attractive. In its exhibition of times, and circumstances, and manners, and touches of vernacular dialect and orthography, in accord with modern provincial pronunciation, lies its value to the philologist, historian, and antiquary; but in its simplicity is its charm. As respects herself, little did she think that, in compiling these accounts, she was about to present, after a lapse of upwards of two centuries, a more expressive memorial of her virtues than any that her surviving relatives could have placed on her tomb.

And so it has fallen out, that nothing appears to have been hitherto done to mark the spot where she lies; neither has the exact period of her decease been ascertained, though the codicil of her will (see ante, p. 193) carries her forward to 1650, and it has been shown that she was buried in the chancel of the parish church of Clifton-upon-Teme, in the border of Worcestershire. But her memory is still revered by those to whom her existence and character are known; and it will probably be received, as it is announced, with pleasure, that the gentleman from whose kindness permission was obtained to examine and describe this curious diary, is about to place a brass tablet near the spot where she is believed to have been interred, with an inscription transmitting the name and virtues of Mrs. Joyce Jefferies to future times.

XVI. Unpublished Letters from the Queen of Bohemia, daughter of James I. to Sir Edward Nicholas. In a Letter from John Evans, Esq., F.S.A., to J. Y. Akerman, Esq., Secretary.

Read 15th and 22nd January, 1857.

Nash Mills, Hemel Hempsted, Dec. 15th, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have great pleasure in sending you for communication to the Society of Antiquaries copies of a series of letters written by the Queen of Bohemia, the daughter of James I., which are I believe unpublished, and which, like all the letters of that unfortunate princess, will be found of some interest. They are all addressed to Sir Edward Nicholas, who, as you are well aware, was Secretary of State to both the Charleses. The letters which passed between the Queen and Sir Edward, from August 1654 to January 1655, fifteen in number, have already been published in the Appendix to Evelyn's Diary, edited by the late Mr. Bray; and the twenty-five I now send you may be regarded as a continuation of the same correspondence, embracing as they do the period from April 1655 to January 1656.

Though throwing some little light upon historical points, their principal interest consists in their being so true a reflex of the lively gossiping character of the Queen, which through all her misfortunes appears to have remained unchanged—her enjoyment of a hunting party, a copy of verses, or a famous mask danced by the gallants of the court, having been as great in 1655 as it was some forty or more years before, when, full of youth and hope, she had been the presiding goddess of the costly festivals at Heidelberg, in honour of her arrival in the Palatinate.

The terms on which she stood with the royal exiles at Cologne, her son the Elector, Prince Rupert, and other members of her family, are exhibited in these letters, together with notices of the political reports at that time current at the Hague, and other matters of passing gossip. I must however leave them to speak for themselves.

I might, perhaps, express a regret at the meagreness of the notes, with which I have thought it advisable to illustrate the letters, but that I know that those who may consult them for historical purposes will stand in need of no elucidations such

as I could give, while those who merely read them as studies of the character of Elizabeth, or as specimens of what were a Queen's letters two centuries ago, will require no further explanations than the letters themselves afford.

I remain, my dear Sir, yours very truly,

J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq.

JOHN EVANS.

Sec. Soc. Ant., &c. &c. &c.

I.

Letter endorsed by Sir Edward Nicholas, "\(\frac{16}{26}\) April 1655. Rec^d \(\frac{19}{20}\), Queene of Bohemia, that I have good luck in my children."

Hagh, April 26.

Mr Secretarie, I receaved from you the good news of the King's safe returne to Colein so late upon Thursday as I had not then time to thanke you as I doe now; for indeed it is verie good news; for as long as God preserve him I hope he will yett have another fling for it, for as you say in your last I ame not at all out of hope, and if he be sett into his as you wish, it will be best, but how soever or by whome, so it be well done, I shall be satisfied. I ame verie glade my cosen of Brunswick escaped so well, but sorie he had not the hapiness to see the King, which I finde by your letter he mist but a day. The King has lost a verie faithfull servant of the good Duke of Richmond. I heard of his death by the post, and ame veri sorie for it. What I doe to your daughter is not what I woulde, but what I can; for indeed she desarve all I can doe, and much more. She is now quite recourred and abroad againe. There is heere little news. The peace betwixt France and Cromwell is much talked of heere; but I hope the Marquis de Leide, Ambass¹⁰ from the King of Spaine, will hinder it. They say he goes this next week, verie well accompanied, and it is reported that both the Queene of Sueden and the Prince of Condé sends with him to Cromwell; but I cannot assure you of the truth of it. Queen Mother of Sueden is dead," her daughter seemes much troubled at it, which makes her rap out with manie an oth. I dout not but you will heare all from S' Henry de Vic. Thom. Eliot and your sonne Talbot will be with you by this time, I believe. I finde your sonne a verie honnest man. I see you have god luck in your children, which I wish you in all things else, being ever

Your most affectionat frend,

I send you a letter for the King.

The enmity that at this time existed between Elizabeth and Christina of Sweden is well known.
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2 G

П.

Letter endorsed "3° May, 1655. R. 6°, Queene of Bohemia." Addressed, "For M' Secretarie," and tied up with black silk, with two seals in black wax, impressed with her Majesty's arms, or rather those of her deceased husband.

Hagh, May 3.

M' Secretarie, I have receaved yours of the $\frac{20}{50}$, and by the Thursday's post I had the hapiness to have one from the King in Mr Chancelour's pacquet, who is now heere, and will be with you shortlie, with my sweet Nephue, the States of Hollande having taken a resolution to desire his absence, and this day it was to have been signified to his sister; but I believe it will be prevented, because my Neece has a letter from the King, who desires to have him come to him; but I believe he had not gone so soone if the States had not taken their resolution, which is not come from Cromwell, but theire owne clawing with him. The offence they tooke against my Nephue was because, as he went out to take the aire on horsback, he tooke horse within the court at the staires, which I have seene manie a page and lacquay doe; but they woulde take anie occasion to shew theire zeale to the divell. I confess I ame verie much out of charitie with him for making us all loose my deare Nephue's companie. I knew no more of Rupert's ingagement with the Duke of Modena then you did untill Thursday last, that he writt it to my Lo: Craven to tell it me; neither doe I know the conditions. I believe he has accepted of that imployment not to live idlie, since the King is not pleased to imploye him, whose service I ame sure hee hath still a verie constant affection for, above all others, which all his letters to me protest; but that not being, he must doe something, and not sitt idlie at home, being confident he will always be readie to serve the King whensoever he shall command him. There be commissioners come from the rebells hither to settle the trade, and it (is) reported that there shall shortlie come an Ambassadour hither from Cromwell. Some write hither from France that the treatie with them is not so sure as manie think. I pray remember me to your sonne Talbot, and beleeve me ever

Your most affectionat frend,

Se_

Dan. Oneal is safly arrived heere: he assueres poor Nick^b is safe. His man is come over.

Afterwards William III.

Nicholas Armourer.

III.

Letter endorsed " 40 Junii 1655. R. 77. Queene of Bohemia."

Hagh, June 14.

M' Secretarie, I ame verie glade to finde by your letter that you are ridd of your paine; I easilie believe the sad condition of the affaires doth add not a little to your paine. What you heare from Germanie about the aversness for a King of the Romans I have not heard, but wish it so; but if those Princes and tounes have not some of the Electours of theire opinion it will doe litle good. They write in my letters from Berlin the King of Sueden has given the Electour of Brandebourg great assurance of his affection, and of having no desein to hurt him. The last letters Bourdeaux writt to this French Ambassadour was that his next letter shoulde be dated from Paris, being going away because Cromwell will signe no treatie with his Brother of France till he have satisfaction for the massacre the Duke of Savoye has made of his protestant subjects. How the King of France shoulde give satisfaction for it I know not, except it be by hanging the Count de Quinsey, who helped to that horride action with his forces. There is heere little news, but the States are in great allarme of the King of Sueden arming, and will send troupes to their frontiers to secure them; some tolde me that Beverwest shoulde command them. They are an hundred and fiftie companies. Brederode is falling into a dropsie, and, I beleeve, will not live long, which I wish heartilie you may till you see your excellent Master upon his throne, and till then be ridd of your gout. This I wish as being ever

Your most affectionat frend,



I beleeve you will have Midleton verie speedilie at Coloogne.

IV.

Letter endorsed " 11 Junii, 1655. R4 14. Qu: of Bohem."

M' Secretarie, there is news come from Roterdame of a letter come thither that Cromwell and his councell have assembled the lawyers to have his charge of protectour settled upon him and his posteritie; Wedensday wee shall know the truth of this; but if it be, sure I believe he will change his title, for an hereditarie protectour is a Bull. They are still heere in feare of Sueden, which the Baron Spar wonders at, protesting his Master doth (not) think of anie such thing. I believe you will see my lo: of Rochester before this letter, for he was at Bruxelles the last

Hagh, June 21.

I ame verie glad that worthie liftenant General is safe at Munster; I believe he will be by this time with you. I pray assure him still that I ame extremelie his Frend. My deare Neece is gone to Foundre Merdike; you then may easilie guess how I pass my time once a weeke. I shall wish myself with you and my sweet Nephue a shooting. I hope it will recover your legg againe. I have almost forgot to tell you a pretious peece of news which came hither in written hande the last post from Paris, that the French King was to marry with Cromwell's daughter to make the league the firmer with England; it is taken heere for a kinde of Libell, which the French heere are verie angrie at. I ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,

I send you a letter for my sweet Nephue and for my Lo: Wentworth.

V.

Letter endorsed " 18 Junii, 1655. R. 1º July. Qu. Bohem."

Mr Secretarie, I ame verie glade my lo: of Rochester is so well gott to you, for I believe his prettie bulke had much a doe to hide itself in a mouse hole; it is heere verie confidentlie reported that Cromwell has assembled all the Lawyers and judges to take to himself the legislative power, and so change his title; the French Ambassadour thinks it will be Emperour, because the Kings heeretofore did not take themselfs that power, he will have the judges declare his power and not the army, and then he may give his daughter to his Brother of France; tis pittie that none of his sonnes are unmaried that he might have his Brother of Spaines daughter for him. Hanibal Seistad, the late vice-Roy of Norway, is heere; he professeth verie much himself the King's servant; he meanes to be with you shortlie at Collein; he has bene in England and verie civilie used by Cromwell, but for all that he protests he hates hime. I had a verie civile letter from Prince Adolf, who tells of the King his Brother's hastic sending for him, and that he hopes to be sudainlie back to make an end of his mariage, excusing himself that he did not come this way by reason of his great hast. I saw yesterday little Madselle Ruperda maried in the French church; she was a verie handsome bride.

a Middleton. b See Whitelock, p. 608.

e Prince Adolphus, brother of the King of Sweden, who had proposed for the Princess Sophia in October previous. (See Evelyn, vol. iv. p. 213.) It does not appear why this match was broken off. Sophia married into the House of Brunswick in 1658.

Brederode is gone to Arnem to be neere the troupes that are at the frontiers. Nick Armorer, I believe you have alreadie heard, is safe here. It is so hott I can say no more. I will know of Sir Charles Cottrell if there be anie bows here to fitt the King and Marquiss of Ormond. I ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,



I pray tell your worthie sonne Liftenant-general Middleton that I ame verie glade to heare he is safe come to his master, and assure him there is no bodie more his frend then I ame.

Hagh, June 28.

VI.

Letter endorsed "5° July, 1655. R. 8°. Qu. Bohemia, that there comes an Army of Presbiterians with the lo: Balcarris: that she never yet knew any of that party suffer meerely for his loyalty."

Mr Secretarie, I have yours of the 2 of this month. I am sure you heare of more Lords and gentlemen, they say 500, that are prisoners. The French Ambassadour tolde me the last night the treatie was at a stande: he believe he will take the title of Emperour since the Kings have tied themselfs to keep the laws. You will have with you a whole armie of presbiteriens with my lo: Belcaris; sure they will make great offers, believe them who will; you know my minde; yett I have not knowen anie of that party suffer for the King, I meane meerelie for theire loyaltie. This place is verie barren of news, onelie a duel had like to have bene betwixt Sir Will. Keith and Mr. Binnion for iust nothing at play; they were gone as farr as Breda, and by good fortune were stopped there and made frends. I ame confident you have heard alreadie of a riche ladie Stanlie that did cheat poore Collonel Philips and wife of 200 pound, and had cheated more if Mris. Mohun had not discovered her; when she was at Antwerp she knew her; her name is Skinner, and take away the k out of her name, you will finde her trade. I ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,



Hagh, Julie.

I pray tell the right reverent Dick Harding it is so hott, as I cannot write to him till the next week.

VII.

Letter endorsed "\$\frac{2}{13}\circ\$ July, 1655. R. \$\frac{5}{13}\cdot\$. The Queene hath given order for And. Cogans bow, and all that she can find to send." Addressed "For M" Secretarie," and tied up with black silk, with two black seals of her Majesty's arms.

M^r Secretarie, de Bie the Polish resident is returned from England. He beleeves that Cromwell will verie speedilie change his title. I ame sure you heare how he hath putt my lo: of Hartford, and manie more, in prison. The French treatie is yett at a stand. This Ambassadour sayth that Bourdeaux has order to returne this week if the treatie be not ended. There is no certaintie heere of Pen's fleet. It is written out of France that all the English marchands at Constantinople have had their throats cutt, and their goods seased upon by the great Turk: if it be true, I hope the good people will thanke his pretious highness for it. I have given Sr Charles Cottrell order to send you all the bows he can get. Sr Andrew Coghin's bow is not yett to be found, but it shall be verie narowlie sought for. I believe my little gentleman the Duke of Glocester is the distruction of most of your arrows. By then this come to you you will have my Lo: Belcaris and his ladie; they passed by Breda, but came not heere. My Lo: Culpeper is yet heere, but will spedilie goe. He was the other day a little high flowen, and in his oulde humour you know him at that time subject to be in, which made him fall upon Mons' Seistat; but all is now well again. Gerbier is heere, and all his familie. He is pressed much to eleere himself of the imputation of that base booke. I wish he may; in charitie I say it. I ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,

Hagh, Julie 12.



VIII.

Letter endorsed "2º Aug. 1655. R. 5, Qu. Bohemia."

Hagh, August 2.

M^r Secretarie, before I say anie thing else to you, I will tell you that your wife came the last night saflie to the Brill. I hope she will be heere to-morrow. D^r Earle's wife is with her. I pray tell him so from me. To-morrow I hope you

a Sir Balth. Gerbier.

will have my deare Neece with you, and your daughter, and shortlie you will see Dicke Darcie. He goeth this day hence; so doth to-morrow Nick Armorer, and the reverent Albert Morton, who is much more growen in breadth then height. Robin Sidney, Watt Vaine, and Robin Honywood and his sonne, are all here. Yong Rob: Honywood is a verie prettie youth, and not presise, like his Uncle Harry. He is verie like Watt, but better. There is heere no news, onelie I ame putt in hope the States will doe some thing for me this week. If they doe you shall heare of it. It is extreme hott heere, and, which is strange, the plague doth not increase; but it is extremelie at Leiden. The last week there died six hundred; everie bodie quitts the toune. I ame glade my sonne has at the last done a little civilitie to the King, though it be but a small one. I pray the wine may proove better then what he sends me. The two last times he sent me wine that was stark naught. His cheef favorit Hoer is heere. I know not whether or not he will honnour the King with a visit at his returne to his master. I ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,



I write not now to the King, because my Lo: Taff's a going, who shall have my letters. Tell my cosen of Amsterdam, sonne and nephue, that I expect his raper from raperhall. I sent, under your cover, a letter to him upon Thursday last; within it an epistle to my Nephue the Duke of Glocester. Tell Dick Harding the next week I will pay him the letter I owe him. Those that come now out of England believe that Cromwell will not change his title for feare of the army, who will not consent he shoulde doe it.

IX.

Letter endorsed " 13 Aug. 1655. R. 16, Queen Bohemia."

Hagh, Aug. 23.

M^r Secretarie, I ame extreame glad to finde from yourself that you are so well recovered, and that honnest D^r Fraiser has bene so carefull of you, though it is but his custome, especialie to his frends. All the news that I can tell you is, that the last week the Spanish Ambassadour did drink to S^r Ro: Stone the King's health, and to the prosperitie of his hapie restablishment in his kingdome, which Stone pledged, telling him he wondred at the health since his master was the first that acknowledged the parliament. He answered it was true, but he had soundlie payed for it. I wish they woulde seek a good revenge. I heare no talking of

the treatie with France. I wish the Pope may make a good peace betwix the two kings. Though what the states have given me be but a thousand guilders a month, yet I hope it is good signe that they have yett some kindness for my house, and one day may shew it. All goes so ill up hill, as my Lo: Norwich calls it, as I have no reason to wish myself there. Your wife is verie well; and, though she be no great courtier, I finde her a verie good woman. She is still in cuerpo. Her goods are not yett come, though M^{rio} Coale is; you will have her with you and D^r Morley the next week, which (is) all I have time to say now to you; but that I ame ever

Your most affectionat frend.



Tell reverent Dick Harding he shall heare from me the next post.

X.

Letter endorsed "30° Aug. 1655. R. 2° 7bris; Qu: Bo:"

Mr Secretarie, I wish your news may prove truer, that Cardenas* is leaving England, then mine. They tell me heere that there is an extraordinarie Ambassadour to goe from Spaine thither. The Duke of Mantua is now at Paris. He is lodged with Ned^b and his wife, who is his Aunt, in the Hostel de Longueville. Ned commends him to be a verie fine gentleman, a great deal of witt. It is not yett certaine the selling of Casal. There is heere no other news then what you see in the prints. The plague is still newsd at Leiden and at Amsterdam, and almost everie where heeare about, but less heere then aniewhere. When my Cosen of Amsterdame returnes, I pray tell him I heare he has made an excellent copie of verses upon Mam nurses windie misfortune. I hope he will lett me have them, with an adition of the Countess, his repudiated wife's, perfuming of the fore part of her goune; at least, I hope my sober Nephue will not faill to enquire after it. I woulde be loth to eate no more then he takes with his hawkes. I ame sure you heare by this time that Rupert's treatie and the Duke of Modena's is quite broken off. He had no minde to be deceaved, or ill used. Opdam was sent for from

a The Spanish Ambassador.

b Edward, the Queen's fourth son, who had adopted the Roman Catholic religion and married the Princess of Nevers, daughter of the Duke of Mantua.

^o See Bromley's Royal Letters, p. 196, &c.

Spa to go to sea with a fleet towards the Sound. He is come, and the ships are making readie. It may chance make a breach betwixt these and Sueden, who prospers well in Poland on one side, and the Moscovits play the divel on the other side. I cannot but pittie the poore king of Polande, which is all I can doe, for I must not be for him in words more then for Sueden, you know. I ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,

Hagh, Aug. 30.

E

Tell Dick Harding the next post he shall heere from me.

XI.

Letter endorsed "6" 7bris, 1655. R. 9°. Queene of Bohemia."

Hagh, Sept 6°.

M' Secretarie, just now your wife has bene with me to take her leave of me to goe towards you. I have seene the printed petition; it is a most base one, and against my deare Brother of blessed memorie. I cannot imagine what aileth the Dons to suffer themselfs to be so used by him. I would either they or France woulde break with him. I confess it were rather France then Spaine, since my deare Godsonne is amongst them. I pray lett me know if he be there as volontorie, or as he was the last yeare. The King of Sueden doth still prosper. He treats with the Electour of Brandebourg. He makes small demandes, onelie his cheef ports, the Pilo, and another whose name I have forgott, and to change some articles in his treatie with the States, which he findes prejuditiable to him. What the Electour will answere I know not, but his frends heere think he cannot well with his honnour graunt these demandes. The Princess of Orenge is to sett out this week or the next towards us heere, where the Princess of Nassau comes to lye in. Brederode's death will make manie competitours for his charges; my next will tell you more of that, for but yesterday came the news of his death. I ame glade my sweet Nephue has so good fortune of hawking, but all that shall not make me yealde but that hunting is worth a million of it. Thus you see I ame constant in my inclination, and so will be in being ever

Your most affectionat frend,

I pray commend me to Dr. Morley.

a Charles Gustavus.

b George William, grandfather of the first King of Prussia

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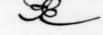
XII.

Letter endorsed " 13 7 7 rts, 1655. R. 6. Qu: Bo:"

Mr Secretarie, I feare your beleef will prove true of this people, for they are not yet agreed about the Mareschall's place. My next shall tell you more, onelie Hollande will have none, but the generalitie will have one. P. Maurice is heere; P. Will: is not yett come. I wish it either of them, for they are both verie much the King's servants; the first I named, I assure you, as much as anie. Pen's fleet is returned in an ill case; all is true you have heard of his losses; besides, he can tell how good horse flesh is, for they have eaten it, being forced at Jamaica, the people there having caried away all the provisions: else there is heere little news. They talke of Opdam's going out of a fleet, but I beleeve it will [be] too late in the yeare before it goe out, for there is yett nothing readie for it. My next I beleeve may tell you more, for it is written to me that the King of Poland has an armie of 60,000 men. If it be true, the King of Sueden will not gett Poland so soone. I ame sure you heare that the Vaudois have made theire peace with the Duke of Savoye before Cromwell's deputie did come to them. I ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,

Hagh, Sep. 13.



XIII.

Letter endorsed "1 8bris, 1655. R. 4. Queene of Bohemia. That the States of Holland have voted for Mons' Nordick to be Governor of the Basse."

Mr Secretarie, I believe before this you will heare before this of the certaintie [of the] king of Sueden's victorie against the king of Poland, who it is saide heere is fledd into Silesia. I pittie the poore king of Poland; all my comfort is that the King of Sueden may as well and much more iustlie breake with Cromwell as he has done with Poland. There is heere little newes, onelie our States are not at all pleased with the Suedes victorie. They are iustlie punished for assisting the Queene of Sueden against my Uncle. There is yett nothing knowen who shall be Mareschal heere. As for the gouvernment of the Bass, those of Hollande have given theire voices for Nordwic, where you may see he doth not suffer much for his being for the house of Nassau. I doe not write all, but this is under the rose. The States General have not yett saide whom they will chuse. His highness of

[·] John Casimir.

Tarente is going this weeke into France. His ladie follows in the spring. I will not write to the King till Thursday because I will be first sure he is with you, that my letters be not too stale. I ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,

Hagh, Oct. 11.



XIV.

Letter endorsed " 3 8bris, 1655. R. 11. The Queene of Bohemia. That she is much troubled that her sonne the El^r carryed himself soe very unhansomly towards the K."

Mr Secretarie, I ame verie glade that all your court is so well returned to you, and so well pleased with their journey. I was sure the Electour of Ments woulde miss to doe all possible civilitie to the King. As for Rupert, he did but his dutie, and it doth comfort me extremelie to finde how well both my Neece^a and the king did accept it. I ame sure no bodie can have more true zeale and affection for theire service then he hath. But I ame vexed to some tune to know how unhandsomlie my sonne the Electour has caried him. You cannot imagine how it angers me to see that he that shoulde be the most kinde and civill shoulde be the least to the King. I hope now you will not blame me for not desiring to live with him. I coulde tell you more, but I will not out of charitie, because he is my sonne. The Princesse of Orenge is to be heere this night or to morrow. The Prince of Tarente away yesterday towards France. Wee have nothing of the Suedes since theire late victorie, which our States doe not at all rejoice at. There is yett nothing done to the clerk. I ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,

Hagh, Oct. 18.



I pray remember me to your wife and your sonne Talbot. Your daughter had had some presents from my daughter if she had gone to Heidleberg. I ame sure they are realie sorie they saw not the King and theire cosens there. I pray [say] to your daughter I have not time to write to her, but upon Thursday she shall have an epistle.

[.] Mary Princess of Orange.

XV.

Letter endorsed "2° Nobris St. No. 1655. R. 7°. The Queene of Bohemia."

Hagh, No: 2.

Mr Secretarie, the visit of the Princesse of Nassau and others caused the brevitie of my last letter. This will come to your handes without anie other, for Chogneats' going to morrow and S' Charles Cottrell taking the same journey at the end of this week, I write by them both to the King and my Neece. You will finde by your letter that the packet boat is not stoped. Benat the French captaine of horse passed by Dunkerk upon Friday was sevenight, and then the Spanish Ambassadour's goods were come in a little boat, but they were afrayed that the Ambassadour was seized upon by Cromwell. After tomorrow we shall know the truth. The Landgrave's death is but too true. He was verie unfortunatlie killed as he went unadvisedlie to a toune that he thought was in the Suedens handes. They suffered him to come close to the bridge and then shott him dead. He was so farr advanced before his people as they had time to save themselfs, so as none was killed but he. The Princess of Orenge is now heere. She lookes well, and [her] daughters are growen. The clerk and the solicitour that were in prison are both banished, the clerk for ever, and the other for ten yeares. The Countess is not yett come. My deare Neece putts me in hope I shall see her within three weekes. I ame extreme glade our honnest Dr has done her so much good with his phisick. I pray beleeve me ever

Your most affectionat frend,



XVI.

Letter endorsed "8º Nobris, 1655. R. 11. The Queene of Boheme."

Hagh, Novr 8

M^r Secretarie, I have receaved noe letters from you this week, it may be S^r Charles Cottrells being gone they are sent after him. I did not think to have written this week, but the resident of Sueden having bene with me yesterday, and tolde me by his king's commande what I now send you in writing, which he sent me this morning, I send it to you that the King may see it. I finde that though the French are more for Sueden then Poland, yett they are not glade of the King of Poland's utter ruine. M^r Lovell will tell you what he heares in England. He

* There is some doubt as to the correct reading of this name.

went from hence upon Saterday, with Sr Charles Cottrell. The Spanish Ambassadour has Cromwell's pass to be gone, but till he be at Dunkerke I shall still feare the Spanish bravadoes. It is reported heere, the Electour of Brandebourg has sent one to Cromwell. I hope it is not true, but if it be I shrewdlie guess who has counselled it: I ame sure not the Count of Waldec. By my next I hope I shall know the truth to write it to you. Cracovie has five tounes, whereof Casimir is one. They are all in one wall. I tell you this that you may the better understand the paper. I ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,



XVII.

Letter endorsed "³/₁₃ No^{bris}, 1655. R. ⁸/_{II}. The Queene concerning the quarell between Mr Stone and La Mer." Addressed "For Mr Secretarie," tied with black silk, and with two black seals, as before.

Hagh, No. 15.

Mr Secretarie, I was much surprised at your news of the wedding; and if your letter had not come too late, I had upon Thursday desired you to chide Mrs Ramer and Sr Allexander, that they could not stay till they came hither, that I might have bene at their wedding; but now I hope to doe it myself, since my deare Neece writes to me she will be heere upon Saturday or Sunday next. You may be sure she will be welcome. The Suedens victories continue. Cracovie is certainlie yealded, and the Cossaks come in to the King of Sueden. It is reported that Cromwell will not give a passport to the Spanish Ambassadour in England, not as an Ambassadour, but onelie as a privat man. What he meanes by it I know not; yett I shall not be confident of their falling out till I heare the Ambassadour is at Dunkerke. I believe Sr Charles Cottrell is now by this time with you, since he went the verie next day. There is fallen out a scurvie quarrell betwixt Stone and La Mere, by Greneville's most indiscreet action, where she has done herself a great deal of wrong, and indangered two men's lives. Sr Charles Cottrell can tell the cause of the quarrell-about a letter La Mere should have written to Grenville's prejudice, she being tolde it at least 7 or 8 weeks agone, as she has by her speeches tolde to others; now she bethought herself to question La Mere, which, if she had done it herself, by any woman, or D' Morley, there had bene no business made of it; but imploying of Stone it coulde come to no other but a quarrell, where Stone did carie himself not verie discreetlie, affronting La Mere in the street going of the Churche, contrarie to his worde to me and

D' Morley, that he woulde not medle with that business, so as I got him to be arrested; but he did get out by the negligence of the soldiers the last night, and for ought I know may by this time be with La Mere, who went away at the instant that he was affronted, and so has kept himself away. If anie of them come to mischief I ame free, for I did all I coulde to hinder it; but it will lye heavilie upon that unworthie bodie, whosever it was, that tolde such a thing to Grenville, and upon her who sett on the business upon Stone. I write this to you, because I believe it will be made an odd storie at Collein, and innocent people unjustlie accused; but this I onelie say to your self. I ame verie glade that my Neece assures me I shall see her the next weeke, or at the end of this. Some speech is heere, as if her deare frends woulde bring her into a new process; but I hope it is not true, who ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,



XVIII.

Letter endorsed "½° No^{bris}, 1655. R. ½5. Qu: Boheme, That my sonne may write a coppy of D Morley's."

Hagh, Novr 22.

Mr Secretarie, I have such an extreme colde, my nose and eyes running like a fountaine, as I cannot say aniething to you, onelie to tell you that I dide desire Dr Morley to let me have his two sermons he sent to the King. He saith there is but that copie of them which he sent by Sr Charles Cottrell, where I intreat you that when your sonn has copied them out for the King, he will take the paines to copie them out also for me, and send them to me when you restore the originall. I have seene Cromwell's declaration against Spaine. It is a verie weake one. I hope Spaine will be so wise as to mend that fault these people heere committed, and take the King's quarrell in hande. Hodancourt has not desired the King of Spaine's protection, but will have money of his own king for his gouvernment, as the last French letters say. The P. of Condé offered himself to him, but he has refused him. I ame verie sorie your goute beginns seaze you. I wish you well ridde of it, who ame

Your most affectionat frend,

SE

Ny Neece will be heere this night. I pray tell Sr Charles Cottrell I have the colde so extremelie as I cannot write to him till Thursday.

XIX.

Letter endorsed "18 Nobris, 1655. R. 2º Dec. Queene to me."

Hagh, No. 28.

Mr Secretarie, I ame verie glade your goute is departing. My colde is gone also, but before it left me I was verie angrie at it, for when my deare Neece came hither I coulde not goe to her for my colde, nor she to me for her weariness, but yett we mett at last. I finde her verie leane and paile, which troubles me verie much; but [if] she will exercise enough, she will be soone well. After I had my first childe I was just so, but I rumbled it away with riding a hunting. I tell her of it, but she is deadlie lasie. I doe wish with all my heart the Dons woulde be wise, and not goe on theire slow slow pace, but make hast to take your incomparable master by the hande. There is no news heere, onelie that Mons' Chanut is gone for France. I know not yett who comes in his place, which is all I write now to you, from

Your most affectionat frend,



XX.

Letter endorsed, "6° Dec. st. No. 1655. R. 9°. Queene Bohem."

Mr Secretarie, my dearest Neece beginns, God be thanked, to mend in her lookes and health since she saws billetts everie morning. This week wee are to see a famous maske danced by our gallants of the Hagh, French and Dutch; and yesterday the Princess of Nassaw was brought to bed of a daughter. This is all the news heere, onelie Hoquincourt has receaved none into Peromne, but that the French King is there, he having made his agreement; but you will knowe it as soone as I, who has had it from my deare Godsonn's letter to me from Paris, not knowing yett what he shall doe, the articles of the treatie not being yet published or knowen. The King of Sueden is gone from Warsovie towards Torne, in the Royal Prusse, where the Electour of Brandebourg is with his troupe, yett it is hoped the King and the Electour may agree.

Wee have stayed La Mere, he was catched at Dort; I hope you will doe so to Stone, for they say he is at Collein, so as they may be agreed. I ame verie glade your paine is gone, and that honnest D^r. Fraiser is so well recovered. I pray tell him so from

Your most affectionat frend,

Se _

Hagh, De. 6.

XXI.

Letter endorsed, " 15 Dec. 1655. R. 15. Queene Bohemia."

Hagh, Decr. 13.

Mr Secretarie, I ame extreme glade that the King is so hapie as to discover one rogue. I pray God he may discover the rest, for without dout that villain has companions. Cromwell sure has more spies than one upon the King. It must needs be he that did betray the last business, for I heare that some of the King's party did trust him, and sent him out of England. There was few but might have bene deceaved by him. I have seene him twice heere, but had little talke with him; he desarves verie justlie to be hanged. There is no news heere. I long to have the Dons doe something, but they (are) cruell slow in their deliberations. I wish with all my heart Cromwell may continue his desseins against the Indies, to waken the gravitie of the Dons' pace, and make them goe faster. The English marchands desired a convoye from Amsterdam for going into England, because of the Spaniards, but were refused, it being against their peace with Spaine to give convoys to fight against them. It is extreme colde this day, it both freezes and snows. The best news I can tell you is of my deare Neece continues to mende dailie in her lookes. I ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,



I ame glade the King will commande to send Stone, for then I hope it will be well ended betwixt La Mere and him. The honnest Captaine is most furiouslie threatened by some that are no wiser then they shoulde be; but you know the proverb, threatened people live long.

XXII.

Letter endorsed, "3° Jan. 165%. R. 6° n.s. Que. Bohemia."

Hagh, Jan. 3.

Mr Secretarie, I wish the match betwixt Mancini and Cromwell's daughter may goe forward; for one thing, the alliance betwixt them is verie fitt and equall. Yesterday Somerdik's eldest daughter was maried to Weaver's eldest brother, who was killed heere a yeare agone by an English Cap. that came from Brasil, Sr Cha: Cottrell knows who he is. Stone and La Mere are at last frends, and he waits againe. My dearest Neece setts forward towards Paris Thursday come sevenight,

A This letter refers to the execution of Manning, a servant of Sir Edward Hyde's, who, Whitelock says, was shot as a spy.—(See Whitelock, p. 618.) The letter published in Evelyn's Diary under the date December 27, 1654, is of December 27, 1655, as it refers to Manning, who, it appears, was assassinated and not judicially executed. The subsequent letter of January 10 is also to be referred to this year 165\$.

which is almost all the newes heere, onelie the Hollanders in the Indies have beaten the Swedens out of Nova Suetia. How their king will take it God knows. They are now sending their Ambassadours to him; he has had Elbing deliverid to him, and Dansik is a treating. He is going himself with his army to Kunisberg, where the Electour of Brandebourg and his ladie and all his army are. I feare it will goe hard with him, if he doe not agree, and one of the conditions will be that he must quitt his alliance with the States. He has an envoye with Cromwell, although the Princess of Orenge woulde not confess it; and at his audience, complaining of the King of Sueden's taking all the countries out of his ambition, Cromwell answered he much wondered why men did take so much paines to reigne. Good man! he tooke no paines for it, nor has no ambition. There never was so great an hipocrit. I wish him as ill a new yeare as, I thank you, you wish me a good. I pray God it may be more hapie to us all then the former has bene. I ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,



XXIII.

Letter endorsed " $\frac{7}{17}$ Jan. 165 $\frac{5}{6}$. R. $\frac{10}{27}$. Que. Bohemia."

Mr Secretarie, though I have little news to write yett I will onelie tell you that my dear Neece is gone this morning, and has verie good weather. I pray God send her a good journey and speedilie to returne, for this place is verie dull without her. The King of Sueden lyes close to Kunisberg with his armie, and has sent into the toune to the Electour the Chancelour Oxenstern to treat with him, so as it is hoped he will make a peace betwixt them. Dr Fraiser came hither upon Wedensday night, and is gone with my deare Neece this morning. The States heere woulde have persuaded the Electour of Brandenbourg to have lett them have had the keeping of the Pilo; but he has denied it. My Neece and the Princesse douager are parted verie good frends. I ame sure you know that Heinfleit and his Ladie stayed behinde. The match betwixt the Prince of Ost Frise and Madamoiselle de Orenge is broken with both their consents. They have always had an aversion one for the other. I ame alway

Your most affectionat frend,



Hagh, Jan: 17.

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XXIV.

Letter endorsed "½ Jan. 165½. R. ½. Queene Boheme. That Dr Morley leaves her—desires the King not to recommend any one to her." Addressed, "For Mr Secretarie," and sealed as before.

Hagh, Jan. 20.

M' Secretarie, my last being the day that my dearest Neece went from hence I had not much time to say much to you, which made me forgett a maine business I meant to advertis you off, which is that D' Morley has desired me to give him leave to retire, protesting it is for no kinde of discontente but onelie to be free to himself, finding his age beginns to weaken him, and that he always loved his libertie and onelie for my sake he came hither, and seemes to be verie well satisfied with his usage heere, which trulie was less then I wished, but I did it according as I coulde, as I tolde him, though it was not so much as I desired. I ame verie sorie he goes away, for I esteeme him verie much, and have persuaded him all I can to stay, but he still persists in it; wherefore, in the condition I ame in, I ame resolved to take no other Chaplaine but Mr Beaumont, who will say prayers to me, and when there shall be a communion Dr Morley has promissed me to come when I shall desire him, or if as I hope I shall goe to Rheims he will come to me; all which I pray acquaint the King with, that, if anie shoulde speake to him to recommend a Chaplaine to me, I beseech him not to doe it, being alreadie thus ingaged to M' Beaumont. There is little news heere; it is reported but not certaine that the king of Polande marches with a great armie of Cossaks and Tartars against the king of Sueden, who is yett neere Kunisberg. The Chancelour Oxenstern is in the toune still treating, but it is believed heere there will be no agreement. I ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,



My dearest Neece and the Princesse dowager and P. Williame are parted verie good frends.

XXV.

Letter endorsed "24° Jan. 1657. R. 17. Queene Bohem."

Hagh, Jan. 24.

M^r Secretarie, I have receaved yours, and finde your news at Colein, concerning Sueden and the Electour of Brandebourg, doth not agree with the news heere, for the Elect. is still at Kunisberg, and the Chanceler Oxenstern is yett treating there with him, and their horse doe skermish everie (day) together. I feare the good Electour will have the worst, and the States socours will come to late, for till the spring they cannot be readie. The Tartars will doe more hurt to Poland then good, for they never doe nothing but pillage frend and foe all alike. My Neece has passed Gorcum verie well; the rivers were verie well passed. This night or Wedensday we shall heare more of her. Within your letter I receaved one from the King, to recommend D^r Wishard to me in D^r Morley's place; but that letter I writt to you by the last post I hope will satisfie his Ma^{tie}, being alreadie ingaged to Mr. Beaumont. There is no great news heere, where for a week the weather has bene verie good, cleere, and frostie, but not extreme colde. My deare Neece has verie good weather; my Godsonne is by this time at Peronne to meet her. I am ever

Your most affectionat frend,



I believe Rupert is by this time at Heidleberg, but I heare not that he is yett ingaged at Vienna. I wish he may ingage nowhere, but where he may best serve the King.

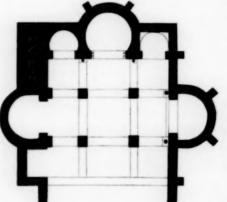
XVII. Remarks on some early Churches in France and Switzerland, partly of the time of Charlemagne. Communicated by J. H. Parker, Esq., F.S.A.; in a Letter addressed to the Right Honourable the Earl Stanhope, President.

Read 12th June, 1856.

My LORD.

In the series of letters I have hitherto had the honour of addressing to your Lordship, and of reading before this Society, I have confined myself to the topographical arrangement, merely following the order of my own actual tours in the English provinces of France, which were originally undertaken with a view of ascertaining whether there was any English character in the architecture of these provinces, or any marked connection between them and the architecture of England of the same period. I purposely omitted Normandy, as having been previously well described by Mr. Gally Knight and others, although that province is more familiar to me than any other part of France, and I have notes of many buildings there of which, to the best of my knowledge, no accounts have been published; but, as I fear that mere topographical descriptions of buildings are always rather dry and uninteresting, I propose on the present occasion to give some account of certain very early churches in different parts of France and

Switzerland, which I have selected on account of their peculiarity, without reference to their topographical situation.

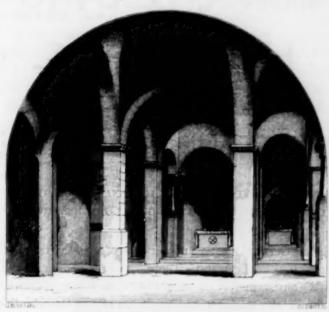


PLAN OF THE OLD PART, GERMIGNY, A.D. 805

GERMIGNY.

I will commence with the very remarkable little church of Germigny-sur-Loire, which I believe to be one of the churches built by Charlemagne, who is said to have imported Greek architects and workmen from Byzantium for the purpose of building churches, and instructing his people in the arts of building, and of masonry and stone-cutting. Additional

interest is given to this church by the preservation of an original inscription on the capitals of two of the pillars, recording its dedication in the year 806, of which I have obtained a rubbing. The church was evidently built entirely in the Greek



INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF GERMIGNY, A.D. 806.

type, cruciform, with four equal arms, and a central tower. The nave has been rebuilt and elongated at a comparatively recent period; the other three arms of the cross remain, square in plan, with an apse in the centre of each face, and a small apsidal chapel at the east end of each aisle, square on the exterior, but rounded within (one of them has been altered, but there are evident marks that it corresponded with the other). Each of these apses is covered by a semi-dome vault, and in the principal eastern apse the vault is covered by a mosaic of very early character, apparently contemporaneous with the building. There are remains of an inscription in it, but mutilated, and I had not time to decipher it. The other inscription is incised in the abacus of the two eastern capitals of the tower piers, and runs thus:—

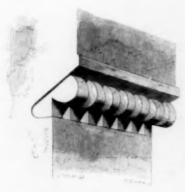
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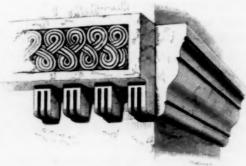
SET: GERMIN: SAE: CINEVAL:

ANNO INCARNATIONIS DOMINI DCCC ET VI. III NONAS JANUARII. DEDICATIO HUJUS ECCLESIÆ SUB INVOCATIONE SANCTI GERMINI (et) SANCTÆ GINEVRÆ.

The words Sancti Germini are in another face of the capital, and it is probable that the conjunction et has been lost. The pillars are square and tall, not massive, and the capitals consist merely of an abacus with a row of blocks under it, in evident imitation of the mutules and triglyphs of the Grecian Doric order. In one instance the abacus is large and flat, and ornamented with the peculiar interlaced pattern called Runic; others have mouldings of Roman character, parti-

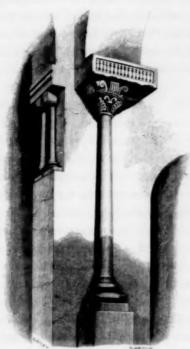


IMPOST OF PIERS, GERMIGNY



IMPOST IN THE TOWER, GERNIGNY.

cularly the ogee and the quirked ogee. The arches are generally round-headed, but some are horse-shoed, and one is pointed, though this seems equally original with the others. The chancel-arch, or rather the arch of the eastern apse, is more ornamented than the rest, having shafts attached to the piers, with moulded bases and sculptured capitals of very peculiar character, approaching more to the Byzantine type than any other.



SHAFT OF THE CHANCEL ARCH, GERMIGNY

The aisles have plain wagon vaults, and the bay nearest to the tower on each side is a story higher than the rest, so that the lower stage of the tower forms a sort of clerestory or lantern to the church. On the first story of the tower are very curious windows, resembling those in the Anglo-Saxon remains. In the upper story the windows are enriched with ornaments worked in plaster, but which appear to be original; the cable-moulding occurs, and a curious pattern incised, resembling Roman work. Some of the imposts have the billet ornament. The shafts are very irregular, and the capitals have foliage of shallow Greek forms; the imposts are square and fluted.

The appearance of the exterior is remarkably pyramidal, the lower part of the tower being inclosed in a sort of clerestory; a plan not unusual in Byzantine churches, but almost peculiar to that style.

There seems every reason to believe that the other churches built by Charle-magne in different parts of France were of the same plan and character as this, although very few of them now remain. The small church of the Holy Cross near Arles is a perfect Byzantine church in remarkably good preservation, and has an inscription of the same period, and I see no good reason to doubt that these inscriptions are genuine, but some of the French antiquaries consider them, both at Germigny and at Arles, as forgeries of the monks, and assert that both churches were built in the eleventh or twelfth century.

TOURNUS.

The next church to which I will call your attention is the very remarkable Abbey Church of Tournus on the Saone, the age of which is much disputed, but which I am inclined to attribute to the eleventh century; it is very irregular, both in plan and in construction, and, so far as I have been able to learn, is perfectly unique. The plan is cruciform, with a tower at the intersection; the choir short, with an apse, an aisle or procession path round it, and three apsidal chapels, which are square instead of being rounded as is usual in France. The transepts are short, with square ends, and each has a square chapel on the east side. The nave is long, with aisles, and is vaulted in a very remarkable manner with a series of barrel vaults placed transversely across each bay, with a window at each end of the barrel or wagon head, instead of being placed longitudinally, according to the usual custom. I believe this is almost the only instance known of this arrangement of the vaults. There is something a little similar in the cathedral of Le Puy, but then it is a series of low cupolas over each bay, and the same arrangement occurs in the remains of the Roman Church of the sixth century at Perigueux, where Roman barrel vaults are carried on arches transversely across the aisles. At Tournus there is a cupola or domical vault under the central tower. At the west end of the nave is a very remarkable galilee or narthex, or large western porch, with a chapel over it. This arrangement is not common, but there are several other instances of it in different parts of France, as at St. Savin and St. Benoit-sur-Loire, where it is a rich work of the twelfth century. In all these cases I believe the upper chapel is dedicated to St. Michael. The two stories of the western porch at Tournus occupy the same height together as the one story of the nave. This work is singularly plain and heavy, and might appear of almost any remote period, but there is scarcely any difference of character between this porch and the nave, and the appearance is rather that of a change of plan during the progress of the work than that one is materially later than the other. It is, however, probable that this porch of two stories formed part of the original design. The capitals both in the nave and the porch are alike, merely plain imposts. The vaults of the western porch are exactly the reverse of those of the nave; the central space has a groined vault; the aisles have the transverse barrel vaults. In the upper part or chapel of St. Michael the central space has a barrel vault longitudinal; the aisles have half-barrel or lean-to vaults. The lower windows of this chapel are merely loop-holes, and have never been glazed; the clerestory windows are plain, round-headed, and are glazed. The vaulting shafts are plain flat pilasters, resting on the imposts of the massive round pillars; the imposts are square in section, with a set-off under them, like two tiles with the edges overlapping, but they are round, following the form of the pillar, with very slight projections, and not square, with projecting corners, as in Roman work. The masonry is of the rudest description, mere rag-work of small stones. There is an inscription in the upper chapel; I could not see it sufficiently well to decipher it, but it seems of early character: the two western towers are open to this chapel, and have no floors. These two towers were originally only one story above the roof of the church, and one remains in its original state; the other has two additional stories, added in the twelfth century, like the central tower. There were originally two staircases from the upper chapel into the aisles of the nave, which are a little wider than those of the galilee. The transepts and the chapels of the choir, with the crypts under them, are of the same rude and early character as the nave; but the central part of the choir, and the crypt under it, are later work, probably of the twelfth century. The cupola belongs to the early work, the tower above it to the later; there is an evident and clumsy junction in the work. The early masonry is wide-jointed, the later fine-jointed. The cupola is a good deal like the oldest at Le Puy. The pillars inclosing the apse of the choir rest upon a dwarf wall, and have well-sculptured capitals of the twelfth century. The central aisle of the crypt also has slender shafts, with richly foliated capitals of the same period. The capitals of the shafts under the cupola are also of the twelfth century, showing that the interior was fitted up and altered at the same time that the exterior was raised. The shafts of the clerestory of the apse

have Roman pilasters between them, some fluted, others ornamented; the archivolts have also Roman ornaments; but the continual use of Roman pilasters in the apse is a well-known provincialism of this part of France, as at Lyons, Vienne, and Geneva.

The procession path, or aisle round the apse, has a barrel vault, the arch ribs of which follow the apse in a singular manner. There are small apsidal chapels on the east side of each transept. The south transept has a good Early-French window of the thirteenth century, with foliated circles in the head, but the rest of the transept belongs to the early work. The north transept is different, and belongs to the later work of the twelfth. There were originally two entrances to the crypt, one from each transept; both are now blocked up, and a new entrance made on the south side of the choir. Chapels of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have been added on the south side of the nave; one of them, of the thirteenth, has the old painting remaining; there is also some painting of the twelfth century in the crypt. The two chapels of the fourteenth century have windows with reticulated tracery and open cusps. The surface of the walls of the nave and towers on the exterior is ornamented with shallow panelling, and a kind of rude zigzag like tiles.

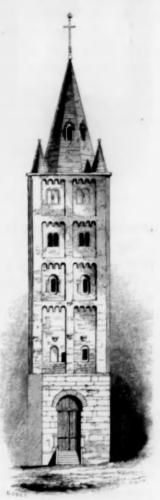
S. MAURICE.

I propose now to call your attention to a few churches in that part of Switzerland which borders upon France, and which formerly belonged to the duchy of Burgundy, and the ancient diocese of Vienne, now in the dioceses of Geneva, Lausanne, and Sion. These churches have been recently described, and their history investigated with much care and research, by M. Blavignac, architect, of Geneva, in a work which does him much credit, and contains many curious and valuable facts, but disfigured by very strange, wild, and fanciful theories, which his facts do not at all support. We are, however, much indebted to him for his work, and I have individually to thank him for much personal courtesy, and for information as to the exact localities of the churches he has described. The first which I will describe, as it furnishes a key to several others, is that of S. MAURICE, on the Upper Rhone, a few miles above the Lake of Geneva, on the road to the pass of the Simplon. The body of the church has been rebuilt, and possesses no interest; but the tower is ancient and very curious. It is built almost entirely of the fragments of some Roman building, and hence, according to the theory of M. Blavignac and others, ought to belong to the fifth or sixth century, and to

be the work of the primitive Christians. But this theory appears to me quite untenable: there is reason to believe, from several incidental notices in contemporary writings, that the early Christians did not destroy the Roman buildings, but purified them, and made use of them; the basilicas, or law courts, being so frequently converted into churches as to have given their name to them, and to have served as the favourite type for Roman churches. These Roman buildings

were destroyed, along with almost every other vestige of civilisation, by the various tribes of barbarians who overran Europe at a subsequent period, and in this part of Switzerland by the Saracens in the tenth century. They did not obtain any permanent hold of the country, and were driven out again by William Count of Provence about 975, or before the end of the tenth century. As soon as the country had time to recover from their devastations, and to return to the arts of peace, the Christian inhabitants began to rebuild their churches. Accordingly, we find the rebuilding of S. Maurice recorded in 1014.

The construction is mere rubble work, and very rude, but it is partly cased with Roman ashlar, and the ornaments consist almost entirely of Roman fragments. The belfry windows are very similar to our Anglo-Saxon windows of two lights, divided by a baluster, supporting a long stone placed transversely through the thickness of the wall, which is very massive, of rubble plastered over. The balusters are chiefly formed of old Roman columns cut in two, using the capital for one, and the base turned upward for the other; and in one instance, at least, making a new capital in rude and clumsy imitation of Roman work. Some of these half columns were too long for their new situation, and one is let into the wall to the depth of two or three feet below the window-sill.



TOWER, S. MAURICE, A.D. 1014; WITH SPIRE, A.D. 1236.



WINDOW IN THE TOWER, S. MAURICE.

The two upper stories of the tower have windows of this character, but the greater part of them have been walled up: a few have been opened, and the capitals found perfect on the balusters in the middle of the thick wall of rubble and plaster. The third story from the top has different windows, single lights, with small openings and large wide arches; they have mostly been altered, but one on the south side is perfect, and very like some of our rude early Saxon windows, which have very probably been copied from this district. There is a straight stone staircase carried up on one side of the tower, evidently original, the lower part being in the thickness of the wall. This was probably before the introduction of newel staircases. It is remarkable that our Saxon towers also have no newel staircases, and are tall and lofty in their

proportions, like these Swiss towers.

The next story below, or the first story from the ground, is vaulted with a plain groined vault, in rude imitation of Roman work.

The windows on this story are larger than those above, but divided by a baluster with a Roman capital in the same manner; and over each of these large windows is a small loop-window in the vaulting.

In each story there is a semicircular recess on one side, as if for an altar; that in the lower story has some painting of the fifteenth century—figures of the Virgin and Child, and two others; showing that this story at least was used as a chapel, and probably the others also. The arches over the windows are formed of stones cut to the size and form of tiles, and arranged in the same manner as an arch formed of tiles.

The exterior of the tower is ornamented with shallow panelling exactly like that at Tournus, and many other towers of the eleventh century. The tower is surmounted by a dwarf spire, with corner pinnacles, evidently an addition of the thirteenth century, and recorded a to have been built by Count Peter of Savoy in 1236, although the exaggerated language of the Chroniclers has led to the confusion of this spire with the whole tower.

^a Monumenta Historiæ Patriæ Scriptorum, t. i. 1840, p. 155; and Burdi, Hist. de St. Sigismund, p. 570.



INTERIOR OF THE SECOND STORY OF THE TOWER, S. MAURICE.

ROMAIN-MOTIER.

The church of Romain-motier is perhaps the finest of this class that we have remaining. It is about a hundred and fifty feet long by thirty wide, including the large western porch or narthex, with S. Michael's chapel over it, as at Tournus. So far as the architectural character only is our guide, it may be of almost any period between the departure of the Romans and the twelfth century. When on the spot I was inclined to attribute it to the eleventh, and still think that a considerable portion of it is probably of that time; but as M. Blavignac informs us that a church was consecrated here in A.D. 753, and there are some portions of the building extremely rude and curious, I am not disposed to dispute that some portion of it is probably of that period. In some parts of the building

there is considerable resemblance to our Anglo-Saxon churches, which gives it additional interest in my eyes.

The part which has retained its original character the most, is the north transept, and the first bay of the choir. The end of the transept has on the exterior the same sort of pilaster strips, or shallow panelling, with the small arcs at the the top of the panels. In the interior the masonry is very rude. It has two segmental arches, and is covered by a barrel vault, with a kind of rude Welsh vaults over the side-windows. At the end of the transept are three small round windows, high up in the wall, and a round-headed window under them. This arrangement is the same as at Cromarsh, near Wallingford, in Berkshire, and several other early churches in England.

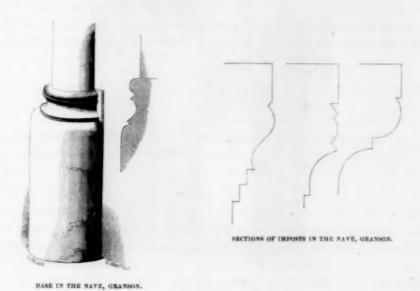
The central tower is carried upon four lofty arches, round, with flat pilasters, and very simple imposts. Over the central space is a plain octagonal vault. The aisles have the usual early vaults, groined without ribs. The nave has a vault of the thirteenth century, a very evident addition; and the eastern bay is of the same period. The first bay of the choir has two small plain arches, divided by a very curious pillar, or small pilaster, of Roman work, a narrow strip of wall, with a shaft attached to each side of it, having capitals of Roman foliage, but either very rude work or mutilated. This is evidently brought from some other building, and is of a different material from the rest of the church. This bay has a plain barrel vault.

The nave has round arches on very massive and rude piers, with clumsy capitals, or rather imposts. The windows in the aisles are very small, and not much splayed. The western porch has a groined vault, and is divided into three aisles; but the arches are walled up. The chapel over it is of the same plan. The vaults are groined; the pilasters of hewn stone, but very rough. The upper chapel, dedicated to St. Michael, is more ornamented than the lower part, and the pillars are lighter; four are round, and two are square, and their capitals ornamented with a rude attempt at sculpture, but very shallow. At the east end is a recess for an altar, with an opening into the church. Westward of this Galilee porch or chapel another porch has been added in the thirteenth century.

GRANSON.

The church of Granson is situated on the bank of the Lake of Neuchatel, and is another instance of the use of the materials of some Roman building; but the work is not so early as in those previously described. The plan is cruciform, with aisles, and a central tower. The nave has very small round arches, quite plain,

carried on tall round pillars, which are evidently Roman work, and are of different lengths, the bases being stilted more or less to accommodate them, and to make them range at the top to receive the arches. The capitals are well sculptured, with bold foliage deeply cut; the greater part are evidently Roman, but some are carved



with figures of different kinds. One has the two horses rampant, back to back, and tied together—an allegorical design very common in the South of France in work of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The vaults are barrel-shaped, carried on arches. The aisles have arches recessed in the walls, carried on pilaster shafts, the capitals of which may be early, but the bases are late, with deep hollows and corner ornaments. The aisle-vaults are a segment of a circle. The central tower is carried on four round arches, on massive square piers, with moulded imposts. The central vault is octagonal and domical, with a round opening in the centre. The upper part of the tower is of the thirteenth century. The first bay of the choir is early work, with a pointed barrel vault, the eastern bay of the thirteenth century, and very like English rude country work. The transepts have the western walls belonging to the old work and the eastern side, of the thirteenth century. The old work is probably of the eleventh.



NAVE, GRANSON.

It would have been easy to have lengthened these notes by extracts or compilations from other books, or by first relating and then answering M. Blavaignac's theories; but his work possesses much sterling value and merit from his laborious investigation and careful collection of facts, which will remain long after his theories are forgotten, and it would be invidious only to appear to find fault with a work to which I have been much indebted. I have preferred simply to confine myself to my own brief notes made upon the spot in each instance.

I remain, my Lord,

With much respect,

Your very obedient Servant,

J. H. PARKER.

XVIII. Some Account of the Possessions of the Abbey of Malmesbury, in North Wilts, in the days of the Anglo-Saxon Kings; with Remarks on the Ancient Limits of the Forest of Braden. By John Yonge Akerman, Secretary.

Read February 19, 1857.

At the commencement of the present session I had the honour of communicating to the Society some remarks on land limits, appended to a charter of King Athelstan to the Abbey of Malmesbury, the result of a personal survey of Kemble and Ewen, in the northern extremity of the county of Wilts. The success of my investigations on that occasion encouraged me to pursue my researches still further, and to attempt, during the recess, an identification of the possessions of that early religious establishment prior to the Norman Conquest. I exhibit a map (Plate VI.) on which I have marked the ancient and modern names.

The purport of the following remarks being simply a review of what land was held by the abbey, it will not be expected that I should dwell on its early history; but I may here observe that there appears sufficient foundation for the story given by Leland from an old chronicle of the monastery, which states that Malmesbury was originally called Bladun, and that the Saxons gave it the name of Ingelbourne: nor can we deny that it had been the residence of a British king, although we may fairly question his being "the eighteenth from Brute." Neither can it be disputed that the neighbouring village of Brokenborough was once a royal residence, and known in earlier times as Caidurburgh. A visit to that remarkable spot will satisfy the inquirer that it was once a position of importance, and, like Malmesbury and Tetbury, by nature well adapted for the site of an ancient fortress. The peasantry of the neighbourhood have a tradition that "Brokenborough is a hundred years older than Malmesbury," and numerous coins of the Lower Empire, found in the fields around it, attest its ancient occupation, while the lane leading to it by Back Bridge affords perhaps at this day one of the most perfect examples of the roads by which our ancestors were wont to travel.

The following exhibits the possessions of the Abbey after the Norman Conquest:—

Name in the Domesday Survey.			Modern Name.						Assessed in the reign of Edward the Confessor at			
1.	Hiwei .		*			Highway					11	hides.a
2.	Dantesie .					Dantsey					10	**
3.	Sumreford	0				Somerford	Kayr	ies		4	5	91
4.	Brecheorde					Brinkworth	h				5	11
5.	Nortone .					Norton					5	33
6.	Brocheneberge					Brokenboro	ough				50	**
7.	Chemele .					Kemble					30	**
8.	Newentone	ø				Long New	enton				30	"
9.	Cerletone					Charlton					20	"
10.	Gardone .					Garsdon	0				3	**
11.	Credvelle					Crudwell					40	11
12.	Breme .					Bremhill					38	91
13.	Piritone .					Purton					35	99
			Present	ing s	a tot	al of .	٠		۰	. :	282	hides.

We shall now see how this extensive property was successively acquired, and what proportion it bears to the possessions of the Abbey under the Anglo-Saxon dynasty.

The grants to the Abbey of Malmesbury by the Anglo-Saxon Kings, nobles, prelates, and others, taken in chronological order, are as follows:—

^a As some misapprehension exists as to the term hide, no apology will be required for the following remarks on its real signification, taken from Mr. Kemble's "Saxons in England," book i. ch. iv.

"The ordinary Anglo-Saxon words are, higid (in its contracted and almost universal form, hid) and hiwise. The Latin equivalents which we find in the chronicles and charters are, familia, cassatus, mansus, mansa, mansio, manens, and terra tributarii. The words hid and hiwise are similar, if not identical, in meaning; they stand in close etymological relation to higan, hivan, the family, the man and wife, and thus perfectly justify the Latin terms familia and cassatus, by which they are translated. The hid then, or hide of land, is the estate of one household, the amount of land sufficient for the support of one family. It is clear, however, that this could not be an invariable quantity, if the households were to be subsisted on an equal scale; it must depend upon the original quality and condition of the soil, as well as upon manifold contingencies of situation, climate, aspect, accessibility of water and roads, abundance of natural manures, proximity of marshes and forests—in short, an endless catalogue of varying details."

Those who will take the trouble to compare some of the land-limits recited in the following pages with the accompanying map will not fail to subscribe to the soundness of the writer's views on the subject of the hide.

- 1. BISHOP LIUTHARI. Aug. 26, 675. Codex Dipl. No. XI.—This charter is granted to Aldhelm, the presbyter, at the solicitation of certain Abbots. The gift appears to have included the ground on which the Abbey and its appurtenances afterwards rose. It has been supposed that the town at this time belonged to Liuthari.
- 2. Coenfrith, Earl of Mercia. Anno 680. Anglia Sacra, tom. II. p. 10.— This nobleman, the near kinsman of Æthelred, gives "quandam telluris particulam Venerabili Abbati Aldhelmo sub æstimatione x. cassatorum in loco qui dicitur Wudutun."
- 3. ÆTHELRED OF MERCIA. Anno 681. Codex Dipl. No. XXII.—By this charter "xv. cassatos prope Tectan monasterium" are given by the King to the brethren of Meldunesburg, but the gift appears, in reality, to be that of Coenfrith in the same year.
- 4. ÆTHELRED OF MERCIA. Anno 681. Codex Dipl. No. XXIII.—Aethlred, at the request of his kinsman, Coenfrith, endows the Abbey with "xxx. cassatos ab occidentali parte stratae publicae, et non longe in alio loco quindecim, prope Tectan monasterium." The latter is, however, apparently a confirmation of the grant of Coenfrith.

The land limits here added, are taken from the Codex Dipl. iii. p. 374, but I have not been able to trace their connection with the grant, and unfortunately the reference is omitted. The mention of "Charlton juxta Tetbury" would leave us to infer that it was the village near that town, but the occurrence of Hanekynton (Hankerton) north-east of Malmesbury, shows which Charlton is intended.

Hii sunt termini terrae de Cherltone. Inprimis a loco qui dicitur Totleie directe per viam usque quiccaeleyen versus aquilonem; et ex inde versus meridiem usque la done; usque la notte stokke; et ab eodem usque cweok ende; et ab illo loco usque Oddeburne, videlicet, ad le crundle; et tunc per filum aquae vel cursum usque ad waldes-forde; et sic directe per viam usque ceasterbroke; et tunc per cursum aquae usque la hide; et ab eodem versus occidentem ultra montem usque scorte slade; et tunc directe per amnem usque cucwan welle; et ab eodem fonte usque le niwe heme woodeweye; et sic per viam directe usque ad metam de Hanekyntone versus meridiem; et tunc ab eadem meta usque sondheye; et ab eodem usque ad boscum inter duo clausa; et sic per quandam viam directe usque le brandestokke; et ab eodem usque le hælde rode in parte aquilonari del perer; et ab illo loco directe per viam usque ad locum primo scriptum, scilicet, Tollere. (sic.)

Rubric. Quomodo Æ8elredus Rex contulit Aldelmo abbati et Meldunensi coenobio Newentone et Cherletone juxta Tetteburi.

Codex Dipl. tom. iii. p. 374.

^a In Dugdale, as well as in Tanner, we find this town called Wudecim. In the former it is given as the name of an individual!

- 5. Caedwealha of Wessex. Aug. Anno 682. Codex Dipl. No. XXIV.— This king gave land on either side the wood called Kemele, comprising thirty-two cassates. The land limits have not come down to us, but, as we shall hereafter perceive, the grant included the wood of Flusrugge, or, as it is now called, Flisterage.
- 6. Berhtwald. July 30, 685. Codex Dipl. No. XXVI.—This king gave to Aldhelm forty cassates on the eastern bank of the stream called Thames, at the ford called Somerford, now Somerford Kaynes.
- 7. Caeduuealha of Wessex. Aug. 19, 688. Codex Dipl. No. XXIX.—A grant to Aldhelm of land "ex utraque parte silvae cujus vocabulum est Kemele, de orientali plaga termini stratarum, usque famosum amnem qui dicitur Temis, c. et xl. manentes; et in alio loco xxx. de orientali parte siluae Bradon."
- 8. Ini of Wessex. Anno 701. Codex Dipl. No. XLVIII. A grant to Aldhelm and his monastery comprises 45 cassates in the following places, namely,

v. manentes in loco qui dicitur Gersdun; et

xx. ,, ubi rivulus qui Corsaburn oritur; et

x. ,, in alio loco juxta eundem rivulum; et

x. ,, juxta laticem qui vocatur Reodburna.

- 9. CUTHRAED OF WESSEX. Anno 745. Codex Dipl. No. XCIV.—This grant by Cuthraed, who is styled "Rex Gewissorum," is made, "Aldhelmo familiæque," with the approbation of the Bishop Daniel. It comprises ten mansiones at Uudetun, in after times called Wootton Bassett.
- 10. CYNEWULF OF WESSEX. Anno 758. Codex Dipl. No. CIII.—This charter gives xxx. manentes at Meardaen* and Reodburn; "Haec est ubi se duo latices iunguntur Meardaeno et Reodburna, et in circuitu eorum, quemadmodum ipsi incolae bene nosce dinoscuntur terminos et limites locorum illorum, nec non et villam cui subiacent, pascua, prata, arida, irrigua, simul et silvestria loca."
- 11. Ecgfrith. Anno 796. Codex Dipl. No. CLXXIV.—In the first year of his reign, Ecgfrith, King of Mercia, at the request of Beorhtric, King of the West Saxons, and Athelhard the Archbishop, gives to the Abbot Cuthbeorht, and the brethren of the Abbey of Malmsbury, xxxv. manentes, in the place called "Aet Piertean," on the east side of the forest called Braden, as an expiatory offering

^{*} The state of this district is described in the Cartulary of the Abbey of Malmesbury, MS. Cott. Faustina, B. fol. 202, "De Campo vocato Mordone."

b This name is corrupted to Empirigeam in Dugdale and Tanner.

for himself and for the repose of the soul of his father Offa, who when living had taken them from the abbey."

This boundary commences at a rivulet called "Lortinges Bourne," but wherever this was situated its name at least is no longer known to the inhabitants of the district. "Teowes Thorne" and "Hermodes Thorne" have alike disappeared in the inclosures. "Hassukes Moor" is not noticed in the Ordnance Survey, but in the Map of Andrews and Dury, we find Hacksmore, a little to the north of Woodward's Bridge. The boundary then extends to an ancient ditch, and thence to the "richsbed," from which it proceeds to the stream called "Worfe." From this stream it extends to "the Steorte," and thence to "the Wythy" and "Helves Thorne," of which no traditions exist. Nor is "the Westaple" remembered, but it seems probable that "Butlesleve" is the spot where Butslake farm now stands. "Wrkeleye," "Brokouere," and "the pinne or penne," are no longer to be distinguished, but "Crokrigge" is, in all probability, the locality now called Cockride, or Cockroad, an obvious corruption of its real name. On a visit to the spot I found evident traces of ancient potteries, for which the depth of fine clay and the abundance of wood rendered the site eligible. From Crokrigge the boundary proceeds to the brook called Woburn, and thence to the ditch which reaches "Wlfmere," by the apple-tree as far as "la freynne," and so to "Calofurcia" and "Appeldore Selewyke." From thence it proceeds to the "Wetherstocke," and then to the ash-tree beyond "Gustingleye," and from Gustingleye to the road northward to the rivulet first named, Lortinges Bourne.

In uilla de Puritone xxxv. terrae sunt, et hii sunt termini terrae eiusdem. Inprimis a loco qui dicitur Lortinges bourne usque teowes b porne; et ab eodem loco usque Hermodes porne; et ab eodem usque blakemere; et ab illo loco usque hassukes more; et ab eodem uersus aquilonem usque ad fossatum quod appellatur olde dich; et per illud fossatum directe usque richsbed; et ab eodem usque ad aquam quae uocatur Worfe; et sic directe per aquam usque la steorte; et ab illo loco usque la wyðie; et ab eodem usque helues porne; et ab illo loco usque la est, in principio; et ab illo loco usque la pinne uel penne; et ab eodem usque crokrigge; et ab illo loco usque Woburne; et ab eodem usque fossatum quod extendit se in Wlfmere; et ab illo loco usque in appeldore usque ad la freynne; et sic ab eodem usque ad Calofurcia; et ab illo loco usque in appeldore selewyke; et ab eodem usque weðerstocke; et ab eodem usque le esc ultra Gustingleye; et de Gustingleye usque la rode uersus aquilonem; et ab eodem rode usque ad locum primo scriptum, videlicet, Lortinges bourne.

Cod. Dipl. tom. iii. p. 387, and Add. MS. Brit. Mus. No. 15667, p. 33.

a "-et pro requie anime patris mei Offan, quam ille vivens abstulit eis."

^b In Add. MS. No. 15,667 "teothes."

e In Add. MS. No. 15,667 "Lawestapele."

12. ÆTHELWLF OF WESSEX. Anno 844. Codex Dipl. No. CCLV.—Gives "v. mansiunculas in loco qui dicitur Mintih." No land-limits are added, which is to be regretted, as they would doubtless have shed much light on other boundaries.

13. ÆTHELWLF OF WESSEX. Nov. 5, 844. Codex Dipl. No. MXLVIII.—This charter confirms previous grants, which are thus alluded to:—"Dæt is at Ellendüne" brity hýde, and æt Elmhämstede fýftene hýde, æt Wttüne tien hýde, et Cherltûne tuentig hýde, et Mynty uīf hýde, at Rōdburne tien hýde."

14. ETHELWLF OF WESSEX. Anno 850. Codex Dipl. No. CCLXIII.—For the good of his soul, and as an expiation of his sins, Aethelwlf gives "decem mansiones, in loco qui dicitur Dometesis," an error of the scribe for Domecesige (Dantsey).

Professor Leo supposes Domecesige received its name from its having been the island of judicial duels; but this interpretation is at variance with etymological construction. Domecesige is simply the river island owned by an individual named Domec. I have endeavoured, but in vain, to trace the following boundaries, the line of which commences with Domecesige and proceeds to the Idover, which appears also to have been called the Avon. May we suppose that the locality "strenges buryeles" is that now known as "Stranger's Farm?"

Hii sunt termini terrae de Damices eye. Uidelicet primo a loco qui nocatur Damices eye directe per Auene usque Wodebrigge; et ab eodem loco usque strenges buryeles; et ab eodem loco directe per fossatum quod appellatur holde diche usque Budegete; et ab eodem loco usque ad locum quod appellatur hebene burieles; et ab eodem loco usque ad grete hames sub hele; et ab eodem usque ad quoddam lignum quod appellatur grete treve; et sic ultra clytes combe usque le stanclyf; et ab eodem loco directe per quendam locum qui appellatur le egge usque ad locum qui dicitur scufan borwe; et ab eodem loco usque ad fontem qui appellatur swynes welle; et ab eodem fonte usque hayeleye gate; et ab eodem loco directe in Dameces eye borne buye; et ab eodem loco usque le rigweye, uidelicet super le hebene burieles; et ab eodem usque ad le wyby bed, uidelicet ad eundem locum qui appellatur heued aker hende; et sic ab eodem loco usque le apeldore stoc; et ab eodem usque Auene, uidelicet ad locum qui dicitur le syche; et ab eodem loco directe per Auene circa locum primo nominatum, uidelicet Dameces eye.

Hii sunt termini prati quod uocatur Swanhammes mede quod pertinet ad Damices eye. Primo a quodam loco qui uocatur torre qui jacet in parte occidentali eiusdem prati usque ad spinam quae appellatur ayporne a midewarde; et ab eadem spina usque ad riuulum qui dicitur Ydouere, uidelicet contra le holde garanne; et sic directe per Ydouere usque le blake pole; et ab eodem loco usque ad

a The more ancient name of Wilton.

b "The Idover at Dauntesey, of good note in Smithfield, which sends as fatt cattle to Smythfield as any place in the nation." Aubrey, Nat. Hist. of Wiltshire, 4to. Lond. 1847, p. 37.

quandam petram recte contra le ellarne; et sic ab eadem petra directe per uiam usque ad locum primo nominatum, uidelicet la torre.—Cod. Dipl. Tom. iii. p. 392.

15. ÆTHELWLF OF WESSEX. April 22, 854. Codex Dipl. No. CCLXXI.—This is a release of royal dues in the places hereafter named, i. e. Purton, Cwacot, Sutton, Corsaburn, Crudwell, Kemble, and Dantsey. The instrument was subscribed at Wilton at the time of Easter.

These places are thus referred to:—" per is pat erest æt Pirigtune, fif and prittig hyda, æt Cwacot fiftine hyda, æt Suðtune fif, æt Corsaburnan fif hyda, æt Criddanwylle tien hyda, æt Cemele tien hyda, æt Domeccesige priddehalf hiwisc."

16. ÆTHELWLF. Anno 854. Codex Dipl. No. CCLXXIII.—In the same year, "partem terræ Gewisorum, hoc est v mansiones—in loco qui dicitur Toccanham," were given by Æthelwulf to the monastery. I can find no land limits to this grant in the Cartularies.

17. Aelfred. Codex Dipl. No. CCCXXI.—A charter of this king, without date, gives to his faithful servant Dudig, and three heirs after him—"ut habeat atque possideat dies suos et post se tribus haeredibus quibuscunque voluerit dimittat—iiii^{or} cassatorum," but the locality is not mentioned: this, however, is supplied by the following.

18. Ordlaf. Anno 901. Codex Dipl. No. CCCXIX.—By this instrument Ordlaf gives to the monastery of Malmesbury the four cassates at Ceolwur's, which he had inherited from Dudig, in exchange for five cassates in Mehhandun.

The inclosures have here obliterated the landmarks mentioned in these limits, which, however, are shewn to be bounded on the north by the "Via Regia," or road to Malmesbury, as far as "Kemel gete." The little meadow called "Sunder" is now known as "the Little Sindram."

Termini terrae de Chelwrőe. Inprimis a loco qui appellatur Prestemere usque bradon weye; et ab eodem usque Colesleye; et ab illo loco usque ad deyburteh; et sic usque etinges hæle versus meridiem; et ab eodem per wrőwelaue versus meridiem usque Eadbeldinges leye; et sic usque Chelewrőe; et ibi stat quidam truncus ex opposito in occidentali parte de leye; et ab eodem per metam versus meridiem ultra boscum usque ad fossatum; et per illud fossatum usque ad viam regiam quae tendit de Kemele gete; et sic usque ad spinam quae stat inferius in australi parte de Tauesdene in valle; et sic usque etinges heale praeter unam acram; item xii. acrae iacent ex parte occidentali de Kemele gete quae pertinet ad Chelewrőe; et x. acrae quae iacent in crisiten more; et vi. in valle quae apellatur lasse dale, iiii. in loco qui appellatur inare; et in loco qui appellatur sunder in orientali parte de Crudewelle jacet quaedam parva terra quae quidem est communis cum terra de Cruddewelle et terra de Escote.

Rubric. De Chelewree quam Ordlaf Meldunensi coenobio largitus est licentia gloriosissimi regis Eadwardi pro commutatione terrae de Mehhandun.—Cod. Dipl. App. vol. iii. p. 406. The charter of Abbot Walter, here given, is curious for the names of places which occur in it, especially for the allusion to the Chapel of Chelworth, which at that period was in ruins.

Carta Abbtis Walti facta Thome filio Witti de quadam terra in man io de Creddewelle.

Omnib; x1 fidelib; ad quos psens scriptum puen it. Waltus di gracia abb; Malm et eiusdem loci quentus salm in dño. Nou it universitas uña nos gcessisse, dedisse, et hac psenti carta confirmasse, Thổ fit Witti et fiedib; suis p homagio suo et seruicio totam rram q Witts par suus tenuit in man io nro de Credewelle die que obiit; candem, scit quam dictus Thomas tenuit post obitum pris sui: videt in campo de Chelewrdem usus occidentem xxxts.vj. ac"s; in alio campo vsus orientem x"liji ; cum crofta sr quam des Witts edificauit et bencrofta et Migyhei ; cu viij. ac's in Esthemefeld, cum dimidia uirgata tre quam Brithtwy tenuit in Credehemefeld; et cum paruo Hamme de pato iuxta morcotehaued; cum t'b; acris de Bekeseswelle que fuerunt cambite pro crofta Brithwy; cû trib; acris in Credemore ptinent ad Rofleslant. In Credehemfelde. Prefea totam Roflesland in Credehemfelde, scit quinq dimid uigat tre et illam croftam integre que est ante portam dicti Thom in Choelewrde quam reginalds quondam positus tenuit. Et una acram prati in Credemore que wodeaker appellatur. Et ună g"uă cum crofta infiscente iuxta boscum n\(\tilde{r}\) m de Flusrig\(\tilde{g}\) q\(\delta\) m Wlwy tenuit sicut eam d\(\tilde{c}\) Thome certis limitib; assignauim\(^9\), scilicet cum fossato quod sepat boscum nim de flusrigg a predicta grana et crofta, et cum haya que sepat agrum sationalem usus austrum a pdicta graua et crofta, et sicut diuise demonstrant que diuidunt pratu nim de Medleye a pdica graua. Ita qd dictus Thom et nedes sui habeant liberum ingressum et egressum in gauam sua et a gaua sua p uiam que est in bosco não de Flusrigg iuxta domú que fuit Ric Hubert que sumerwey appellatur: Tenenda s' et nedibus suis de nob et successorib; nris: Reddendo inde annuatim quatuor solidos et vj. den ad festum sci Michaelis, et ad festu sĉi Andree vij denarios et ob de Hundredselu, et ad festum sĉi Petri ad uincla vnū denar sci Petri, p omni suicio, qsuetudine et demanda, saluo regali seruicio ptinente ad libum sacagium quantum ad unam hida fre. Nos uo dicto Thom et hedibus suis totam dictam fram warātizabimus contra omnes hoïes. Tenebuntq dictus Thom et heredes sui totam Pdictam Pram p pdictum seruicium, hoditarie, libere et quiete, in uiis, in semitis, in edificiis, in aquis, in pastris, in omibi libtatibi, et cum omibi ptinenciis, exceptis particulis subsciptis. Quibi dictus Thom p concessione et donatione predicta renunciauit p se et heredibus suis: scit duab; croftis que sunt apud fractam capellam de Chelewrdem ex parte occidentali que Churchcroftes appellantur; et una graua iuxta Chelwrdem cum prato adiacente que Ermegraua appellatur; et uno pato apid Creddewelle cum domo adiacente quod horscroft appellatur; et exceptis nris dñicis pasturis. Omni autem iuri et clamo quod dictus Thom dicebat se hre in exceptis particulis pscriptis, in plena curia n\(\tilde{r}\)a ppetuo renunciauit. Et easdem sacramento corporatr pstito abiurauit et quietas clamauit. Cartas eciam quas inde habuit nobis et domui nre p se et fiedib; suis reddidit. Hec ut rata sint et firma, hanc cartam fecimo et sigillis nris signauimo. Hiis testibo etca.

a Walter Camme, who succeeded Simon de Aumeny, who died in A.D. 1360.

b From the cartulary in the Stone Tower of Westminster, fol. Cxlvij.

19. Eadweard. Anno 901. Codex Dipl. No. CCCXXXIII.—This monarch gave to the Monastery x. cassates in Hanekyntone, in exchange for an equivalent at Fearnberngas, which Mr. Kemble conceives to be Farmborough, in Somersetshire. The reason assigned for this interchange is that the first-named land is situated at a distance of two miles only from Malmesbury, while the latter is distant nearly twenty miles.

20. ÆTHELSTAN. Anno 931. Codex Dipl. No. CCCLV.—The lands mentioned in this charter, namely, v. mansas at Northun, v. mansas at Somerford, and the same number at Æwilme, escheated to the Crown by the treachery of Aelfred, a Wiltshire noble, who had designed seizing Æthelstan on his succession to the throne, and depriving him of his sight. The event is narrated by William of Malmesbury, and is recited at length in this instrument. An account of the land-limits of Æwilme will be found in my communication to the Society in 1856, Archæologia, vol. XXXVII. Those of Norton are given below.

The Rev. Canon Jackson, Vicar of Norton and Leigh Delamere, kindly informs me that he has often tried to identify the old with the modern names in the former parish, and has only partly succeeded. "Mag&e forde" is now known as Maidford, one of the principal farm-houses. "Ellerne stubbe" still survives in Elstub, the name of a field on the boundary of the parish. "Kingweye" is the name of an old roadway now terminating in fields, and this shows at once the difficulties which must be encountered in any endeavour to trace the boundaries of these early grants of land, the inclosures having obliterated ancient designations and in some instances even highways. "Strata" is obviously the Acman Street, the south-western boundary of the grant.

Hii sunt termini quinque hidarum in uilla de Nortone. Imprimis a loco qui appellatur fougelmere, directe per stratam usque smale weye; et ab eadem uia usque walderes welle; et ab eodem fonte directe per cursum aquae usque le mere acre; et sic usque lasse dene su's eke; et ab eodem eke usque smale weye; et sic directe per uiam usque lange forlange; et sic uersus meridiem per le heuedlande usque le ellerne stubbe; et ab eodem usque burhweye; et sic ab eadem uia usque culuerthorne; et ab eadem spina per pratum usque kyngweye; et ab eadem uia directe usque luderston; et sic uersus occidentem directe per uiam usque mag'e forde; et ab eodem usque bading mede; et ab eodem prato usque gurwe slade; et sic directe per uallem usque ad fossatum; et a fossato directe usque ad spinam quae stat in Ysendone; et ab eadem spina per hides edisc; et sic per sulcum directe usque pirdes welle; et sic directe per uallem usque ad locum primo scriptum, scilicet, foulmere.

Cod. Dipl. tom. iii. p. 407.

^a The Elder stub, or trunk, is an object often mentioned in A. S. boundaries. It gives the name to the hundred of Elstub and Everley, in Wilts.

21. ÆTHELSTAN. Dec. 21, 935. Codex Dipl. No. CCCLXVII.—A grant of ten cassates in the place called Wudutun.

22. Eadwig. Anno 956. Codex Dipl. No. CCCCLX.—This king gives to the Monastery, "in honore Aldelmi Paterni que aliorum sanctorum quorum reliquiae ibidem venerantur, centum mansas in Brokeneberegge."

This is an important and extensive grant. By comparing it with the map we shall be able to comprehend its limits, although it is not possible at this time to recognise all the localities named in it. It will be seen that it commences where the rivulet Corsbrook falls into the Avon, including Starkley, near Rodbourne. Proceeding northward, its course is by the Fosse, or Acman Street, to the stream of the Inglebourne, now known as Newnton Water, above Malmesbury; then again by the Fosse to "Chegghemwlles broke," and by that stream again by the Fosse up to the southern boundary of Cemele. Thence by a lane or "small weie" to the "cruddesetene mere," to the high road on the south of Chelworth, to Primwaldes Pit, on the confines of Eastcot, as far as Braden brook, on the western boundary of the Forest of Braden. Thence by the course of the small streams Woburne and Garesbourne, skirting the Forest of Braden, formerly Orwoldes Wood, for about three miles. Continuing its course southward it reaches the stream Idover, above Dantsey, and finally ends at the river Avon. The political events of the short reign of the unhappy prince will explain the motives that influenced him to bestow upon the monks of Malmesbury so valuable a gift, which enabled them to join house to house and land to land, and thus fuse into one compact territory a vast portion of the northern district of Wiltshire.

Hii sunt termini terræ de Bokeneberge. Inprimis ab orientali parte et australi ubi amnis qui Corsbrok uocatur cadit in ripariam de Auene inter Somerford et enne pol; ab eodem termino per eundem directe amnem de Corsbrok usque ad metam fossati quae dich appellatur; ab eodem fossato citra sterkele usque beucumbe; ab eo usque smale brok; ab eo directe per echerelmeres imere usque Cleygate; ab eo directe per stratam publicam usque kingwei; et ab eo directe usque hegforlong a parte orientali; ab eo usque ad metam super Doddinges doune; ab eo usque Corsbrok; ab eodem amne directe usque Haywardes hamme; ab eo usque ad uiam; et per eandem directe uiam usque kyngweie; et per eandem uiam usque ad metam quae dich, hoc est fossatum, appellatur; ab eo usque Caudel mere; ab eo usque Wolfinges lewe; ab eo directe usque ad piriun; ab eo ultra Pleies wröe usque tobulle; a parte occidentali usque Cliue; et ab eo continue usque ad amnem; et per eundem amnem usque Stretforde ultra Totele; ab eo directe per stratam publicam quae ab antiquis Stret nunc Fos nuncupatur usque ad alteram Stretforde sub bubbe porne ad aquam quae Ingelbourne appellatur;

a The Acman Street is, in the Cartularies, often called Bathway—" strata publica que appellatur Batheweye." Carta Johis Bubbe fca Abbati et Conventum de Malm'. MS. Lansd. 417, fol. 182 b.

et per eandem aquam directe usque ad Ciddemore; ab eo usque Morewelle; ab eo a parte orientali et australi usque ad blake borne; ab eo per capita iugerum directe usque Wolgeres imere; et ab eo a parte australi per metas usque wincrondel; ab eo usque Elfheyes putte; ab eo usque Lutle borne; ab eo a parte australi per stratam publicam de Fosse usque ad metas quae sunt de terra dominica per capita iugerum usque Estmondestone; ab eo directe a parte boreali de saltherpe usque la slade; ab eo usque la pulle; a parte boreali usque ad Ellerne; ab eo usque dich gerstone; et per eundem fossatum processu continuo usque Chegghemwlles broke; et per eundem riuulum usque la dene; ab eo usque ad stratum publicam; et per eandem processu continuo usque Kemeles hage; et ab eo usque la smale weie; et per eandem uiam usque cruddesetene imere directe per uiam majorem quae extenditur usque ad fossatum a parte australi de Chelewroe; ab eo per eundem fossatum usque Wodeforde processu continuo usque ad medium prati de Medlege; ab eo usque in Stanlege; ab eo usque in Etingeheles ex parte australi; ab eo processu continuo usque Deigetez heie; ab eo usque Colesleie processu continuo usque Trindlege; et ab eo directe per sepem usque Bradelege; et a Bradeleges heie in grauerugge a parti australi; et ab eo processu continuo per uallem usque wikkedich; et ab eo per sulcus aratri in altum sulcantis usque smele weye; et per candem uiam usque Primocaldes putte; et ab eo usque ad Crudeham wlles lake; et per eundem riuum usque ad medium de Pohamlege; et ab eo usque la sloge, ab eo usque de la dich; et per eundem fossatum continue usque wideres cumbe; ab eo usque Bradene broke; et per eundem amnem usque Ederelflede imere progressu continuo usque wite gete; ab eo usque Boreglege; ab eo usque stretpen; ab eo usque ad metam quae appel-born nuncupatur; et ab eodem ligno pomifero per stratam publicam usque Woubourne; et per eandem aquam progressu continuo usque Geresbourne; et per eundem amnem directo progressu usque Ordwoldes wode quod modo Bradene appellatur; et per idem nemus ad tria circiter miliaria usque ad metam quæ holehoke appellatur; et ab eo per metas usque Lindebourne; et ab eo usque ad Bedhamhamme ad usque idoure; et per eandem continue aquam usque limesule; et ita per stratam usque Coueres giet; ab eo usque sondheie; ab eo usque ad metam de la scete quousque ueniat usque dich; et sic per eundem fossatum usque in alueum aquae de Auene.

Infra memoratos terrarum terminos est terra quae data fuit ad monachos Maldumesburgi uestiendos xxxii. hidas continens quae ante tempus regis Eadwii eisdem ad uestituram collata fuerat Et hii sunt termini x. hidarum pertinentium ad manerium de Brokeneberge quae sunt de centum hidis nominatis. Hoc est de Suttone. Imprimis ubi meta quae Raheie uocatur extenditur usque Cutelwlle; et ab eo usque merebrok; et per eundem riuum usque in Auene; ab eo directe per alueum aquae processu continuo usque ad segmede a parte orientali usque Brodewulle.

Cod. Dipl. tom. iii. p. 446.

23. EADGAR. Anno 974. Codex Dipl. No. DLXXXIV.—The ten manentes at Eastcotun given by Eadgar are stated to have been unjustly possessed by one E%elno%.

These land-limits commence at Primewaldes Pit, a place mentioned in the charter of Eadwig, and run northward to the locality still called the Inlands, between Chelworth and Crudwell, then eastward, by the mere, as far as the highway, to Notgrove, a field which still retains its name. Thence by the "wur-

welaue" to the little brook, and so by the stream to the "foul slowe;" then by the road up to the green way on the heath (Bruere), which appears to be the Green Lane within the manor of Minety. Then to "the old way," and so by the middle of the hanger as far as "wynes leye," and thence to Hykemores stream, a rivulet which retains its ancient name. Proceeding by this stream the boundary reaches Haylwyrtheslow, then running westerly by Braden Brook it successively reaches "the great withy," "the foule slo," and other land marks, which, since the inclosures, we can scarcely expect to identify. It then proceeds in a westerly direction to "cruddemeres lake," and so by the lake to the "Sunderhamme" (now called the Little Sindrams), towards the west by the little stream (rise), then northward as far as the old ditch, and thence reached the place first named, i.e. Primwaldes Pit.

Hii sunt termini de Escote. Inprimis a loco Primewaldes putte uersus aquilonem usque le mereweye; et ab illo loco directe per uiam usque le inlonde; et tunc uersus orientem per le inlondes mero usque braden uel brode weye in parte aquilonari, uidelicet, ad note grave; et ab eodem per wurwelaue usque smale broke; et sic per amnem directe usque foule slowe; et ab eodem per uiam usque contra uiridem uiam de la bruere, et tunc uersus meridiem usque le olde weye; et sic per medium hangre usque wynes leye; et ab eodem usque hykemeres streme; et sic per filum aquae haylwyr&eslew; et tunc uersus occidentem per bradene broke usque le grete wy&ye; et ab eodem usque le foule slo; et ab illo loco uersus meridiem usque in le olde dich; et ab eodem directe per fossatum usque le deope slo; et ab eodem usque le olde weye; et tunc per eandem uiam usque pohanleye, uidelicet, in medio; et ab eadem leye, uidelicet, a parte australi uersus occidentem usque ad fossatum; et ab eodem fossato uersus occidentem usque cruddemores lake; et sic per la lake directe usque Sunderhamme; et tunc ex parte australi illius pratelli quod appellatur &e sou&er hamme directe uersus occidentem per la ri&e per spacium unius forlong; et per capita illius forlong directe uersus aquilonem usque le olde dich; et ab eodem fossato per les akeres heueden usque ad locum primoscriptum, scilicet, Primewaldes putte.—Cod. Dipl. tom. iii. p. 467.

- 24. ÆLFHEAH. 965—975. Codex Dipl. No. DXCIII.—Ælfheah, by his will, bequeaths land to the Churches of Bath and Winchester, "and &æra twæntiga hida at Ceorlatunæ into Mealdælmæs byrig."
- 25. ÆTHELRED. Anno 982. Codex Dipl. No. DCXXXII.—Ethelred, by this charter, gives to Christ and his Mother the Virgin, and the blessed St. Aldhelm, ten manentes at Rodbourne. The land limits are thus described:—

Inprimis a loco qui appellatur Rodburne usque fegeran thorne; et ab eadem spina directe per la ribe per sceorte leye; et sic per la forches usque Sandweye; et eadem via usque sceorte grave; et per sceorte graue usque le wibybedde; et ab eodem usque le hebene buryels, vel buriwell; et sic super Rolidone; et ab eodem monte usque le lever bedde, in beuedone; et ab eodem loco usque

Coresbrok; et per Coresbrok usque in Avene; et per Avene usque henne pole; et ab henne pole usque le rive burne; et ab eodem usque ad locum primo scriptum, scilicet, fegeram porne. Cod. Dipl. vol. iii. p. 187.

26. Eadweard. Anno 1065. Codex Dipl. No. DCCCXVII.—This charter is a confirmation, reciting the possessions of the Abbey in the year previous to the Norman Conquest.

Subscribimus enim nomina terrarum et nomina eorum qui eas aecclesiae fideli deuotione contulerunt. Inprimis Newentuna ex dono Ædelredi regis, terra est xxx. hydarum sita ab occidentali parte strate publicae quae Fossa nominatur. Item Kemele, terra est xxx. hydarum, quarum iiiier sunt in Chellewrda; hanc terram dedit Aldhelmo abbati Ceadwalla rex; sita est in orientali plaga stratae publicae supranominatae. Item Pirituna, terra est xxxv. hidarum de orientali parte siluae quae dicitur Bradon; hanc dedit Chedwalla rex Aldhelmo abbati. Item Creddewilla, terra est xl. hidarum, de ista terra est Eastcotun, Honekynton, Morcotun; terram istam dedit Ædelwlfus rex christianissimus.

Item eadem aecclesia tenet Cheorletuna, terra est xx. hidarum; hanc dedit idem rex Ædelwlfus. Item Dometesig, terra est x. hidarum; hanc dedit idem rex Ædelwlfus. Item eadem aecclesia tenet Wdetun, terra est x. hidarum sita intra siluam Bradon; hanc dedit Ædelstanus rex uenerabilis aecclesiae Maldunensi. Item Bremela terra est xxxviii. hidarum, de ista terra est Ywerig, Speerfül, Chedecotun, Foxham, Auene; terram istam dedit rex Ædelstanus. Item ex donatione ejusdem regis Ædelstanus ipsa aecclesia tenet Nortuna pro v. hidis, et Sumerford pro v. hidis. Item eadem aecclesia tenet Brokenberge, terra est L. hidarum; hanc dedit rex Ædwy; de hac eadem terra Grutenham pro i. hida. Et ex occidentali parte fluminis quod Avena nominatur et Suttuna pro x. hidis, Rodburna pro x. Corstuna pro x. Cusfalde pro iii. Bremelham pro ii. hidis. Item Brinkewrda, terra est v. hidarum; hanc dedit quidam uir nobilis Leofsi nomine. Item Hewy, terra est xi. hidarum; hanc dedit Ædelred rex. Item ipsa aecclesia tenet Litletun, terra est v. hidarum; hanc dedit Uuenodus Ædelredo rege suo annuente.

The land-limits which follow are taken from a Cartulary of the Abbey recently acquired by the British Museum. The corrupt form of the names which occur in them, renders their identification extremely difficult, if not impossible. They are thus described:—

Hii sunt termini terrae de Morcote. Inprimis per quadam lacum directe usque Bradenebrok, et per Bradenebrok directe usque la brode Wythie; et ab eodem loco directe per la slade et per suthe Linleye, videlicet usque la akers brede; et de Linleye usque le foxole a mideward, videlicet in medio; et ab eodem usque la putte; et de la putte usque poheleye, videlicet in medio; et ab

^a The grant was originally 100 hides. (See the Grant of Edwig, No. 22.)

^b Sutton Benger. "This land was heretofore the Vineyard belonging to the abbey of Malmsbury; of which there is a recitall in the grant of the mannor by K. Henry VIII. to Sir — Long." Aubrey, Nat. Hist. of Wiltshire, ch. iv.

eodem usque widleye; et tunc directe per metam usque ad fossatum quod appellatur diche; et ab eodem usque ocle, et ab ocle usque ad villam versus meridiem.

Cart. Abb. Malmsb. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 15,667, fo. 34 a.

The spot indicated as "quandam lacum" may be recognised on the eastern side of the obscure village of Morcot, and Braden Brook still retains its name, as does the homestead Ocle (Oakwell?), but the inclosures have obliterated the other landmarks, and I cannot reconcile the Ocle named in these land-limits with that shown on the map.

Hii sunt îmini de Bremel. In primis a loco qui appita Wrokcumbe usq. îkendene, 7 de îkendene directe p cursum aque usq. ad stratam; 7 ab eadem strata usq. Cadeburne; 7 a capite ejusdem burne directe usq. avene; 7 sic directe p avene usq. Cristemaleford; 7 ab eodem loco recte usq. huckeam; et ab eodem usq. le grete trowe; 7 ab eodem loco usq. Sandsete, 7 sic usq. ad lo Clif; et sº p clivum usq. stijelweye; 7 ab eadem via usq. blakemomore; a 7 ab eodem more usq. ad locum sup scriptum, videlicet Wrockumbe.

Cart. Abbatiæ de Malmsb. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. No. 15,667, fol. 34 b.

Hii sunt îmini îre de Grutheham. In primis p cursum aque directe usq, luddes worpe. Et ab eodem usq, Grute; ? ab illo loco usq, axunes hurste, ? sic pcedendo usq, duddingesfolde; et ab eodem usq, kotes scede; ? ab eodem loco usq, ferndoune, ? sic usq, nohuc welle; ? ab eodem pcedendo usq, ekgunes Gate; ? ab eodem loco usq, lytle doune, et ab illo monte usq, Beran poran, ? sic usq, merke stoke; et ab eodem loco usq, syndhurste, ? de syndhurste usq, rammesfold; et ab eodem usq, muchele bourne; ? ab eodem usq, perpeles welle; ? ab eodem fonte usq, haepes mere, et de haepes melereb usq, langemere, ? ab lange mere usq, utean Scyre.

Cart. Abb. Malmsb. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. No. 15,667, fol. 35.

Hii sunt termini terre de Brenkeworpe. In primis a loco qui appellatur sandeheye, usq eferes zete; et ab eodem loco directe p la rode usq dutte mores heye, ? sic directe usq Geresburne; ? ab eodem bourne usq fegeres trowe; ? ab eodem directe p la rode usq le hole broke; et ab eodem usq ydoure; ? sic directe p aq^m usq in pte occidentali de mere broke p longitudinem unius forlong, ? sic p caput ejusdem forlongi usq hetingesheye; et ab eodem usq ad locum primo scriptum sandeheye. Preterea ad pdcam terram ptinent quinq, hyde jux^m terram de Cherletoñ ? alia terra que app!tatur le wode felde jux^m terram de Cleverdone.

Cart. Abb. Malmsb. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. No. 15,667, fol. 35.

Such were the possessions of the Abbey of Malmesbury to the end of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty. They exhibit, in a striking manner, the gradually increasing power of the hierarchy, from the introduction of Christianity down to the Norman Conquest, affording a significant commentary upon political events but dimly seen in the historical narratives which have been transmitted to us.

"Among the beneficial rights conveyed by these charters," observes Mr. Kemble, "are common of pasture, estovers, and various advantages and easements derived from the position of the land; for instance, pasture for so many horses or swine in communi saltu, or a right of felling and carrying so many cartloads of wood in the same, the Norman libertas fellandi et carriandi; circumstances which, if for nothing else, would still deserve mention here, as evidence at how early a period the kings (the inheritors of the heathen priesthood in their power over the sacred woods and streams) made their authority valid over the march and common lands adjacent to the Gau." a

A comparison of the total amount of land comprised in these grants, with what remained at the time of the Domesday Survey, would be a task worthy of the antiquary; and if the foregoing recital should tempt others to undertake it, my labour will not have been misdirected. I have perambulated the greater part of these possessions, and visited districts which, though lying in the very heart of England, are little known to the topographer, and still less to the tourist. In some instances I have succeeded in identifying obscure localities, which still bear names by which they were known long before the Norman Conquest. While thus engaged I have wandered again into the track and revived the recollections of my boyhood, and by a more extended retrospect have pictured the scenes which were here presented when the religious houses existed in England. Vain, but venial, is the lament of one who lived in the succeeding age, while the prestige of monkery still survived its fall.

"This country," says Aubrey, "was very full of religious houses; a man could not have travelled but he must have met monks, fryars, bonnehommes, &c. in their several habits, black, white, grey, &c. And the tingle-tangle of their convent bells, I fancy, made very pretty musick, like the college bells at Oxford."

Again—"It is a sarcasm more malicious than true, commonly thrown at the church-men, that they had too much land; for their constitution being in truth considered, they were rather administrators of those great revenues to pious and publick uses than usu-fructuaries. As for themselves, they had only their habit and competent diet, every order according to their prescribed rule, from which they were not to vary. Then for their tenants, their leases were almost as good to them as fee-simple, and perchance might longer last in their families. Sir William Button (the father) hath often told me that Alton farm had been held by his ancestors from the Abbey of Winchester about four hundred years. The

a Cod. Dipl. Ævi Saxon, Intr. vol. i. p. 12.

Powers of Stanton Quintin held that farm of the Abbey of Cirencester in lease three hundred years; and my ancestors, the Danvers, held West Tokenham for many generations, of the Abbey of Broadstock, where one of them was a prior." ^a

It is gratifying to find that the identification of our ancient landmarks is beginning to occupy the attention of the English antiquary. We are no longer under the old reproach-"lyncei foris, talpæ domi." To those who are thus engaged the inquiry cannot fail to be attended with pleasure and profit. Their attentive study will infallibly increase our knowledge of the laws, manners, customs, and superstitions of our ancestors, and shed much light on the habits of generations which have passed away for ever. A fitter occupation cannot be devised for the recreation of the archæological student. There is a poetry, too, in our local nomenclature which all must have observed. The hill, the wold, the moor, and the stream, again appear as they existed before the accidents of time and the spread of civilization had changed their physical features; and, in the contemplation of the past, we can form an estimate of the progress we have made in our onward course. I say nothing of such combinations as Thunder Brook, Sunday's Hill, and Friday Street, which are found in the map now exhibited, because I indulge the hope that they will ere long form the theme of a communication to this Society by a gentleman b who can so well instruct us on the subject of the heathenism of our Saxon forefathers, and the grim precincts of the Mark.

Our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic are sensible of this charm in our local epithets. "The names are excellent," observes an American essayist, "an atmosphere of legendary melody spread over the land. Older than all epics and histories, this undershirt sits close to the body. What history, too, and what stores of primitive and savage life it infolds!"

If then the fitness and significance of our local names have been thus recognised by one who is not bound to England by natural ties, we ought surely to find in them a source of agreeable retrospect and instruction, and a subject worthy our study and illustration.

^a "An Introduction to the Survey and Natural History of the North Division of the county of Wiltshire," by J. Aubrey, Esq. Miscellanies, edit. 1857.

b Mr. J. M. Kemble. Alas for human hopes and expectations! While these sheets were passing through the press, the hand of death has quenched for ever the light that has so often illumed our path in these and kindred researches!

c Emerson, English Traits, p. 101. 8vo. Lond. 1856.

The following Rent-roll exhibits the possessions of the Abbey in the 12th year of Edward II. (?) It is valuable as a mere list of names of families settled in North Wilts, but still more so as a record of the revenue of a monastic establishment at this period, and as affording an idea of the population in the several districts in which these possessions were situated.

EXTRACT from the CARTULARY of the ABBEY of MALMESBURY, in the CUSTODY of the RIGHT HONOURABLE the MASTER of the Rolls, pursuant to the Statute 1 and 2 VICTORIA, cap. 94. (Fol. 77—93.)

Rotulus redditualis factus de omnibus maneriis abbathie Malmesbur' ptinent', anno regni Regis E. xijo.

		neg	is E. Xij.		
De t'mino Sancti		Michaelis.	S'e'i Andree.	Annúciacõis.	Johannis.
KEMELE.					
Pro Wynterbourne				vj.đ.	
De Rogo le Marescal		iiij.đ.ob.	iiij.d.ob.	iiij.d.ob.	iij.d.ob.
De Thoma Scolas .		vj.š.iij.đ.	vj.s.iij.đ.	vj.s.iij.đ.	vj.s.iij.đ.ö.
De Johe de Wyntone		xviij.đ.	xviij.đ.	xviij.đ.	xviij.đ.
De Dionis la frye .		xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.
De Thoma de la Wyke		xx.d.	xx.d.	xx.đ.	xx.d.
De Witto Gerard .		xx.đ.	xx.d.	xx.d.	xx.d.
De Walto North .		xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.
De Johe Prosito .		ij.s.vj.đ.õ.qa.	ij. š. vj. đ. ő. q	ij.š.vj.đ.ö.q̃".	ij.s.vj.đ.ö.q̃
De Milone de Wyke		viij.đ.ob.	viij.đ.ob.	viij.đ.ob.	viij.d.ob.
De Rogero de Cerneye		iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.d.
De Edith Spigernel		iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.
De Johe de Auste .		iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.
De Witto Aylwyne		xj.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.
De Gunnild la Rede		iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.
De Alic de Doggedich		iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.
De Johe le Red .		xviij.đ.	xviij.đ.	xviij.đ.	xviij.d.
De Nicho Edrich .		ij.s.ix.đ.	ij.s.ix.d.	ij.s.ix.đ.	ij.s.ix.d.
De Luca le Egede .		iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.d.
De Johe de Cerneye		iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.
De Thom le Red .		iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.
De Walfo de Auste		iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.
De Rogo le Vithelare		iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.
De Robto de Doggedich		xviij.đ.	xviij.d.	xviij.đ.	xviij.đ.
De Johe Wixi .		iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.
De Alic molendinar		iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.
De Walfo Wodeprest		ob.q̃".	ob.q̃".	ob.q̃".	
De Witto de Wyke		ob.q̃°.	ob.q̃.	ob.q̃.	
VOL. XXXVII.			2 N		

De t'mino Sancti	i		Michaelis.	S'e'i Andree.	Annúciacois.	Johannis.
De Matild la Rede			ob.q̃~.	05.9 .	ob.qª.	
De Julian de Angulo			ot.q̃.	ob.q̃".	ob.q.	
De Johe Herewy .			ob.qa.	ob.qª.	ob.q̃ .	
De felicia Snel .			ob.q.	ob.q̃ª.	ob.qª.	
De laurenc Sturewowe			ob.q̃.	ob.q̃.	ob.q.	
De Rico Sebern .			ob.q".	ob.q̃".	ob.q̃~.	
De Matild in la Hele			ob.q̃ .	ob.g.	ob.q̃°.	
De Edith la Mounere			ob.q°.	ob.q̃~.	ob.q̃.	
De Thoma de Auste			ob.q̃~.	ob.q̃".	ob.qª.	
De Johe le Akerman			ob.q̃ª	ob.q.	ob.q̃.	
De Henr Snel .			ob.q̃.	ob.q̃ª.	ob.qª.	
De Johe molendinar		*	ij.s.vj.đ.	ij.8.vj.đ.	ij.s.vj.đ.	ij.3.vj.đ.
De Robto le Rede .			ij.s.vj.đ.	ij.3.vj.đ.	ij.š.vj.đ.	ij.s.vj.đ.
			Sma.xxxij.s.	Sm̃ ".xxxij.sot,	Sm̃".xxxij.š.	Sm̃ xxxj. §.
			ix.đ.ö.	j.đ.ö.	vij.d.ob.	ij.đ.ob.
TENENTES TERI	RAM	QUO	NDAM PERSONE			
De Johe posito .			x.đ.	x.đ.	x.đ.	x.đ.
De Rogo de Cerneye			x.d.	x.đ.	x.đ.	x.d.
De Witto Aýlwyne.			x.đ.	x.đ.	x.đ.	x.đ.
De Alic Gunnild .			x.đ.	x.đ.	x.đ.	x.đ.
De Witto Gerard .			x.d.	x.đ.	x.đ.	x.d.
De Johe de Cerneye			x.d.	x.đ.	x.đ.	x.đ.
De Walto de Auste			x.đ.	x.d.	x.đ.	x.d.
De Walto molendinar			x.d.	x.đ.	x.đ.	x.đ.
De Robto le Irmangar	*		xviij.đ.	xviij.đ.	xviij.đ.	xviij.đ.
De Johe Wolrich .			iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.
			Sm̃".viij.š.v.đ.	Sm̃ viij. s.v.d.	Sm viij. s.v.d.	Sm viij.s.v.d.
EWLME.						
De Wiffo Vincent .	4		xv.d.	xv.d.	xv.đ.	xv.d.
De Thom de Albo mole	enđ		3 3	iij.s.vj.đ.	iij.s.vj.đ.	iij.s.vj.đ.
De Thoma Elys .	*	*	xix.d.ob.	xix.d.	xix.đ.	xix.đ.
De Vincencio .			2 2	ij.s.vj.đ.	ij.š.vj.đ.	ij.s.vj.đ.
De Adam de Bathoñ	*		xix.d.ob.	xix.d.	xix.d.	xix.đ.
De Hug Aldwyne .	*		xvij.d.ob.	xvij.đ.ö.	zvij.đ.ö.	xvij.đ.ő.
De Walto de Molend	*		iij.sot.	iij.sot.	iij.sot.	iij.sot.
De Julian la Carpente				ix.d.	ix.đ.	ix.d.
De Henr Blaunchard				ix.d.	ix.d.	ix.đ.
De Agñ la Irmangar				ix.đ.	ix.đ.	ix.đ.
De Rogo Hogeman	*			vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.
De Agnete en la Hele	*		viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.ő.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.d.

De t'mino Sancti	Micha	elis. S'c'i Andree.	Annūciacois.	Johannis.
De Robto Harding .	. viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.õ.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.
De Edith Aldwyne .	· viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.ő.	viij.d.
De Thom Tredegold .	. viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.ő.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.
De Edith la Stronge .	. viij.đ.ő.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.ő.	viij.d.
De Witto fit Henr	. viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.
De Robto de Ponte .	. viij.đ.õ.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.
De Johe de Ponte	. iiij.đ.qª.	iiij.đ.q~.	iiij.đ.q	iiij.đ.
De Witto de la Pýrie .	. iiij.đ.qa.	iiij.đ.qa.	iiij.d.qa.	iiij.đ.
De Thoma de Aqua .	. viij.d.õ.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.õ.	viij.d.
De Nicho West	. xj.d.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.
De Rico de Hanendone.	. xj.đ.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.
De Johe le Mey	. viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.
De Rogo de Fonte .	. viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.ő.	viij.đ.ō.	viij.đ.
De Alic de la Pleystude.	. viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.
De Witto de la Pleystede	. viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.
De Witto le Jeuene .	. viij.d.ö.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.
De Witto de la Lake .	. viij.d.ö.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.d.
De Witto le Chepman .	. viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.
De Agnete de Doggedich ⁹	. viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.d.
De Witto de la Chereche	. viij.đ.ő.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.
De Hugoñ de fraxino .	. viij.đ.õ.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.d.
	Sm". xxxij.s.vj	.đ.õ. Sa.xxxij.š.õ.	S".xxxij.š.ő.	Sm̃".xxxj.ã.

Sỹ toci Redd sối Mich. lxv.s. iiij.d. Sỹ toci Redd sối Andr. lxiiij.s. ij.d. Sỹ toci Redd Annunc. lxiiij.s. viij.d. Sỹ toci Redd sối Joh. lxij.s. ij.d. ob. Sỹ toci Redd de Kemele Redd de ra psone, xij.tj. xvj.s. iiij.d. ō. Inde percipit Coqinar et pitanc singlis minis, vij.s. Itm Coqinar in festo sối Mich. v.s. Et in festo Annunc. v.s. Et sic soluit de claro ad scaccariù abbtis. In festo sối Mich. lij.s. j.d. In festo sối Andr. lv.s. xj.d. In festo Annunc. lij.s. viij.d. In festo sối Joh. lij.s. xj.d. õ. Sỹ toci Redd p ra psone, xxxiij.s. viij.d. De Turno sối Martini, xviij.s. De Turno de la Hockeday, xviij.s. De annuo dono, lxvj.s. viij.d. Sỹ v.tj, ij.s. viij.d. Sỹ Galliñ de Cherechs. lxx. et dant in alfo anno p v. min. De Redd Galliñ ad Nat xlv. Sỹ ouoz ad Pasch .m. et iiij. Dat de virg .xx. De dimid vgat .x. De lundinar .v.

Rotulus redditualis de Creddewett fcs anno regni regis E. duodecimo.

De t'mino Sano	eti	Michaelis.	S'e'i Andree.	Annuciacois.	Johannis.
De Nicho de Porta.		iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.ö.	
De Richero le Bedel		iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.õ.	
De Regiñ Springald		iiij.d.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.ő	
De Rico de Angulo		vij.đ.	vij.đ.	iiij.đ.ö.	iij.đ.
De Milone de Cleye		iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.ö.	
		9	0		

De t'mino Sancti		Michaelis.	S'c'i Andree.	Annüciacõis.	Johannis.
De Walto South		iiij.đ.	iiij.d.	j.đ.ö.	
De Henr South		iiij∙đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.ő.	
De Agnete Niweman .		iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.õ.	
De Symoñ de Wodewike		iiij.đ-	iiij.đ.	j.đ.ő.	
De Sýmoñ fit Helene .		viij.đ-ő.	viij.đ.ö.	vj.đ.	iiij.đ.ö.
De Witto fabro		v·d.ő·q̃	v.đ.ō.q̃".	v.đ.ö.q~.	iiij.đ.ö.
De Johe Alneth		ob.	ob.	ob.	
De Maria relicta Sampsoñ		ob.	ob.	ob.	
De Marg la Coliare .		ob.	ob.	ob.	
De Reginald Josep .		ob.	ob.	ob.	
De Johe Matheu		ob.	ob.	ob.	
De Julian Bouetoun .		ob.	ob.	ob.	
Westcreddewel	LE.				
De Johe Boye		ij.š-	ij.s.	ij.š.	ij.š.
De Witto Edwy			iiij.đ.	j.đ.ö-	
De Johe Broun		iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.ö.	
De Galfrido le Cuf		**** 4	iiij.đ.	j.đ.ö.	
De Wiffo Elýs		1 1 2/4	xxvj.đ.q̃°.	xxvj.đ.q̃".	xxij.d.ob.
De molendino		x.sot.		x.sot.	
		Sma.xx.8.ö.	Sm̃".ix.3.x.đ.ö.	Sm̃".xvij.sot.ij.đ.	Smª.iiij.s.x.d.ob

De Agnet de Hundt.

De Regiñ de Bradefeld.

De Walto le Scot.

CHELLEWORTHE.

De Johe de Bradenstoke	. iiij.s.vj.đ.	vij.đ.ö.		
De fra qondam Siluestri .	. vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.
De fra qondam le Hog .	. viij.d.			
De Rico Payn	. vij.đ.	vij.đ.	iiij.đ.	iij.đ.
De Johe de la Lane .	. vij.đ.	vij.đ.	iiij.đ.	iij.đ.
De Wiffo Arnald	. iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.d.ob.	ij.đ.
De Henr Wygewold .	. iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.d.ob.	
De Robto Red	. vij.đ.	vij.đ.	iiij.đ.ö.	iij.đ.
De Agatha Aylmere .	. iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.õ.	
De Galfrido de Chelewrth	. ix.đ.q̃ª.	ix.d.	v.d.ő.	vj.đ.ö.
De Isabett de Chelewrth	. ij.đ.	ij.đ.	ob.q".	
De Agnete la Longe .	. ix.d.	ix.đ.	ix.d.	ix.d.
	Smª.x.s.j.đ.qª.	Smav.s.vj.đ.ob.	Sm̃ .iij. \$.ij. d.ō.q̃	". Sm".ij.s.viij.d.ob.

De t'mino Sanct	i		Michaelis.	S'e'i Andree.	Annüciacõis.	Johannis.
MORCOTE.						
De Reginaldo Bernard			xiiij.đ.õ.	xiiij.đ.ő.	xij.đ.	ix.đ.
De Matild Doun .			xiiij.đ.ő.	xiiij.đ.ő.	xij.đ.	ix.đ.
De Arnald de Morcote			xiiij.đ.ö.	xiiij.đ.ö.	xij.đ.	ix.đ.
De Elýa le Wýn .			xiiij.đ.õ.	xiiij.đ.ö.	xij.đ.	ix.đ.
De Isabett le Oter .			xiiij.đ.ö.	xiiij.đ.ö.	xij.đ.	ix.d.
De Walto Messore			xiiij.đ.õ.	xiiij.đ.ō.	xij.đ.	ix.đ.
De Agnete vidua .			xiiij.đ.ö.	xiiij.đ.ö.	xij.đ.	ix.d.
De Witto Daungeir			xiiij.đ.õ.	xiiij.đ.ö.	xij.đ.	ix.d.
De Regiñ Selewyne			xiiij.đ.ö.	xiiij.đ.ö.	xij.đ.	ix.d.
De Henr Doun .			xiiij.đ.õ.	xiiij.đ.ö.	xij.đ.	ix.đ.
			Sm̃ xij.s.j.đ	Sm̃".xii.š.j.đ.	Sm̃".x.s.	Sma.vij.s.vj.đ.
ESTCOTE.						
De Galfrid le Archer			ij.s.			
De Walto de Ba .	0		ij. s. x.đ.ö.	ij.s.x.đ.õ.	ij.8.x.đ.ő.	ij.s.x.d.
De Walto de Bradeneb	rok		xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xij.đ.
De Rogo in la More			x.đ.ő.	x.đ.ö.	vij.š.vj.đ.õ.	ix.đ.
De Regiñ le Wyte .			xxij.đ.ő.	xxij.đ.õ.	xx.đ.	xix.đ.
De Thoma Bonenfaunt			ij.đ.			
De Arnaldo Est .			xiiij.đ.ö.	xiiij.đ.ö.	xij.đ.	ix.đ.
De fra Schorti	EWAY					
De Wifto Pouke .			ij.š.	ij.s.	ij.š.	ij.š.
De Wiffo Dunpory			x.đ.	x.đ.	x.đ.	x.đ.
De Rogo de Cimitio			xx.đ.	xx.đ.	xx.đ.	xx.đ.
De Rico Hamund .			xx.đ.	xx.đ.	xx.đ.	xx.d.
De Juliañ la Bartur			ix.đ.	ix.đ.	ix.đ.	ix.đ.
De Rado Red .			vij.đ.	vij.đ.	iiij.đ.ö.	iij.đ.
De Isabella Serich .			iiij.đ.	iiij.d.	j.đ.ő.	
De Walto Hamund			iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.ő.	
De Rob9 to Serich .			v.đ.	v.đ.	ij.đ.ö.	j.đ.
De Rado Waye .			iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.ö.	
De Emma Red .			iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.ö.	vj.đ.
De Johe le Fader .			iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	jđő.	x.đ.
De Juliañ la Bartur			iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.ö.	
De Wiffo Clement .		•	iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.ö.	
De Henr de Schowelle			iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.ő.	viij.đ.
De Johe le Suriman			vij.đ.	vij.đ.	j.đ.ő.	
De Robto Helewys.			iiij.đ.	iiij.d.	j.đ.ö.	ij.đ.

De t'mino Sanct	á	Michaeli	s. Andree.	Annūciacõis.	Johannis.
De Rico le Wyse .		. iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.ő.	
De Witto fit Alic .		. iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.ő.	
De Rogo Matheu .		. iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.ö.	
De Isabett relict Edwar	rđ	. ij.đ.	ij.đ.	ob.q̃".	
De Rado de Bosco		. j.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Agath de Bosco		. j.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
		Sm̃".xxiij.3.j 8	Sm ⁻ .xx.3.xj Sm ⁻ .	xxiij.š.viijq̃".	Sm̃ .xvj.s.iiij.đ.
YKEMERE.					
De Galfrido le Flynt		. xviij.đ.	xviij.đ.	xviij.đ.	xviij.đ.
De Robto le Paumer		. xv.đ.	xv.d.	xv.đ.	xv.d.
De Richer le Porter		. x.đ.	x.đ.	x.đ.	x.đ.
HANEKINTONE.					
De terra Nobeloth .		. v.3.	v.đ.		
De Juliana de Hurdleye	e .	. iij.š.			
De Tota villa		. vj.đ.	vj.d.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.
De Witto fit Positi		. vij.đ.õ.	vij.đ.õ.	vij.đ.õ.	vij.đ.ö.
De Rico Vppehule.		. v.đ.q̃".	v.đ.ga.	v.đ.q̃~.	iiij.đ.õ.
De Witto fabro .		. v.đ.~.	v.đ.q̃.	v.đ.q̃".	iiij.đ.ō.
De Wifto Malone .		. xiiij.d.ö.	xiiij.đ.ő.	xij.đ.	ix.đ.
De Henr Bernard .		. xiiij.đ.õ.	xiiij.đ.õ.	xij.đ.	ix.d.
De Wiffo Leueslane		. xiiij.đ.õ.	xiiij.đ.ö.	xij.đ.	ix.d.
De Jordano de Dounhu	itt.				
De Adam de Dounhulle		. iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.d.ob.	
De Robto de Mora.		. iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.õ.	
De Agñ relict le Fox	*	. iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.ö.	
De Galfr Vppehutt.		. iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.ö.	iij.đ.
De Margia Vppehutt		. iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.ő.	
Deddam Halfmark.		. iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.ő.	
De Emma de la Forde		. iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.õ.	
De Robto de la Forde		. iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.õ.	
De Robto le Mey .		. iiij.d.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.õ.	
De Arnaldo de la Forde		. iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.ő.	
De Henr de Mordone		. iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.ő.	vj.đ.
De Witto de Mordone		. iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.ő.	
De Witto le Cuf .		. iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.ő.	
De Johe de Pyritone		. iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	j.đ.ő.	vj.đ.
De Julian Patyn .		. vj.đ.		vj.đ.	
		Sm".xviij.3.ix.d.	õ. Sã x.s.viij.đ.õ.	Sm̃".vj.š.iij.đ.	Smª.v.s.iiij.d.

De t'mino Sanct	ú		Michaeli	s. Andree.	Annūciacois.	Johannis.
CLOTLEYE.						
De Robto Calston .	۰		x.đ.	x.đ.	x.d.	ix.d.
De Robto Broun .			vij.đ.	vij.đ.	vij.d.	vj.d.
De Witto le Bor .			iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.
De Rico Alderman.			vij.đ.	vij.đ.	vij.đ.	vj.đ.
De Rico le Bor .			j.đ.ő.	j.đ.ő.	j.đ.ō.	j.đ.ö.
De Rico le Cuf .			ob.	ob.	ob.	
De Rogo le Alderman	9		ob.	ob.	ob.	
De Henr Katelyne.			ob.	ob.	ob.	
De Wiffo Colewyne			j.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
Item de eodem .			vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.
De Rad Mydewin?.			vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.
De Witto de Puteo			j.d.ob.	j.d.ob.	j.đ.ö.	j.đ.ő.
De Wifto le Synegare			ot.	ob.	ob.	
De Johe le Bird .			ob.	ob.	ob.	
		Sm"	.iij.s.iij.d.ob.	Smª.iij.s.iij.d.ob.	Sm ".iij.s.iij.d.ob.	Sm̃ ij.s.ix.đ.

Smª toci9 Redd sci Mich, iiij.ti.vij.s.iiij.d. ö.qª. PRedd pitanciar supª.

Smª tocius Redd sci Andree, lxij. s.v.d. pre? Redd pitanc ut supra.

Smª toci" Redd Annunciaconis, lxiiij.3.vij.d. ob. pt Redd pitanc ut sup".

Smª toci9 Redd sči Johis, xxxix.8.vj.d. ob. 22 ut supra.

Sm̃ tocius Redd de Creddewett, xij.ti.xiij.s.xj.đ. ob. De Turno sci Martini, xlj.s.viij.d. De Turno de la Hockeday, xlj.s.viij.d. De annuo dono, v.ti.iiij.s.v.đ. Q'a pitanc pcipit, ij.s. Sm̃, ix.ti.viij.s.

Sm̃ Gallinar Cherecsett, vjx.vj. Sm̃ Gatt de Redd ad Natat, iiijx.vj. Pro feugera de flusrigge, xv. Sm̃ ouoz ad Pasch, m.vj°.xlv., per maius, c. Dat de virg, xx., de dimid virg, x. De Lundinar, v.

Redditus pitanciar de Creddewett.

Terminus Sancti	Michaelis.	Andree.	Annüciacõis.	Johannis.
De Henr Broun	vij.đ.	vij.đ.	vij.đ.	vij.đ.
De Robto le Gouk	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.
De Witto de Puteo .	j.d.ob.	j.đ.ö.	j.d.ő.	j.đ.ő.
De Johe de Puriton .	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.d.
De Sýmoñ fit Helene .	xij.d.	xij.d.	xij.đ.	xij.đ.
De tra qondă Regiñ captini	xij.d.•	xij.d.	xij.đ.	xij.đ.
De Witto de Thekedoñ .	xviij.đ. v j. lib	r pigis.		
De Johe de Hanekyntoñ.	•			

Sma.iij.s.viij.d.ob. Sma.iij.s.ij.d.ob. Sma.iij.s.ij.d.ob. Sma.iij.s.ij.d.ob.

Andree.

Annūciacois.

Johannis.

Michaelis.

Terminus Sancti

	a common Dancon			and a constitution of			0 0 11111111111111111111111111111111111
	Redditus Coquinar de de Morle p Southb		ro	xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.
				Redditus Sac	criste in Creddew	ett.	
	De Regiñ Selewyne De Nicho le Bartur De Rico le Palmare De Galfr de Chelewrth De Witto Daunger.			xij.s. xx.s. v.s. iij.s. xij.đ.	Item in Creddewelle, l	De Witto Car De Nicho le 'I de Witto Carnific	nifič junior v.s. nifič senior iiij.s Tayllur . xvj.6
		Sin					
	- 6			Redditus lib	(e)roz de Creddew	eff.	
	De Fra qonda R. de Brac De Walto le Scot .		d.		ij.s.		ij.8. ix.đ.
	De Agñ de Hundlauinto	ñ			iiij.š.		iiij.š.
			**	e 1 CII			
		ddit	uali		eleton, anno regni		
	Terminus Sancti			Michaelis		Annūciacõis.	Johannis.
	De Wybto de Ch ⁹ letoñ			xxj.d.	xxj.đ.	xxj.đ.	xxj.d.
	De Arnaldo de Pýro			vj.đ.	x.ő.d.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.
	De Edith de la Lupe	*		vj.đ.	x.đ.ő.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.
1	De Galfr le Paumer			xiij.đ.õ.q~.	xiij.đ.ō.q̃ª.	xiij.đ.ő.qª.	xiij.đ.
		*		iij.đ.ő.	iij.đ.ö.	iij.đ.õ.	iij.đ.
121	De Adam de la Hethe			iij.đ.ö.	iij.đ.ö.	iij.đ.ő.	iij.đ.
Gauelmā	De Johe Fabro .		*	xv.đ.õ.q̃°.	xv.đ.õ.qª.	xv.đ.õ.q̃°.	xv.đ.
lau	De Witto Atthedichende	9	*	iij.đ.ő.	iij.đ.ő.	iij.đ.ö.	ij.đ.
9	De Johe le Hattare			ij.đ.	ij.đ.	ij.đ.	ij.đ.
	De Elýa de molendiñ		•	vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.
1	De Sonderlond .		*	vij.š.vij.đ.ö.			
1	De Rog le Oue Niwema	n	*	vj.đ.ö.	j.đ.ő.	j.đ.ö.	
	De Rico Ewestas .			vj.đ.ö.	j.đ.ö.	j.đ.ö.	
	De Galfr le Pýk .			vj.đ.ő.	j.đ.ő.	j.đ.ö.	
	De Rogo Niweman			vj.đ.ö.	j.đ.ö.	j.đ.ö.	
	De Rado de Ouorde			vj.đ.õ.	j.đ.ő.	j.đ.ő.	
tar	De Hug Cole .		4	vj.đ.ö.	j.đ.ő.	j.đ.ő.	
Virgatarů.	De Witto le Ridare			vj.đ.ö.	j.đ.ő.	j.đ.ő.	
5	De Robto le Gag .			iiij.đ.	j.đ.ő.	j.đ.ö.	
	De eode q apud Gabult	ım		** - **** 4	ij. s.iiij.đ.	ij.s.iiij.đ.	ij.s.iiij.đ.
	De Rogo le Kyng .			vj.đ.ö.	j.đ.ö.	j.đ.ö.	
	De Witto de la Lupe			vj.đ.õ.	j.đ.ő.	j.đ.ö.	
	De Rogo de Radeweye			ob.q̃".	ob.q.	ob.q̃°.	

	Terminus Sancti			Michaelis.	Andree.	Annüciacõis.	Johannis.
	De Wiffo Steuene .			iij.đ.ỡ̃°.	ob.qª.	ob.q̃ª.	
	De Rogo le Treys .			iij.đ.q̃".	ob.q̃".	ob.qª.	
	De Robto le Noble			iij.đ.ō.ga.	j.đ.ở	j.đ.ga.	
ig.	De Wifto Rodeman			iiij.đ.~.	j.đ.ö.ga	j.đ.ő.q̃°	
Akermā.	De Witto Ordrich .			ob.q̃°.	ob.q̃ª.	ob.q̃°.	
Ak	De Rogo de Toghulle			ob.q̃°.	ob.q̃ª.	ob.q̃"	
	De Galfr de Toghulle			ob.q̃"·	ob.q̃a.	ob.q̃".	
	De Johanna la Wyte			ob.q̃".	ob.q̃".	ob.q̃°.	
	De Hug de Toghulle			ob.qª.	ob.q̃ª.	ob.q̃°.	
imidiā)	De Edward le Bor .			iij.đ.q̃".	ob.q̃".	ob.q̃".	
	De Witto de la Lane			iij.đ.ą̃".	ob.q̃".	ob.q̃°.	
gataş.)	De Adam de Benhuff			iij.đ.q̃".	ob.q̃°.	ob.q̃".	
	De Rico de Benhulle			iij.đ.g.	ob.~.	ob.q̃".	
	De Witto de Wodeford			iij.đ.ỡa.	ob.q̃~.	ob.q̃".	
	De Walto de Wodeford			iij.đ.q̃".	ob.q̃°.	ob.q̃".	
	De Henr Gorebagge			iij.đ.q̃"·	ob.q̃°.	ob.q̃".	
	De Rogo de la More			ob.q̃°.	ob.q̃°.	ob.q̃".	
	De Wifto de Radeweye				ob.q̃°.	ob.q̃".	
	De Witto le Cartare			ob.q̃".	ob.q̃".	ob.ą̃".	
	De Johe Cole .			ob.	ob.	ob.	
	De Walto le Buriman			ot.	ob.	ob.	
	De Wallo le Bonde			ob.	ob.	ob.	
	De Witto de Scalera			ob.	ob.	ob.	
	De Witto de Radeweye			ob.	ob.	ob.	
	Smª Redd sči Mich .xx	v.š.ix	.đ.	5.q̃"	Sm" Redd	sči Andree .xij.š.vii	j.đ.
	Smª Redd Annunciacois					sči Johis .viij.s.viij.	•
	Smª tocius Redd le Che						
	De Turno eĉi Martini v				la la Hockaday	viii niiii A De an	nuo dono vi s

De Turno sči Martini .xiij.š.iiij.đ. De Turno de la Hockeday .xiij.š.iiij.đ. De annuo dono .xl.š. Sm̃ .lxvj.š.viij.đ.

Sm̃ Gallin de Cherechsett .lxix. anno regni Reg xij. Et dant in aleo anno min p xiij. Sm̃ Galli de Redd ad Natale .xxxvj. Sm̃ ouoz ad Pasch .cccc. et x. p mai c. Dat de virg .xx. De j.d. virg .x. De lunidar .v.

Rotulus redditualis fcs de Fulinge anno regni Regis E. xijo.

Terminus Sancti		Michaelis.	Andree.	Annüciacois.	Johannis.
De Johe le Brech .		xviij.đ.	xviij.đ.	xviij.đ.	xviij.đ.
De Johe Blakemor		xviij.đ.	xviij.đ.	xviij.đ.	xviij.đ.
De Thoma Topas .		xv.đ.	xv.d.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.
De Adam de Gosemere		ix.đ.	ix.đ.	ix.đ.	ix.đ.
VOL. XXXVII.			2 0		

Terminus Sancti	Michaelis.	Andree.	Annüciacõis.	Johannis.
De Thoma Dunnig .	ix.đ.	ix.đ.	ix.đ.	ix.đ.
De Adam le Paumer .	xviij.đ.	xviij.d.	xviij.d.	xviij.đ.
De Rico Ingram	iij.s.	iij. I.	iij.s.	iij.s.
De Johe Vmbald	iij.s.	iij.s.	iij.š.	iij.š.
De Johe Treypas	iij.3.	iij.s.	iij.s.	iij.s.
De Rogo le Niweman .	iij.s.	iij.8.	iij.š.	iij.3.
De Rogo fit Nichi	iij.¥.	iij.s.	iij.8.	iij.s.
De Cristin de Wytechurche	xviij.đ.	xviij.d.	xviij.d.	xviij.đ.
De Thoma Topas	xviij.đ.	xviij.đ.	xviij.đ.	xviij.đ.
De Terra Galfr Wygun .	iiij.đ.ö.	iiij.đ.ö.	iiij.đ.ő.	iiij.đ.õ.

Sm Redd sci Michis .xxv.s.vij.d.ö.

Smª Redd Annunciacois .xxv.3.vij.d.o.

Smª tocius Redd de Fulinge .v.ti.ij.s.vj.d.

Sm̃ Redd sc̃i Andree .xxv.s.vij.d.ö. Sm̃ Redd sc̃i Johis .xxv.s.vij.d.ö.

Rotulus reddituat fcs de Puritone anno regni Regis E. duodecimo.

Terminus Sancti		Michaelis.	Andree.	Annüciacõis.	Johannis.
De Wifto de la Lupe		vj.đ.	ij.đ.	iiij.đ.	
De Henr de la Hulle		vj.đ.	ij.đ.	iiij.đ.	
De Wifto Lýnýot .		vj.d.	ij.đ.	iiij.đ.	
De Johe de Radestrop		vj.đ.	ij.đ.	iiij.đ.	
De Rico de Peuenhulle		vj.đ.	ij.đ.	iiij.đ.	
De Rogo de Pole .		vj.đ.	ij.đ.	iiij.d.	
De Rado de Peuenhulle		vj.đ.	ij.đ.	iiij.đ.	
De Alic de Hoggeslane		vj.đ.	ij.đ.	iiij.đ.	
De Matild Relict Gilibti		xv.đ.	xj.đ.	xiiij.d.	ix.đ.
De Johe le Gode .		vj.đ.	ij.đ.	iiij.d.	
De Alic Basely .		vj.d.	ij.đ.	iiij.đ.	
De Wallo Donnyng		vj.đ.	ij.đ.	iiij.đ.	
De Henr le Mop .		xv.đ.	xj.đ.	xiiij.đ.	ix.d.
De Adam Schýrwold		vj.d.	ij.d.	iiij.đ.	
De Witto le Cur .		xij.đ.	viij.đ.	x.đ.	vj.đ.
De Wiffo Perys .		vj.đ.	ij.đ.	iiij.đ.	
De Walto Wateforde		vj.đ.	ij.đ.	iiij.đ.	
De Johe Wecche .		iij.đ.	j.đ.	ij.đ.	
De Witto de Hustede		iij.đ.	j.đ.	ij.đ.	
De Matild Wreanne		iij.đ.	j.đ.	ij.đ.	
De Thoma le Hog .	4	iij.đ.	j.đ.	ij.đ.	
De Walto le Buriman		iij.đ.	j.đ.	ij.đ.	
De Rico le Mop .		iij.đ.	j.đ.	ij.đ.	

Terminus San	eti		Michaelis.	Andree.	Annüciacõis.	Johannis.	
De Henr Alfred .			iij.đ.	j.đ.	ij.đ.		
De Robto de la Forde			iij.đ.	j.đ.	ij.đ.		
De Robto Cobbe .			iij.đ.	j.đ.	ij.đ.		
De Thoma Blakeman			iij.đ.	j.đ.	ij.đ.		
De Adam le Hog .			iij.đ.	j.d.	ij.đ.		
De Johe Angewyne			iij.đ.	j.đ.	ij.đ.		
De Adam Alwy .			iij.đ.	j.đ.	ij.đ.		
De Adam Blakeman			vj.đ.	ij.đ.	iiij.đ.		
De Adam de la Forde			xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.	
De Galfr Paynel .			xxj.đ.	xxj.đ.	xxj.đ.	xxj.d.	
De Thoma Balle .			x.đ.	x.đ.	x.đ.	x.đ.	
De Johe Wecche .			ix.đ.	ix.đ.	ix.đ.	ix.d.	
De Rico de Wydyhut			xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.	
De Gilibto le Coliare			iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	
De Rico le Cur .			vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.	
De Adam fabro .			iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	
De Witto Garleck .			iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	
De Henr le iard .			iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	
De Walto Sodemer			iiij.đ.ö.	iiij.đ.ő.	iiij.đ.ő.	iiij.đ.õ.	
De Scolacia			ob.	q".	~~.		
De Henr le Lutle .	. •		j.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Rado molend .			vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.	
Sm Redd sci Michis	.xxij.8	.vii	j.đ.	Smª Redd sc	Smª Redd sci Andr .xxiiij.s.v.d.o.qª.		
Sm Redd Annuciaco	is .xvii	j.3.	vj.đ.õ.q̃ ^a ·.	Smª Redd sc	i Johis .x.3.iiij.d.	ő.	
De dño Johe Waleron	nd .		xj.s.				
De Johe Wrenche .			iij.s.vij.đ.	iij.s.vij.đ.	iij.s.vij.đ.	iij.s.vij.đ.	
De Johe le frye .			xij.đ.	xij.đ.	xij.đ.	xij.đ.	
De Robto Waleys .			xij.đ.	xij.đ.	xij.đ.	xij.đ.	
		5	Smª.xvj.s.vij.d.	Sa.v.s.vij.d.	Sa.v.s.vij.d.	Sa.v.s.vij.d.	
Smª toci ⁹ Redd sči M	fich .x	xxi	x.s.iij.đ.	Sm toc	i ⁹ Redd sči Andi	.xx.s.ob.qª.	
Sm toci Redd Ann	iciacoi	s .x	xiiij.s.j.đ.ö.qª.	Smª toc	is Redd sči Joh .	xv.s.xj.đ.ö.	
Smª tocius Redd de							

De Turno sci Martini xviij.s. De Turno de la Hockeday xviij.s. De annuo dono xl.s. Sm̃ lxxvj.s.

Sm̃ Gallin de Cherechsett iiijx. Sm̃ Galt de Redd ad Natale xhj. Sm̃ ouoz ad Pascha ve et v. p maius c. Dat ut sup".

Rotulus redditualis factus de Bremel anno regni Regis E. duodecimo.

Terminus Sancti		Michaelis.	Andree.	Annūciacõis.	Johannis.
De Jordano de Chippen	ham .	xij.đ.	xij.đ.	xij.đ.	xij.đ.
De Henr de Puteo		iij.¥.	ij.š.vj.đ.	ij.s.vj.đ.	ij.s.iij.đ.
De Jordano le Barbur		ix.d.	ix.đ.	ix.d.	ix.đ.
De Johe Beneyt .		vij.đ.	vij.đ.	vij.đ.	vj.đ.
De Henr Sodel .		iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.
De Rico Frankelayn		ij.đ.ő.	ij.đ.õ.	ij.đ.ö.	j.đ.ö.
De Robto Hereberd		iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.
De Terra le Eyr .		xviij.đ.	xviij.đ.	xviij.d.	xviij.đ.
De Cristina la Daye		iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.
De Adam le Carpenter		j.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.
	Si	ň".vij.s.xj.đ.ö. S	m̃".vij.₹.v.đ.ob.	Smª.vij.s.v.đ.ob	. Sm .vij. s.ö.
HASELHOLTE.					
De Henr Godefray		xiij.đ.	viij.đ.	viij.đ.	vj.đ.
De Johe le Bothwebbe		iiij.đ.ö.	iiij.đ.õ.	iiij.đ.ö.	iiij.đ.
De Elya le Ouere .		v.đ.	v.đ.	v.đ.	iij.đ.
De Elya le Nethere		v.đ.	ij.đ.	ij.đ.	
De Alic de Fraxino		iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.
De Witto longo .		vij.đ.ö.	vij.đ.ö.	vij.đ.	vij.đ.ö.
		Smª.iij.s.ij.đ.	Sm̃".ij.š.vj.đ.	Sm̃".ij.š.vj.đ.	Sm .xxiij.d.ob
WIKE.					
De terra le Tout .		xv.đ.	xv.d.	xv.đ.	xv.d.
De Rogo de la Wyke		ij.s.viij.d.	ij.s.viij.đ.	ij.š.viij.đ.	ij.s.viij.đ.
De Johe le Fowel .		iiij.đ.ö.	iiij.đ.ö.	iiij.đ.ö.	iiij.đ.ö.
De Petro Wytyng .		vij.đ.	vij.đ.	vij.đ.	vij.đ.
De Adam Pye .		j.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Johe le Mop .		j.đ.õ.	j.đ.ö.	j.đ.ő.	j.đ.õ.
De Witto le Locare			vij.đ.	vij.đ.	vj.đ.
De Johe le Tharst .		xiiij.đ.ö.	xiiij.đ.ö.	xiiij.đ.õ.	xij.đ.
De Wifto Tellyng .			xiiij.đ.	xiiij.đ.	xij.đ.
De Walto Keuechoup		xij.đ.	xij.đ.	xij.đ.	xij.đ.
De Henr le Stubbare		xiiij.đ.	xiiij.đ.	xiiij.đ.	xij.đ.
De Witto Springod		Nich.			
De Witto de Bamtoñ		xj.đ.	xj.đ.	xj.đ.	x.đ.
De Gilib9 to le Kýng			iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.d.
De Witto de Beydone		j.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.
De Arnaldo le Bartur		j.đ.õ.	j.đ.ö.	j.đ.õ.	
De Witto fit Hug .		vij.đ.	ij.đ.	ij.đ.	

Terminus Sanet	i		Michaelis.	Andree.	Annüciacois.	Johannis.
De Johe filio Emme			j.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Wiffo le Akerman			j.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
			Sm̃".xij.v.iiij.đ.	Sm"-xj.3.xj.d.	Sm̃".xj.š.xj.đ.	Sma .x.s.vij.đ.
Sperchulle.						
De Adam Anethewardt	oun		xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.d.	xv.d.
De Henr Syward .			xv.d.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.d.
De Wiffo Sceorre .			xv.đ.	xv.d.	xv.đ.	xv.d.
De Matild la Nýwe			xv.đ.	xv.d.	xv.đ.	xv.d.
De Elena Daunger.			xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.
De Witto Rauf .			xv.d.	xv.d.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.
De Adam le Hýrdeman			xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.
De Wifto Petyt .			xv.đ.	xv.d.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.
De Thom de Punfold			xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.
De Henr le Kyng .			xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.
De Robto Bouetouñ			xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.
De Amicia de la Hulle			xv.đ.	xv.d.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.
De Elýa de la Hýde			xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.
De Rico Syward .			ij.s.	ij.s.	ij.s.	ij.s.
De Thom de Schowelle	e .		xij.đ.	xij.đ.	xij.đ.	xij.đ.
De Adam de Fraxino			iij.s.	iij.s.	iij.ī.	iij.s.
						t. Smª.xxij.s.iij.d
HANGR'.						
De Cristina Roylly			xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.	xv.đ.
De Henr de Hangre			vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.	v.đ.ö.
De Rogo le Carpentr			xiij.đ.	xiij.đ.	xiij.đ.	xij.đ.
De Henr le Stubbare			ij.đ.	ij.đ.	ij.đ.	j.đ.ő.
De Johe fit Hen? .			ob.	ob.	ob.	
De Wiffo le Twynt			ob.	ob.	ob.	
De Rico Kotel .			iij.đ.ő.	iij.đ.ö.	iij.đ.õ.	iij.đ.
De Philippo de Hangre			ob.	ob.	ob.	
De Milone de Hangre			ob.	ob.	ob.	
					. Sm̃".iij.s.vj.d.d	5. Sm̃".iij.s.j.đ.
De Walto de Puteo			xiij.đ.	xiij.đ.	xiij.đ.	xij.đ.
De Editha de Ewolme			xiiij.đ.	ix.đ.	ix.đ.	vj.đ.
De Witto le Drake.	:		**** *	ix.đ.	ix.đ.	vj.đ.
De Johe le Mop .				xvij.đ.	xvij.đ.	xvij.đ.
De Rico Tellyng .			xiij.đ.	x.đ.	x.đ.	vj.đ.
De Matild Boun .	٠		xiij.đ.	viij.d.	viij.đ.	vj.đ.
De Wifto fit positi	•	•	xij.d.	xxj.đ.	xxj.đ.	xxj.đ.
or wino ni phosin			AAJ. G.	aaj.u.	aaj.u.	aajiu

Terminus Sanet	i		Michaelis.	Andree.	Annūciacois.	Johannis.
De Alic le Thonge.			ij.đ.	ij.đ.	ij.đ.	
De Alic le Fowel .			ij.đ.	ij.đ.	ij.đ.	
De Adam Vnderdoune			xxj.đ.	xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.	xij.đ.
De Witto Vnderdoune			xv.d.	xv.d.	xv.d.	xv.đ.
			Sm".xij.s.j.đ.	Sm̃".x.s.ij.d.	Sm̃".x.z.ij.đ.	Sm .viij.3.v.d.
FOXAM.						
De Wifto Parys .			iij.đ.ö.	iij.đ.õ.	iij.đ.ö.	iij.đ.
De Johe Selede .			xv.d.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.
De Elya de Puteo .			j.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Geruasio.						
De Wifto Pykeryng			xix.d.	xix.đ.	xix.d.	xix.d.
De Walto Attefenne			j.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.
De Arnaldo le Býke			vj.đ.õ.q̃".	vj.đ.õ.q̃".	vj.đ.õ.q̃".	vj.đ.õ.q̃°.
De Edith de Marisco			j.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Rico fabro .			iiij.đ.õ.	iiij.đ.õ.	iiij.đ.õ.	iiij.đ.
De Robto Býssop .			xj.đ.ö.	xj.đ.ő.	xj.đ.õ.	xj.đ.ö.
De Julian Rolf .			ij.đ.	ij.đ.	ij.đ.	
De Witto le Wyte .			xv.d.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.
De Thoma clerico .			ij.s.v.d.q̃".	ij.s.v.đ.q̃".	ij.₹.v.đ.q̃°.	ij.s.v.đ.q̃".
De Thom le Deue .			ij.đ.	ij.đ.	ij.đ.	
De Johe Wecche .			vij.đ.ö.	vij.đ.ö.	vij.đ.ö.	vij.đ.ö.
De Johe Austyn .			iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.
De Johe de Bremel			iiij.đ.õ.	iiij.đ.õ.	Et a	d pentecost xv.d
De Henr de Bosco.			viij.đ.ő.	viij.đ.õ.	viij.đ.ö.	vij.đ.õ.
De Stepho le Paumer			iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.
De Walto le Note .			ij.đ.	ij.đ.	ij.đ.	
De Alic de Cimilio			xij.đ.	xij.đ.	xij.đ.	ij.đ.
De Thoma le Wyte			vij.đ.	vij.đ.	vij.đ.	xij.đ. vj.đ.
De Wiffo Dylueth .			x.đ.	x.đ.	x.đ.	vj.d.
De fra qondā fit Hug			iij.s.vj.đ.	iij.s.vj.đ.		
De Stepho le Note.			j.đ.	j.đ.	iij.š.vj.đ.	iij.₹.vj.đ.
De Alic la Slýthe .	*			•	j.đ.	
De Roberto le Butiler.			j.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Adam de la Forrhey	0		ix.đ.ö.	ix.đ.ö.	ix.đ.ő.	ix.đ.
De Henr Drouye.	c	•	IA.U.O.	IA.U.U.	IX.G.O.	ix.d.
AUENE.						
De Johe le Kýng .			xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.
De Matild la Quene		•	xv.d.	xv.d.	-	
De Matrid la Guerre		•	Av.u.	AV.d.	xv.d.	xv.đ.

Terminus Sancti		Michaeli	s. Andree.	Annüciacõis.	Johannis.
De Walto de Pyro .	٠	. xv.đ.	xv.d.	xv.d.	xv.đ.
De Adam Mondegome	•	. xv.đ.	xv.d.	xv.đ.	xv.d.
De Margia Terry .		. xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.d.
De Isabella vidua .	•	. vij.đ.ö.	vij.đ.ö.	vij.đ.ö.	vij.đ.õ.
		Smª xxv.s.vj.d.	Smª.xxv.s.vj.d.	Sm".xxv.s.vj.đ.	Sm".xxv.s.ix.d.ob.

Smª toci9 Redd sči Mich .iiij.fi.vj.s.x.d. Smª Redd sči Andr .iiij.fi.iij.s.iiij.d.

Sm̃" Redd Annūciacois .iiij.łi.iij.s.iiij.d. Sm̃" Redd sci Johis .lxxix.s.j.d.o.

Smª toci9 Redd de Bremul .xvj.ti.xij.s.vij.d.ő.

De Turno sci Martini .xxvij.s. De Turno de la Hockeday .xxvij.s.

De annuo dono .v.ti. Sm .vij.ti.xiiij.s.

Smª Gallin de Cherechsett .vijxx. 7 xvj. Smª ouo3 ad Pasch .m.cccc.iiijxx. dat.

Rotulus redditualis factus de Suttone anno regni regis E. xij°.

	Terminus Sancti		Michaelis.	Andree.	Annūciacois.	Johannis
	De Regiñ le Paumer		ij.đ,	iij.s.xj.đ.	iij.š.j.đ.	iij.š.ij.đ.
Hidling.	De Witto Godwyne		** *	ij.s.xj.đ.	ij.š.ix.đ.	ij.s.viij.đ.
	De Johe Belamy .		ij.đ.	ij.s.xj.d.	ij.s.ix.đ.	ij.s.viij.đ.
	De Witto Selewyne		** *	ij.s.xj.đ.	ij.s.ix.đ.	ij.š.viij.đ.
	De Rico le Duk .		j.đ.	xvij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.ő.	xvj.đ.
	De Regin Basely .		j.đ.	xvij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.ő.	xvj.đ.
	De Michaele le Soppes		j.đ.	xvij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.ő.	xvj.đ.
	De Alic Wodecockes		j.đ.	xvij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.ő.	xvj.đ.
	De Walto Hereberd		j.đ.	xvij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.ő.	xvj.đ.
	De Hawys Relict Petri		j.đ.	xvij.đ.õ.	xvj.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.
	De Rado le Dekene		j.đ.	xvij.đ.ő.	xvj.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.
	De Rico Guldýng .		j.đ.	xvij.đ.õ.	xvj.đ.ö.	xvj.d.
	De Johe Wolneth .		j.đ.	xvij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.
	De Johe de Pundfolde		j.đ.	xvij.đ.õ.	xvj.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.
	De Johe Wyth .		j.đ.	xvij.đ.ő.	xvj.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.
	De Thoma le Wyte		j.đ.	xvij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.
	De Rado Gunnild .		j.đ.	xvij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.õ.	xvj.đ.
	De Isabett Seward .		j.đ.	xvij.đ.ő.	xvj.đ.ő.	xvj.đ.
	De Wifto de Clyne		j.đ.	xvij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.
	De Regiñ ychun .		j.đ.	xvij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.ö.	xvj.d.
	De Rado fit Reginaldi		j.đ.	xvij.đ.ő.	xvj.đ.ő.	xvj.đ.
	De Robto apd crucem		j.đ.	xvij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.
	De Godwyno de Scalera		j.đ.	xvij.đ.ō.	xvj.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.
	De Witto de Scalera		j.đ.	xvij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.ö.	xvj.d.

	Terminus Sancti		Michaelis.	Andree.	Annüciacois.	Johannis
	De Thoma de Cymilio		j.đ.	xvij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.
	De Rado Bernewy .		j.đ.	xvij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.ő.	xvj.đ.
	De Rado le Frend .		j.đ.	xvij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.
	De Robto de Puteo		j.đ.	xvij.đ.ő.	xvj.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.
	De Rogo le Jeuene		j.đ.	xvij.đ.õ.	xvj.đ.ő.	xvj.đ.
	De Witto Wytman		j.đ.	xvij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.ő.	xvj.d.
	De Rogo Bynorthebrok		j.đ.	xvij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.õ.	xvj.đ.
	De Beatice Bynorthebro	k.	j.đ.	xvij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.
	De Edith Relict Milon		j.đ.	xvij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.ő.	xvj.đ.
	De Rico le Duck .		j.đ.	xvij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.
	De Robto de Angulo		j.đ.	xvij.đ.ő.	xvj.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.
	De Witto de Aqua.		j.d.	xvij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.
	De Matho fit felic . De Rogo Molenct .		j.d.	xvij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.
nirgatar.	De Matild foukes .		Istiduo danto	le xxj.đ.ő.	xx.đ.	xxj.đ.ö.
	De Robto de la Boxe		xij.d.	xxj.đ.õ.	xx.d.	xxj.đ.õ.
	De Galfrido fabro .				ij. capoñ.	v.đ.
	Sm̃ Redd sci Michis .ii Sm̃ Redd Annūciacos . Sm̃ toci Reddit de Sc Sm̃ ouoş .dc. v ^{xx} . Dat	lx.3.ő. uttone	.ix.ti.viij.3.vij.đ.	Smª Red	t sõi Andree .lxiii t sõi Johis .lx.s.iii ñ de Redd ad Na	j.đ.
	De Johe fit Susanne		xxix.d.	xxix.d.	xxix.d.	xxvij.đ.
	De Elýa le Hunte		xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.	xv.đ.
	De Witto Rosel .		xx.d.	xx.đ.	xx.d.	xvj.đ.
	De Rogo fit Sýmoñ		v.s.vj.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
	De Rado North .		xviij.d.	xj.đ.	xj.đ.	ix.đ.
	De Robto Bouario .		xvj.đ.	xj.đ.	xj.đ.	ix.đ.
	De Johe fit Hugoñ		xvj.đ.	xj.d.	xj.đ.	ix.đ.
	De Rico le Niwe .		xvj.d.	xj.đ.	xj.đ.	ix.đ.
	De Rico le Jeuene.		x.đ.ő.	v.đ.ō.	v.đ.ö.	iiij.đ.ő.
	De Reginald North		vj.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
	De Adam de Ponte		vj.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
	De Witto de Pundfold		vj.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
	De Witto Spileman		vj.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
	De Johe Loue .		vj.đ.	j.đ.	j.d.	
	De Robto de la Cleye		vj.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
	De Henr Wolneth .		vj.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
			* 4			
	De Alic Relief ppositi		vj.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	

Terminus Sancti Michaelis.		Michaelis.	Andree.	Annūciacois.	Johannis.
De Robto Rolues		vj.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Thoma Eadwyne .		vj.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Wiffo Ewestas		vj.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.& iij.bus	fab.
De Rico fit Hugon .		vj.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Witto de Wytherslade		vj.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Eua Relict Hug .		vj.đ. & j.vom.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Emma la Wyte .		vj.d. & j.vom.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Rico de Heygarston .		vj.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Adam de Scalera .		vj.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Cecilia vidua		vj.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Wifto de Heygarstoñ		ob.	ob.	ot.	
De Walto le Paum .		xvj.đ.	xj.đ.	xj.đ.	ix.đ.
Sm̃ Redd sci Michis .xxv	iij.§.	.ij.đ.	Smª Redd sči Andree .xij.sij.d.		
Smª Redd Annunciacois .:	tij.š.	.ij.đ.	Smª Redd sõi Johis .viij. 3xj.đ.ö.		

CLORSTONE. COUFAUD. Rotul⁹ redd fes de Coufaud, anno regn Reg E. xij^o.

Terminus Sancti	Michaelis.	Andree.	Annuciacois.	Johannis.
De Edith de Schoetesber		. vij.s.vj.đ.		vij.š.vj.đ.
De Thoma de molendiñ.	v.š.		v.š.	
De Edith de Ba	iij.s.vj.đ.			
De Godwyno de Sottoñ.				
De Adam fit Walti	vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.
De Matild Wypet	j.đ.ö.	j.đ.ö.	j.đ.ö.	j.đ.ő.
De Johe Seward	vj.d.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Robto le Jeuene	vj.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Robto Byssop	vij.đ.õ.	ij.đ.ö.	ij.đ.ő.	j.đ.ö.
De Witto Seward	vj.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Johe fit Regiñ	ix.đ.ö.	iiij.đ.õ.	iiij.đ.ö.	iij.đ.ö.
De Robto West	xij.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Johe West	xviij.d.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Robto fit Stephi	vj.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Wifto Alward	vj.đ.	j.đ.	j.d.	
De Witto Eode	vj.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Witto Rýglowe	xij.d.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Adam fit Stephi	 xij.đ.	j.d.	j.đ.	
De Petro Vppehulle .	vj.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Witto de la Were	vj.đ.	j.d.	j.đ.	
VOL. XXXVII.		2 P		

Terminus Sancti			Michaelis.	Andree.	Annūciacõis.	Johannis.
De Johe Wymund .	*		xij.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Henr Welwyne			vj.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Regiñ Dreu .			vj.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Witto de Cymilio			vj.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Edwardo Eode .			vij.đ.	ij.đ.	ij.đ.	j.đ.
De Adam Rýngston			vj.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
Sm Redd sci Michis .	xxij.	ıvi	j.đ.ö.	Sã a R	edd sõi Andř .x.s.	.iij.đ.ő.
Sm Redd Annunciaco	is .v	ij.š.	ix.đ.ő.	Smª Re	edd sči Johis .viij	.svij.đ.ö.
BORUTHONE.						
De Riĉo Pýnnok .			iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.
De Terra Turketil .			xij.đ.õ.	xij.đ.ő.	xij.đ.ő.	xij.đ.
De Petro de Caldecote			vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.
De Adam Herýng .			iij.đ.ö.	iij.đ.ö.	iij.đ.ö.	iij.đ.ö.
De Cecilia Daniel .			ij. sclabb fer	ri uel iiij.đ.		
De Witto de Caldicote			ob.	ob.	ob.	
De Johe fit Arnaldi			ob.	ob.	ob.	
De Johe Woderoue			ob.	ob.	ob.	
De Felicia la Coliare			ob.	ob.	ot.	
De Matild la Paumer			ob.	ob.	ob.	
De Riĉo de Colerne			ob.	ob.	ob.	
De Robto Nýthegale			ob.	ob.	ob.	
De Johe le Cartare			ob.	ot.	ob.	
De Isabell Pýnnok			ob.	ob.	ob.	
De David de Thornhuft			ob.	ob.	ob.	
De Robto le Coliare			ob.	ob.	ob.	
		S	m̃".ijš.xj.đ.õ.	Sm̃".ij.š.vij.đ.õ.	Sm̃ .ij.š.vij.đ.ö.	Sm̃ij.š.j.đ.

Smª toci9 Redd sči Mich .liiij.six.d.	Smª toci9 Redd sci Andr .xxv.sj.d.
Smª toci9 Redd Annunciacois .xxij.svij.d.	Smª toci9 Redd sci Joh .xix.sviij.d.ö.
Sm toci Redd de Coufaude .vj.tiij.sj.d.ö.	De Turno sĉi Martini .xxxj.sviij.d.
De Turno de la Hockeday .xxxj.sviij.d. De annuo	dono .lxvj.sviij.d. Sm tocius .vj.tix.s.
Sm Gaft de Cherechsett .lij. & dant alto anno p .iii	j. minus. Sma Gaff de Redd ad Natale .lx.
Sm ouos ad Pasch xie. p mai c. dat.	

De molend de Coubrigge			X.3.		x.3.
	Sm̃" l	Redd	Coquinar .xx.s.		

De terra q°ndam le frýe . . ij.s.vj.đ. ij.s.vj.đ. ij.s.vj.đ. ij.s.vj.đ. ij.s.vj.đ. S \widetilde{m}^{ac} Redđ pitancia \widetilde{r} .x.s.

Rotulus redditualis fcs de Northone, anno regni regis E. xij°.

Terminus Sancti			Michaelis.	Andree.	Annüciacois.	Johannis.	
De Goce Scarlet .			xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.d.	
De Johe le Frye .			xv.đ.	xv.d.	xv.đ.	xv.d.	
De Robto le Schotel			xij.đ.	xij.đ.	xij.đ.	xij.đ.	
De Petro le Hane .			vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.	
De Johe le Thonge			iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	iiij.d.	
Item de eodem .			vj.đ.	j.đ.			
De Johe Gorewy .			vj.đ.	j.đ.			
De Johe le Gossyp			vj.đ.	j.đ.		,	
De Wiffo le Carpenter			vj.đ.	j.đ.			
De Witto le Thýerdlýng			vj.đ.	j.đ.			
De Johe Gileberd .			vj.đ.	j.đ.	•		
De Adam le Buriman			vj.đ.	j.đ.			
De Rico Doun .			iij.đ.	ob.			
De Stepho Doun .			iij.đ.	ob.			
De Johe le Mey .			iij.đ.	ob.			
De Rico le Pleyare.			iij.đ.	ob.			
De Witto le Holdyng			iij.đ.	ob.			
De Alicia de la Gere			iij.đ.	ob.			
De Johe West .			iij.đ.	ob.			
De Johe Red			iij.đ.	ob.			
De Wiffo Seman .			iij.đ.	ob.			
De Nicho West .			iij.đ.	ob.			
De Wifto Wrytheloc		•	ob.				
De Hugoñ de Scalera			ob.				
De Richeman le Schyrre	eue		ob.				
De Johe le Akerman		•	ob.				
Smª Redd sci Michis .x	.3v	j.đ.		Sm" Redd s	či Andree .v.siiij.d	t.	
Sm " Redd Annunciacois	s .iiij	3	iiij.đ.	Smª Redd si	či Johis "iiij.3iiij.d.		
Smª toci9 Redd de Nor	toñ .	xxi	iij.svj.đ.	De Turno sc	i Martini .viij.s.		
De Turno de la Hockeda	ay .v	iij.8	I.	De annuo do	no .xx.s. Sma .xx	xvj.š.	
Sm Gaff de Cherechset	tt .xx			De Redd Gaff ad Natale .xvij.d.			
Smª ouoz ad Pasch .cc.	& xl	. p	mai ⁵ .c. Da	at ut sup".			

NUWENTONE. Rotulus reddituat fcs de Nuwentone, anno regni regis E. duodecimo.

De Adam de la Graue		ij.š.	ij.y.	ij.s.	ij.š.
De Walfo Iue .		vj.d.	vj.đ.q̃ª.	vj.đ.q̃".	vj.đ.q
De Wiffo de Ponte		xij.đ.ő.	xij.đ.ö.	xij.đ.ö.	xij.đ.ö.
			0 - 0		

Possessions of the Abbey of Malmesbury in North Wilts.

Terminus Sancti	Michaelis.	Andree.	Annūciacõis.	Johannis.
De Wifto de Grenhulle .	. vj.đ.	vj.đ.q̃".	vj.đ.~.	vj.đ.q̃a.
De Matild de albo monastic	. vj.đ.	vj.đ.q̃ª.	vj.đ.g.	vj.đ.ga.
De Wifto Partrych		. vij.s.vj.đ.		vij.s.vj.đ.
De Rogo de Molendiñ .		. vij.s.vj.đ.		vij.s.vj.d.
De Walto de Molendiñ .		. v.3.		v.š.
De Alexandr de Cromale	. iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.
De Iuo de la Graue .	. ij.đ.	ij.đ.õ.	ij.đ.õ.	ij.đ.ö.
De Johe de la Graue .	. ij.đ.	ij.đ.õ.	ij.đ.ö.	ij.đ.õ.
De Reginald Tony	. ij.đ.	ij.đ.õ.	ij.đ.ö.	ij.đ.õ.
De Walto de Brenkewrth'	. ij.đ.	ij.đ.õ.	ij.đ.õ.	ij.đ.ö.
De Wifto Partrých	. ij.đ.	ij.đ.õ.	ij.đ.ö.	ij.đ.ő.
De Hugoñ Schus	. ij.đ.	ij.đ.õ.	ij.đ.ő.	ij.đ.ő.
De Witto piscatore	. ij.a.	ij.đ.õ.	ij.đ.õ.	ij.đ.ö.
De Wifto Iue	. ij.đ.	ij.đ.õ.	ij.đ.ö.	ij.đ.õ.
De Thoma de Cimitio .	. ij.đ.	ij.đ.õ.	ij.đ.ö.	ij.đ.ö.
De Hugoñ le Bacheler .	. ij.đ.	ij.đ.õ.	ij.đ.õ.	ij.đ.õ.
De Johe de Brokinbge .	. ij.đ.ö.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.
De Thoma le Bochyare .	. ij.đ.	ij.đ.ő.	ij.đ.õ.	ij.đ.ő.
De Henr le Wyn	. ij.đ.	ij.đ.ö.	ij.đ.õ.	ij.đ.ő.
De Rico le Thonge.	. ij.đ.	ij.đ.õ.	ij.đ.õ.	ij.đ.õ.
De Rico le Cartare	. ij.đ.	ij.đ.ő.	ij.đ.õ.	ij.đ.ő.
De Rado Toný	. ij.đ.	ij.đ.ő.	ij.đ.ö.	ij.đ.ő.
De Thoma fit Robti .	. ij.đ.	ij.đ.õ.	ij.đ.õ.	ij.đ.ö.
De Alic de Grenhuff .	. ij.đ.	ij.đ.õ.	ij.đ.õ.	ij.đ.ö.
De Walto South	. ij.đ.	ij.đ.ő.	ij.đ.õ.	ij.đ.ő.
De Witto le Person .	. ij.đ.	ij.đ.ő.	ij.đ.ő.	ij.đ.ö.
De Marg la Hýdlýng .	. iiij.đ.	v.đ.	v.đ.	v.đ.
De Wiffo le Kýng	. iiij.đ.	v.đ.	v.đ.	v.d.
De Robto le Kyng	. iiij.đ.	v.đ.	v.đ.	v.đ.
De Walto Longo	. iiij.đ.	v.d.	v.đ.	v.d.
De Regiñ Partrych	. ob.	ob.	ob.	ob.
De Wiffo le Akerman.				
De Thom le Akerman.				
De Julian la Noreys .	. j.d.	j.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.

Sm̃ Redd sči Michis .ix.s. .vij.đ.ö.

Smª Redd sci Andree .xxx.s. .x.d.qª.

Smª Redd Annūciacois .x.s. .x.d.qª.

Smª Redd sči Johis .xxx.s. .x.d.qª.

Smª tocius Redditus de Niwenton p annum .iiij.ti. .ij.3. .ij.đ.q̃.

Smª Gatt de Cherechs .xxxij. Et dant alto anno p .iiij. minus.

Sm ouoz ad Pasch .vj. c. & xxx. p maius .c. Dat ut sup.

Virgataï.

Rotulus reddituat factus de Brokineberg', anno regni regis E. xijo.

Terminus Sanct	i	Michaelis.	Andree.	Annüciacõis.	Johannis.
De pagano de Brokenel	oge	. xxviij.đ.	xxviij.đ.	xxviij.d.	ij.s.
De terra qondā Sýmoñ		. viij.đ.	viij.đ.	viij.đ.	vj.đ.
De Walto Martyn .		. vij.đ.	ij.đ.	ij.đ.	
De Johe de Walecote		. vij.đ.	ij.đ.	ij đ.	
De Rico le Heyward		.)		** 4	
De Johe le Thonge		vij.đ.	ij.đ.	ij.đ.	
De Johe Vmbald .		. vij.đ.	ij.đ.	ij.đ.	
De Alic de Sottone		. vij.đ.	ij.đ.	ij.đ.	
De Thoma de Aqua		. vij.đ.	ij.đ.	ij.đ.	
De Walto le Paumer		. vij.đ.	ij.đ.	ij.đ.	
De Johe ultra aquam		. vij.đ.	ij.đ.	ij.đ.	
De Wifto le Boye .		. vij.đ.	ij.đ.	ij.đ.	
De Witto piscatore.		. vij.đ.	ij.đ.	ij.đ.	
De Rico Dreu .		. vij.đ.	ij.đ.	ij.đ.	
De Edith la Thonge		. vij.đ.	ij.đ.	ij.đ.	
De Rogo de fraxino		. vij.đ.	ij.đ.	ij.đ.	
De Adam Turketýl		. vij.đ.	ij.đ.	ij.đ.	
De Wifto in la More		. vij.đ.	ij.đ.	ij.đ.	
De Thom le Niweman		. vij.đ.	ij.đ.	ij.đ.	
De Nicho in la More		. vij.đ.	ij.đ.	ij.đ.	
De Johe de Aqua .		. ij.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Robto fit ppositi		. ij.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Rico le louegrom		. ij.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Matild in la More		. ij.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Philipp in la More		. ij.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Robto Edward .		. ij.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Walto in la More		. ij.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Johe Rodeman.		. ij.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
		Sm̃".xiiij.š.iij.đ	. Smª.vj.š.vj.đ.	Sm̃".vj.š.vj.đ.	Sm̃".ij.s.vj.đ.
Kynegareshey	r.				
De Adam le Wytecnane		. xj.đ.ö.	xj.đ.õ.	xj.đ.ö.	x.đ.
De Elýa Heued .		. vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.
De Johe Thorugod .		. vij.đ.õ.	vij.đ.ő.	vij.đ.ö-	vij.đ.ö.
De Alwyne le Bonc		. iij.đ.	iij.d.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.
De terra de la lupe		. xiij.đ.		xiij.đ.	
		Sm̃iij.3.v.d.	Sm̃".ij.s.iiij.d.	Sm̃".iij.s.v.d.	Sm̃".ij.š.ij.đ.õ.

Terminus Sancti	Michaelis.	Andree.	Annüciacõis.	Johannis.
WALECOTE, THORE	ULLE, & BORUT	ONE.		
De Nicho le Wrog	. ij.s.iij.đ.	ij.š.iij.đ.	ij.s.iij.đ.	ij.s.iij.đ.
De Witto le Wrog	. xiiij.đ.	xiiij.đ.	xiiij.đ.	xij.đ.
De Terra Gorwý	. iij.đ.ö.ā".	iij.đ.ő.q̃°.	iij.đ.ö.qa.	iij.đ.õ.q̃a.
De Robto le Schutel .	. vij.đ.ö.	vij.đ.ö.	vij.đ.ö.	vij.đ.ö.
De Cecilia Daniel	. vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.
De Rogo le Gag	. iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.
	Sm̃ v.s.j.d.q̃	". Sm".v.s.j.d.q"	. Sm̃ .v.s.j.d.q̃ a	·. Sm̃".iiij.I.xj.đ.q̃".
CLEUERDONE.				
De Adam de la Cumbe .	. j.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Henr le Carpen?	. ix.đ.ö.	ix.đ.ő.	ix.đ.ö.	ix.đ.ö.
De Witto de Cýmilio .	. ij.š.ij.đ.	ij.š.ij.đ.	ij.š.ij.đ.	ij.s.ij.đ.
De Robto le Kene	. ij.š.j.đ.	ij.s.j.đ.	ij.š.j.đ.	ij.s.j.đ.
De Rico le Brode	. xij.đ.ö.	xij.đ.õ.	xij.đ.ö.	xij.đ.
De Rico le Buriman .	. xv.d.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.
De Walto de Wynekewrth	. ix.đ.ö.	ix.đ.ö.	ix.đ.ö.	vij.đ.ö.
De Leticia Blisse	. j.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Johe de fraxino .	. j.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Johe le Irays	. j.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Henr le Pung	. j.đ.	j.đ.	j.d.	
De Robto Alysaundre .	. j.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Robto Pyllok	. j.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
De Robto de la Knolle .	. j.đ.	j.đ.	j.đ.	
Cotsecti. De Matild de Smethemed	. iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.
De Sibitt Lockes	. iij.d.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.
	Sm̃".ix.š.iij.	đ.ö. Sm ix. s.iij. đ	ł.ő. Sm̃".ix.š·iij.d	t.ö. Smª.viij.s.iij.d.
(With Steuene.	Robtus de A	Angulo.	Wifts le Feu	ere.
Akerman. Wifts Morcok.	Johes de A	ngulo.	Johes Elys.	
Petrus Vmbald.	Johes de H	euene.	Ricardus fab	er.
Smª toci ⁹ Redd sci Mich .x	xxij.s. ő.q̃".	Sm to	ci ⁹ Redd sči An	dr̃ .xxiij.s̃ij.đ.õ.q̃ ^a .
Smª toci Reda Annuciac .	xxiiij.siij.đ.ō.q̃°		edđ sči Joh .xvii	
Sm toci Redd de Broken		sviij.d. Smª G	allinar de Cher	.vij ^{xx} . & ix.
Et dant in alto anno min9 ;			edd Gatt ad Nat	at .xlviij·
Sma ouoz ad Pasch vjc. p n	nai ⁹ .c. Dat ut su	pa.		
	Redditus libr	oz coquinar pcipi	end.	
	210031040 2104	1 and the but		

Terminus Sancti	Mi	chaelis.	*	Andree.	Annuciacois.	Johannis.
De molend de Brokenebge				x.8.		x.š.
De molend de Bremelham				xiij.3.		xiij.š.

Terminus Sancti	Michaelis.	Andree.	Annūciacõis.	Johannis.
De fra qondam frary .		iij.š.		
De Wifto de Aula	. xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.đ.
De Rogo le Brech	. xl.đ.	xl.đ.	xl.đ.	xl.đ.
De Wybto de Cherletoñ.	. xl.d.	xl.đ.	xl.đ.	xl.đ.
De Adam Martyn	. xviij.đ.	xviij.d.	xviij.đ.	xviij.đ.
De Robto Midewin?	. xxij.đ.	xxij.đ.	xxij.đ.	xxij.đ.
De westmolendino	. vj.š.viij.đ.	vj.š.viij.đ.	vj.š.viij.đ.	vj.š.viij.đ.
	Sm̃ xvij.s.xj.đ.	Smª xliij.s.xj.d.	Sm .xvij.s.xj.d.	Sma xl. s.xj.đ.

Smª tociº Redd Coquinar de Brokenbge .vj.fi. .viij.d.

LUTLETONE. Rotulus redditualis factus de Luttletone, anno regni regis E. xijo.

De Editha vidua .		viij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.	xvj.d.
De Henr Boys .		viij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.	xvj.d.	xvj.đ.
De Edwardo Botýld		viij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.
De Wifto Rolf .		viij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.
De Thoma Alstýchele		viij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.
De Thom fit Johis .		viij.đ.ő.	xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.
De Rico fit Radi .		iij.š.xj.đ.õ.qª.	ij.š.iij.đ.	ij.s.iij.đ.	ij.s.iij.đ.
De Wifto Sewý .		viij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.
De Cristin Relicta Heni	ř	viij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.
De Agath de Gardiñ		viij.đ.ö.	xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.
De fra Rotti de Alstých	nele	viij.đ-ö.	xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.	xvj.đ.
De Matild vp in toun		iiij.đ.~~.	viij.đ.	viij.đ.	viij.đ.
De Aliĉ de Gardino		iiij.đ.q̃".	viij.đ.	viij.đ.	viij.đ.
De Thom Wysman		iiij.đ.q̃~.	viij.đ.	viij.đ.	viij.đ.
De Rogo de Stocke	. ,	iiij.đ.q̃a	viij.đ.	viij.đ.	viij.đ.
De Adam de Stocke		x.đ.q̃.	viij.đ.	viij.đ.	viij.đ.
De Johe fit ppositi.		xj.đ.ő.	xj.đ.ö.	xj.đ.ö.	xj.đ.ö.
De Rogo Modý.					
De Editha vidua .		vj.đ.			
De Alic relict Heyward	i .	xviij.đ.			
De Thoma Beauforest		iij.š.			
De tota villa		j.đ.			
De Thom le Frankelayn		xij.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.
De Adam de Nýwenton		v.š.	v.š.	v.š.	v.8.
De Gurgite		vj.đ. quem hoï	es de Conhulle	tenent.	
02% D 14 2 36 4		4	216 D 14 05 4		4 "

Sm Redd sci Michis .xxv.s. .x.d.ö. Sm Redd Annunciacois .xxv.s. .iiij.d.ö. Smª toci9 Redd de Lutleton .v.ti. .ij.s.

De Turno sci Martini .vj.s. .viij.đ.

De annuo dono .xiij.s. .iiij.đ.

Sm Redd sci Andree .xxv.s. .iiij.d.ö.

Sm" Redd sči Joh .xxv.s. .iiij.d.ö.

De auxilio pdcos in festo sci Martini .xiij.#. .iiij.d.

De Turno de la Hockeday .vjs. .viij.đ.

Smª .xl.s.

Terminu	s Sanc	ti		Michaelis.	Andree.		Annüciacois.	Johannis.
De Plumwere				xiij.s.iiij.đ.			xiij.š.iiij.đ.	
De Lamyhanger				vj.s.viij.đ.	•		vj.s.viij.đ.	
De decimis de La	amýh	ang		vij.3.				
Item de Decimis	de S	Scyrre	ue-					
nýwentoň .				xiij.3.iiij.d. in fe	esto sci M	ichis.		
				Smª.xl.s.iiij.d.			Sm".xx.3.	

Smª tocius Redd Waft .lx.s. .iiij.d.

Rotulus reddituat fcus de Colerne, anno regni reg E. duodecimo.

De Thoma de Aula		vj.đ.			
De Agnete de Puteo .		iiij.đ.			
De Witto de Lockeham .		vij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.ö.	viij.đ.ö.	vij.đ.ő.
De Rogo Basely		iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.
De Walfo de Lockeham		vij.đ.		vij.đ.	
De Witto de Wytenhasche	е.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.
De Witto Hardyng .		xviij.d.		xviij.đ.	
De Johe Soutare		vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.
De Thoma le Jeouene .		xij.đ.		xij.đ.	
De Wifto Textore			j.đ.		
De Julian Textrice .		iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.
De Julian la Tayllur .		iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.	iiij.đ.
De Matild la Prestes .		iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.
De Rico le Tayllur		vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.	vj.đ.
De Matho Pistore		iiij.đ.			
De Adam Cnotte		iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.
De Witto Ingolf		j.đ.			
De Hawysa Cnotte .		*** *	iij.đ.	iij.đ.	iij.đ.
De Rado de Slaufford .				ob.	
		Smª-iij.s.xj.đ.	Sm̃".vj.š.xj.đ.õ.	Smª.vj.3.xj.đ.ö.	Sm̃".iij.3.x.đ.ő.

Smª tocius Redd de Colern .xxij.s. .x.đ.ö.

Rotulus reddituat factus de LA BLAKELONDE, anno regni Regis E. xijo.

De Dña Milecent de Monhaute	j. q"r? pipis.			
	j. q̃ rt pipis.			
De Dño Rogo de Kalstoñ .	j. libr cimiñ.			
De Adam le Chaumblayn .	ix.đ.	ix.đ.	ix.d.	ix.d.
De Robto de Thurleby	ix.d.	ix.d.	ix.d.	ix.d.
De Adam Petýt	ij.s.			
De Johe Ouyot	ij.s.iij.đ.	ij.š.iij.đ.	ij.s.iij.đ.	ij.š.iij.đ.

Terminus Sancti		Michaelis.	Andree.		Annūciacõis.		Johannis.
De Isabella vidua		j.đ.ob.					j.đ.õ.
De Alicia de Sanes .		iij.đ.					iij.đ.ő.
De molendinar		iij.đ.ő.					iij.đ.ö.
De Robto le Cnaue .		iiij.đ.ő.	iiij.đ.ö.		iiij.đ.ö.		iiij.đ.ö.
De Agñ Relict Walli Rolf		iiij.đ.õ.	iiij.đ.ö.		iiij.đ.ö.		iiij.đ.ö.
		Sm̃".vij.š.ij.đ.	Sm".iiij.	s.vj.d.	Sm̃".iiij.8	.vj.đ.	Sma.v.v.ij.d.
Smª tocius Redditus de	B	akelonde .xxj.8.	.iiij.đ.		Smª	Gatt d	le Cheï .xl".

De auxilio villañ ad festum Sancti Michaet.

		De a	MALLIO	vinan au lestum Sanch Michael.		
De Walto Petyt			ij.g.	De Rogo Berteloth		ij.s.
De Adam Godýng			ij.s.	De Johe Cute .		ij.s.
			ij.s.	De Agñ Relict Walti	Rolf	xij.đ.
De Rogo Alrich			ij.š.	De Rico Euerard		ij.s.
De Robto Cnaue			xij.d.	De Isabella vidua		ij.s.

Smª.xviij.sot.

KEMELE.

Terminus Sancti				Michaelis.	Andree.	Annūciacõis.	Johannis.
Domino Abbati				lij.s.j.đ.	lv.s.xj.d.	lij.s.viij.đ.	liij.s.xj.đ.ő.
Coquinario .				xij.s.	vij.s.	xij.s.	vij.s.
Pitanciario .				xv.đ.	xv.đ.	xv.d.	xv.d.
Item Abbti de R	edđ e	cctie		viij.s.v.đ.	viij.s.v.đ.	viij.s.v.đ.	viij. s.v.đ.

Smª Redd Abbtis cu Redd ecclie .xij.ti.vij.s.

Coquinar .xxxviij.s.

Pitanč .v.s.

CREDDEWELL.

Domino At	ßti		iiij.ti.vij.s.iiij.đ.	ő. lxij.s.v.đ.	lxiiij.s.vij.đ.ö.	xxxix.s.vj.đ.ö.
Coquinar			xv.đ.	xv.d.	xv.d.	xv.d.
Pitanc .			xiiij.ā.iij.đ.õ.	vj.s.ix.đ.ö.	xiij.s.xj.d.	vj. s.ix.đ.ö.
Sacriste .			lxv.s.iiij.đ. per	annum.		
Sacriste.	•		lxv.s.iiij.d. per	annum.		

Smª Redd Abbtis .xij.ti.xiij.s.xj.d.ö. Pitanciar .xlj.s.ix.d.ö. Coquinar .v.s. Saciste .lxv.s.iiij.d. Et inde pcipit abbas .xij.d.

CHERLETONE.

I	Domino Abl	ati			xxv.3.x.đ.ö.qª.	xij.s.viij.đ.	xj.s.xj.đ.	viij.s.viij.d.
	Coquinar Elemosinar.			٠	vij.s.vj.đ.	vij.s.vj.đ.	vij.š.vj.đ.	vij.s.vj.đ.

Smª Redd Abbtis .lix.3.5.qª.

Coquinar .xxx.8.

Elemosinar.

298 Possessions of the Abbey of Malmesbury in North Wilts.

Termin	us Sanc	ti		Michaelis.	Andree.	Annüciacois.	Johannis.
PURITO	NE.						
Domino Abbati Coquinar Priori				xxxix.8.iij.d. vij.8.vj.d. xviij.d.	xx.3.õ.q̃° vij.8.vj.đ.	xxiiij.3.j.đ.õ.q̃° vij.3.vj.đ. xviij.đ.	. xv.š.xj.đ.ő. vij.š.vj.đ.
Sm̃ [∞] Re	dđ Ati	btis .i	iij.ti.	xix.s.v.đ.	Coquinar .:	xxx.8.	Prior .iij.s.
Bremei	40						
Domino Abbati Coquinar Pitanciar				iiij.ti.vj.s.x.đ.	iiij.ti.iij.3.iiij.d. x.8.	iiij.ti.iij.s.iiij.đ.	lxxix.§.j.đ.õ.
Sm Redd	Abbti	s .xvj	.ti.xij	j.8.vij.đ.ö.	Coquinar .x.	*	anciar .iiij.s.
BLAKEL	OVER						
				xxv.š.ij.đ.	iiij.s.vj.đ.	iiij.ī.vj.đ.	v.š.ij.đ.
		S	ñ" t	ocius Redd de	Blakelonde .xxx	ix.s.iiij.đ.	
SUTTONI	Е.						
Domino Abbti				iij.š.v.đ.	lxiiij. 3.ix.d.ö.	lx.3.6.	lx.s.iiij.đ.
Sm " tocius Red	d de S	utton			Set med quod sci Joh .v.s.j.d.ö		inde In Pmin
COUPAU	DE.				ll ll	Pro Melegauet.	
Domino Absti				liiij.š.ix.đ.	xxv.3.j.đ.	xxij.š.vij.đ.	xix.s.viij.d.ö.
Coquinar . Pitanciar .				ij.s.vj.đ.	x.s. ij.s.vj.đ.	ij.š.vj.đ.	x.š. ij.š.vj.đ.
Smª I	Redd A	bbtis	.vj.ti	.ij.3.j.õ.	Coquinar .xx.s	. Pitano	iar̃ .x.3.
Northo	NE.						
Domino Abbati				x.3.vj.đ.	v.s.iiij.đ.	iiij.3.iiij.d.	iiij.s.iiij.d.
			Sã"	tocius Redd d	le Nortoñ .xxiiij.3	s.vj.đ.	
BROKINI	EBERG	E.					
Domino Abbti Coquinar . Pitanciar .				xxxij.3.5.q̃°. xvij.3.xj.đ. viij.3.ix.đ.	xxiij.8.ij.đ.õ.q̃". xliij.8.xj.đ. viij.8.ix.đ.		. xviij.3.õ.q" . xl.3.xj.đ. viij.3.ix.đ.
Smª Redd	Abbtis	iiij.	i.xvi	j.š.viij.đ.	Coquinar .vj.ti.v	riij.d. Pitan	ciar .xxxv.s.

Te	Terminus Sancti				Michaelis. Andree.		Annuciacois.	Johannis.	
Niw	ENTO	NE.							
Domino Ab	bati				ix.s.vij.đ.	.õ.	xx.s.x.đ.qa.	x.3.x.d.qa.	xxx.3.x.d.q".
Coquinar							x.3.		
	Sm	a. Re	dđ A	bbtis	.lxxij 8	ij.đ.ĝ	Min.	Coquinar .x.	s.

LUTLETONE.

Domino Abbati . . v.s. v.s. v.s. v.s.

Smª Redd Abbtis de Lutlinton .xx.s.

WALLIA.

Coquinar . . . lxj.s.ij.đ.ö. xx.s.iiij.đ.ö. xl.s.iiij.đ.ö. xx.s.iiij.đ.ö. Sm̃ Redd Coquinar de Wallia .vij.ti. .ij.s. .iiij.đ.

COLERNE.

Domino Abbati . . . viij.s.j.d.ö. iij.s.xj.d. vj.s.xj.d.ö. iij.s.x.d.ö.

Sm^e tocius Redd Abbtis de Colerne .xxij.s. .x.đ.ö. Et inde soluit Domino de Colerne .iiij.s. .x.đ.ö. Et Dno Galfrido de Wrokeshale .vij.đ. Et Thome de la Sale .iij.đ. Et Thome le Jeouene .ij.đ. Et sic remanet de claro Abbti .xvj.s. .x.đ.ö.

Fouleswike.

Sm̃ toci Redd Abbtis de maner. In festo sci Michis .xxij.ti. .viijs. .v.đ. In festo sci Andree .xix.ti. .xv.s. .vj.đ.q̃ In festo Annunciacois be Marie .xviij.ti. .xv.s. .iij.đ.q̃ In festo sci Johis .xvij.ti. .iiijs. .vij.đ.

Smª toci9 Redd Abbtis de maner p annum .lxxviij.ti. .vij.d.ö.

Smª tocius Redd Coquinar de maner ut supa .xx.ti. .vj.s.

Smª tocius Redd Pitanciar de maner ut supra .iiij.fi. .xv.3. .ix.d.ő.

Sm" tocius Redd Sacriste de maner ut sup" .lxv. s. .iiij.d.

Sm̃ tocius Redd Elemosinar de maner ut supra.

KEMELE.

De toto Redd p annū . . xxiiij.ti.x.š. De Cher frum .xv.q̃ rt 7 dj.

De Duobus Turnis . . xxxvj.š. De Cher Gatt .lxx. Et dant in alto anno

De auxilio sči Michis . . v.ti. p v. minus.

De annuo dono . . . lxvj.š.viij.d. De Redd Gatt ad Naĭ .xlv.

De Den sči Pet¹ 7 pannag . De Redd ouoş ad Pasch .m.iiijc. p mai² c.

2 Q 2

CREDDEWELLE.

De Toto Redd p annu .xviij.ti.vj.s.j.d.

De Duob; Turnis .iiij.ti.iij.s.iiij.đ.

De Auxilio sci Michis .viij.fi.

De annuo dono .v.ti.iiij.s.viij.đ.

De den Peti 7 pannag.

De Cher frum .xxv.q rt. .vij.bus.

De Cher Gatt .vj x ? .vj.

De Redd Gaff ad Natale .iiij x ? .vj.

De Redd ouoz ad Pasch . M . vjc.xlv.

CHERLETONE.

De toto Redd.

De Duoby Turnis .xxvj.š.viij.đ.

De auxilio sci Michis .lx. s.

De annuo dono .xl.s.

De Den Peti ? pannag.

De Cher frum .v.q rt. .v.bus.

De Cherechsett Gallin .lxix. Et in allo anno nisi .lvi.

De Redd Gaff ad Natale .xxxvj.

De Redd ouoz ad Pasch .iiije ? .x.

PURITONE.

De toto Redd .vj.fi.xij.g.v.d.

De Duobs turnis .xxxvj.8.

De auxilio sci Michis .lx.s.

De annuo dono .xl.3.

De Den Peti ? pannag.

De Cherechsett frum .vj.qurt.

De Cherechsett Gaft .iiijxx.

De Redd Gatt ad Natale .xlij.

De Redd ouog ad Pasch .vº 7.v.

BLAKELOND.

De toto Redd .xxxix.8.iiij.d.

De pannag porcos.

De Cherechsett Gaft .xl.

BREMEL.

De toto Redd .xvj.fi.xij.s.vij.d.ö.

De Duob; Turnis .liiij. 3.

De auxilio sci Michis .vij.ti.

De annuo dono .v.ti.

De Den Peti ? pannag.

De Cher frum .viij.qurt. .v.bus.

De Cherechsett Gaft .vij*x ? .xvj. Abbi.

De Redd ouo; ad Pasch .m .iiijxx.iiij.

SUTTONE.

De toto Redd .ix.ti.viij.s.vij.d.

De Duob; Turnis .liij.s.iiij.d.

De Juuenib; ad la Hockeday .vj.s.viij.đ.

De aux sci Mich .v.ti.vj. s.viij.d.

De annuo dono .iiij.ti.

De Den Peti ? pannag.

De Cherechsett frum .xv.q rt.

De Redd Gatt ad Natale .xlj.

De Redd ouoz ad Pasch .vje?.vxx.

COUFAUD.

De toto Redd .vij.ti.xij.s.j.d.ö.

De duob; Turnis .lxiij.s.iiij.đ.

De auxilio sci Mich .vij.hi.xiij.s.iiij.d.

De annuo dono .xx.3.

De Den sči Peti 7 pannag.

De Cher frum .xviij.q rt. .iij.bus.

De Cherechsett Gaft .lxij.

De Redd Gatt ad Natale .lx.

De Redd ouoz ad Pasch .mt. %c.

N. (sic.)

De toto Redd .xxiiij.s.vj.d.

De duobs Turnis .xvj.s.

De auxilio sci Mich .xxiij.s.iiij.d.

De annuo dono .xx.3.

De Den Peti 7 pannag.

De Cherechsett frum .iij.qart..vj.b9.

De Cherechsetī Gaft .xx.

De Redd Gaff ad Natale .xvij.

De Redd ouoz ad Pasch .ccxl.

BROKINEBRERG'.

De toto Redd .xij.ti.xiij.s.iiij.d.

De Duob3 Turnis .xxxiiij.s.

De Aux sci Mich .iiij.ti.xiij.s.iiij.đ.

De annuo dono .liij. s.iiij.đ.

De Den Peti + pannag.

De Cher frum .vij.qart 7 .dj.

De Cherechsett Gallin .vij*x ? .ix.

Et in allo anno nisi .vj** 7 .xix. De Redd Gaff ad Naï .xlviij. De Redd ouog ad Pasch .vj°.

NIWENTONE.

De toto redd .iiij.ti.ij.s.ij.d.q^a.

De duob; Turnis .xx.s.

De auxit sci Mich .liij.s.iiij.d.

De annuo dono .xl.s.

De Den Peti : pannag.

De Cherechsett frum .x.qurt r.dj.

De Cherechsett Gaft .xxxij.

De Redd ouoz ad Pasch .vjc ? .xxx.

LUTLETONE.

De toto Redd .viij.ti.ij.s.iiij.d.
De duob; Turnis .xiij.s.iiij.d.
De auxit sõi Mich .xiij.s.iiij.d.
De annuo dono .xiij.s.iiij.d.
De den Pet! 7 pannag.

De Cherechsett Gatt .x. Fuling.

[coqinar De toto Redd .v.fi.ij.s.vj.d.

De aux in festo sci Andr .vj.s.viij.đ.

Item Domino Abbati de auxilio in festo scii Michis .xiij.8.iiij.d.

Sm̃ tocius Redditus Abbtis de maner p annum .lxxviij.ti. vij.đ.ö. Sm̃ Duorum Turnorum de maner .xxj.ti. .ix.š. .iiij.đ. || Sm̃ tocius auxilij in festo sči Michis .xlvij.ti. .xiij.š. .iiij.đ. || Sm̃ toci³ annui doni .xxx.ti. .xj.š. .iiij.đ. || Sm̃ toci³ recept in denar .viij. x xvij.ti. .vij.š. .xj.đ.o. || Sm̃ tocius Cher de frumto .c.xvj.q̃ rī v.vj.buš. || Sm̃ toci³ Cher Gatt .viij. v. xiiij. || Sm̃ toci³ Redd Gatt ad Natale .iij. v. lxxv. || Sm̃ Gatt de Cher v. Redd .m.ixxx. v. ix. || Sm̃ ouoy de maner ad Pasch .viij. v. j. v. lxx.

Nota isti sunt articuli super quibus visus debeat fieri circa festum Sancti Michaelis r per totum annum. Quando necesse fuerit.

Inprimis de Redd assiso singloz man⁹ioz. De auxilio sci Michis. De annuo dono. De Dñicis terris quomodo colant⁷. De Boscis. pratis. pastur quomodo custodiant⁷. De subbosco si vendi possit ⁷ ad quale comodum. De exitu g^eng ⁷ eaz expensis. De stauro. ut de Afferis. Bobus iugalibz. vaccis. Bouettis. ⁷ Juuenculis. Bouiculis. ⁷ vitulis. ⁷ eoz numero.

De stauro Bidencium 7 eoş exitib; 7 eoş numo. De stauro porcoş 7 eoş exitib; 7 eoş numero. De stauro aucaru. Gallinaru. anatum. 7 eoş exitib; 7 numo. De exitu apium. De exitu opum posito; ad Gabulum a festo sci Michis in antea 7 qu'ntum inde admittitur. De aruris si plene fiant 7 certis temporib; 7 in quib; culturis. Si seruicia manualia more debito dño fiant. Si Cherechsett frumti 7 Gatt dño soluant. De Redd Gallin ad Natale tam de Wodeward qu'm custimariis singlo; man'ioru si dño soluatur. De Remans Gatt die cinerum p maneria 7 Redd caponum. Cymini 7 altius Redditus. De Turno de la Hockeday cum pquisitis turni

eiusdem. De finibus Turni sči Martini i de la Hockeday i eiusdem pquisitis tam in denar q"m in Gaft i puft. De Columbariis qualiter respondeant. Item q"ntum singule Dayerie p pondus i numerū soluunt tam de caseo q"m de Butyro. Item quib; dieb; inceperunt face caseum i de Diuisione temporis de numo augmentando i decrescendo. i quo die illum face cessauerunt. De maneriis i eoa domib; Clausturis. Gardinis. vincis. sepibus. i omibus curie circumstanciis si bū custodianti. Si terre marlienti i compostienti pro ut facultas locoa exigit. Et si ad ea facienda sicut necessarium est p custodes eorū habūint. De Balliuis. positis.

seruientib3. wodewardis. messoribus. I aliis tam forinsecis q"m intrinsecis prouidendis I intrandis I plegiis inueniendis.

De visu infra Abbathiam faciendo ut de equis ad Carectas. De ferro ad fabricam. De Bresio ad Breseriam. De lardario prouidendo. De Tannaria. De porcheria abbie qd instauretur scdm qd possit sufficient sustineri.

KEMELE.

Operacones p annu .xxxiiij.li.

De Cher frumti .xv.q"rt, .iij.bus.

Ad assisam panis r Bresij de frumento .vij x r xvj. q"rt preter incrementa.

CREDDEWELLE.

Operacones p annu .xlv.ti.xvj.s.iiij.d.

De Cher frumti xxv.q ri. .vij.bus.

Ad assisam panis r Bresij de frumento .ccc.
q ri preter incrementa.

CHERLETONE.

Operacones p annu .xix.ti.xj.s.iiijd.

De Cher frumti .vj.q"rt..vj bus.

Ad assisam panis r Bresii de frumento lxxviij.

q"rt preter incrementa.

COUFAUD.

Operacones p annum .xxxv.ti.iij.v.

De Cher frumti .xviij.qurr.

Ad assisam panis v Bresii de frumento .ixxv v
ij.qurt pr increm.

BROKINEBERGE.

Operacones p annu .xxvij.ti.ij.s.x.d.

De Cher frumti .vij.q"rī r dimid.

Ad assisam panis r Bresij de frumeto .vij r r iij.q"rī r dimid preter incrementa.

NORTHONE.

Operaciónes p annu. De Cher frumti .iij.qª rt r j.bus. NIWENTHONE.

Operacones p annu .xx.fi.xj.s.viij.d.

De Cher frumti .x.qurt v dimid.

Ad assisam panis v Bresij de frumeto .c. v .xvij.qurt pt increm.

BREMEL.

Operacones p annu .xxxviij.ti.xiiij.s.iiij.d. De Cher frumti .viij.q̃ rt .v.bus. Ad assisam Bresij de frumento .xix.q̃ rt + dimid pref increm.

FOXHAM.

Ad assis panis de frum .xxvj.qurt.

Operacones p annu .xx.ti.xvij.d.o.

BLAKELONDE. (Vacat.)

PURITONE.

De Cher frumti .v.q̃ rt 7 .iij.b⁹.

Ad assisam panis 7 Bres de frumeto, vj. (sic) ?

xvj.q̃ rt pt increm.

(Sm q rifi

ad bres.

(? ē sm in-

cremti xix.

SUTTONE.

Operaccies p annu.

De Cher frumti .xiiij.q̃ rr. .v.b.

Sm̃ q̃ rrioz de Cher .c.xvj.q̃ rr. .vj.bus.

Sm̃ q̃ rri frumti ad assis panis 7 bresij p annum cum incrementa .mc.lxxvj.q̃ r.

Sma opačonum p annu .cc.xlj.tj.xv.đ. ob. pred Sutton 7 Norton.

COLERNE. FOULESWYKE. LUTTLETON'. ?
TUDERINTON. ? BLAKELONDE. nullam reddunt assisam.

KEMELE.

Ad assis Bres de ord .xxv.q̃ r̃ v dj. Ad Elemosina Abbtis .iiij.q̃ r̃ v dj.

CREDDEWELL'.

Ad assis Bres de ord .xxv.q̃ rt 7 dj. Ad Elemos Abbtis .iiij.q̃ rt 7 dj.

CHERLETONE.

Ad assis Bres de ord .xxv.q̃ rt 7 dj. Ad Elemos Abbtis .iiij.q̃ rt 7 dj.

COUPAUD.

Ad assiš Breš de orđ .xxv.q̃ ri 7 dj. Ad Elemoš Abbtis .iiij.q̃ ri 7 dj.

NIWENTONE.

Ad assis Bres de ord .xxv.q ri ? dj. Ad Elemos Abbtis .iiij.q ri ? dj.

BROKINEBERGE.

Ad assis Bres de ord .xxv.q~rt ? dj. Ad Elemos Abbtis .iiij.q~rt ? dj.

Sối qu'rt bres fri c incrementis .ijc.iiij**.xviij. qu'rt di.

Sm^a q̄ rt bres ord c̄ incrementis .ij^e.j.q̄ rt. Sm̄ q̄ rt bres auen̄ c̄ incremtis .ij^e.lxxvj.q̄ rt. Sm̄ q̄ rt fr̄i ord 7 auen̄ .m.iiij^e.lxxv.dī.

Med quod abbas pcipit decimas apud Creddewelle. Kemele. Puritone. Cherletone. Coufaude. 7 Brokenbge.

PURITONE.

Ad assiš Bresii de orđ .xij.q̃ rī .vj.bus. Ad Elemos Abbtis .iiij.q̃ rī ?dj.

BREMEL.

Ad assis Bresii de ord .xij.q̃ rī.vj.b°. Ad Elemos Abbtis .iiij.q̃ rī 7 dj.

Sm̃" q̃"rfioz ordei ad Bresiū pret increment .viij". ? .xviij.q̃"rt̃ ? dj.
Sm̃" ord ad Elemoš .xxxvj.q̃"rt̃.
Item de Bremel ad assiš panis de ord ? siligine .iiij". ? xvij.q̃"rt̃ ? dj.

KEMELE.

Ad Bresium auene .vxx. 7 .xvj.q̃ rī. Ad prebend de aueñ .lxxviij.q̃ rī.

CREDDEWELLE.

Ad Bresium aueñ .vj. ? xvj.qªrī. Ad prebend de aueñ .lxxviij.qªrī.

CHERLETONE.

Ad Bresium aueñ .vjxx. ? .xvj.q~rt. Ad prebend de aueñ .lxxviij.q~rt.

COUPAUDE.

Ad Bresium aueñ .vj**. ? .xvj.q̃ rt. Ad prebend de aueñ .lxxviij.q̃ rt.

BROKENEBERGE.

Ad Bresium aueñ .vj. **. *† xvj.q**rt. Ad prebend de aueñ .lxxviij.q**rt.

NIWENTONE.

Ad Bresium aueñ .vj*x. ? .xvj.qa rt. Ad prebend de aueñ .lxxviij.qa rt.

PURITONE.

Ad Bresium aueñ .lxviij.q̃ rt. Ad prebend de aueñ .lxxviij.q̃ rt.

BREMEL.

Ad Bresium aueñ .lxviij.q̃ rt. Ad prebend de aueñ .lxxviij.q̃ rt.

Sm" q"rtios auen ad Bresium pret incrementa .ixc. 7 lij. q"rt.

Sm q rios auen ad pbend in abathya p annu preter incrementa .v. ? .xliiij.q rl.

Apud Puritoñ. Duo molendiñ. Apud auene. Duo molendiñ. Apud Bremel. Vnú molendiñ. Apud Coufaude. Vnú molendiñ.

Memod de stýkkis anguillaz. De Coubrigge. De Westmolendino.

Memod de vaccar. De Bremel. Puritone. Stonhulle. Coufaude. 7 Brokenebge.

The Ancient Limits of the Forest of Braden.

The map now submitted to the Society (Plate V.) not only shows the possessions of the abbey of Malmesbury; it includes the district formerly known as the forest of Braden.

Manwood, in his Treatise on the Forest Laws, observes that the only forests in England of which the period of their formation is known, are the New Forest, made by William the Conqueror, and that of Hampton Court, formed by Henry the Eighth. I shall therefore be pardoned if I fail in tracing the forest of Braden to its origin. Of its great antiquity, however, we have evidence in the fact, that in the land-limits of the charters already cited, reference is made to its former name of "Orwoldes Wood." It was perhaps an escheat to the crown in the days of the Anglo-Saxon kings, which history has failed to chronicle. Previous to the Norman Conquest, its southern limit included Wootton Bassett, which, as already shown by the charter of Eadwig, was "intra silvam quæ vocatur Braden." It seems probable that the southern boundary once extended as far as the high road running from Wootton to Malmesbury, where the sterile soil known as "Braden land" terminates, and is succeeded by some of the richest pastures in the county.

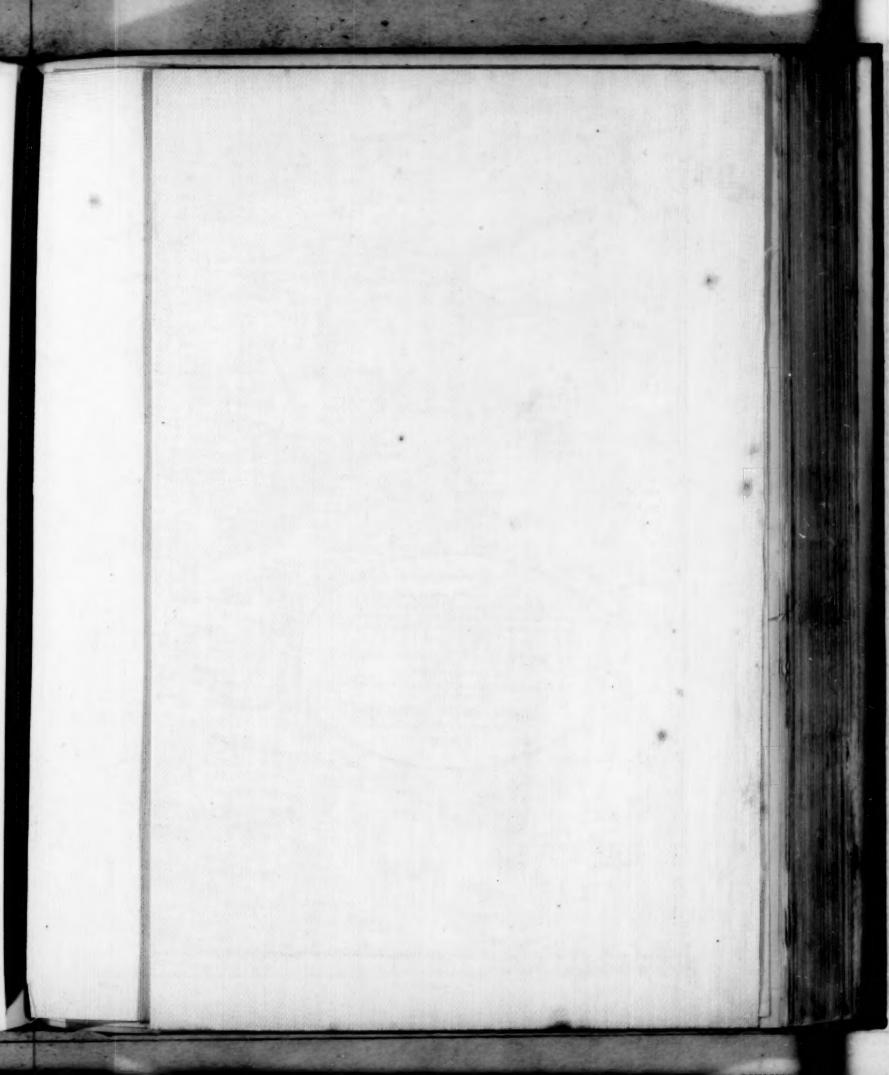
Braden, in all probability, was augmented by Canute, whose forest laws may be referred to as affording ample evidence of the severity with which their infraction would be regarded and punished. After reciting the punishment which awaited delinquents of different classes, he observes, "nam crimen veneris ab antiquo inter majora et non immerito numerabatur." Again, he says, "Let every man forego my hunting," and warns offenders that he will require the full "wite." By these laws, if a savage dog were found at large within the precincts of a royal forest, the owner was required to compound for the offence by paying the price of a man of middle rank, which, singularly enough, is rated according to the Thuringian estimate, namely, two hundred solidi.

Much has been said of the extreme rigour of the forest laws under the Norman kings, who are supposed to have added to former punishments deprivation of

a See more especially the Constitutiones de Foresta, arts. 22—25.
b Constitutiones de Foresta, xxi.

² — горда ælc man minne hunrnoð.loc hþæp іс hit зегрибоб pille habban be rullan ріте. . . домак, 81. Anc. Laws and Institutes, ed. Thorpe, vol. i. p. 420.

⁴ Constitutiones de Foresta, xxxiv. Anc. Laws, vol. i. p. 430.









sight, emasculation, and amputation of feet or hands; but it should be borne in mind that these cruel inflictions were not unknown to the Anglo-Saxons, and were extended to false coiners and other offenders against the regalia.4 The truculent law of the Conqueror, commanding mutilation of the person instead of capital punishment-ita quod truncus remaneat vivus, in signum prodicionis et nequicie sueb-was directed against all offenders who might be brought within its operation. The tyranny of the Norman princes was, however, most conspicuously exhibited in their afforesting the woods of their subjects which lay contiguous to their own forests. This, in the days when the possession of land alone gave rank and title, must have been grievously felt by their more wealthy subjects, and paved the way to the great crisis of Runnemede. The words of the Charta de Foresta, if other evidence were wanting, are sufficient to certify us on this point: "Imprimis, all the forests made by our grandfather King Henry shall be viewed by honest and lawful men; and if he turned any other than his own demesne woods into forests, to the damage of him whose wood it was, it shall be forthwith laid out again and disafforested."

These encroachments were, however, not restricted to the possessions of individuals, they sometimes trenched on the lands of the Church; thus, in the record, Appendix No. 3, we incidentally learn that the wood of Flusrugge, which formed a part of the manor of Crudwell, given by Ceadwealha to the Abbey of Malmesbury, was afforested by King John and joined to Braden.⁴ It is probable that further research may shew that some of the woods included in the manors of other religious establishments, mentioned in the perambulations hereafter cited, were afforested in the same manner.

In the reign of Edward III. the officers of the forest of Braden reported that in the days of Henry III. the boundaries commenced at a place called Brimyngesbridge, which was within its limits. The precise locality I have not been able to

A Vide, inter alia, Leg. Æthelst. 14.

^b De Suppliciorum Modo. Leg. Gulielmi Conq. vol. i. p. 494, ed. Thorpe.

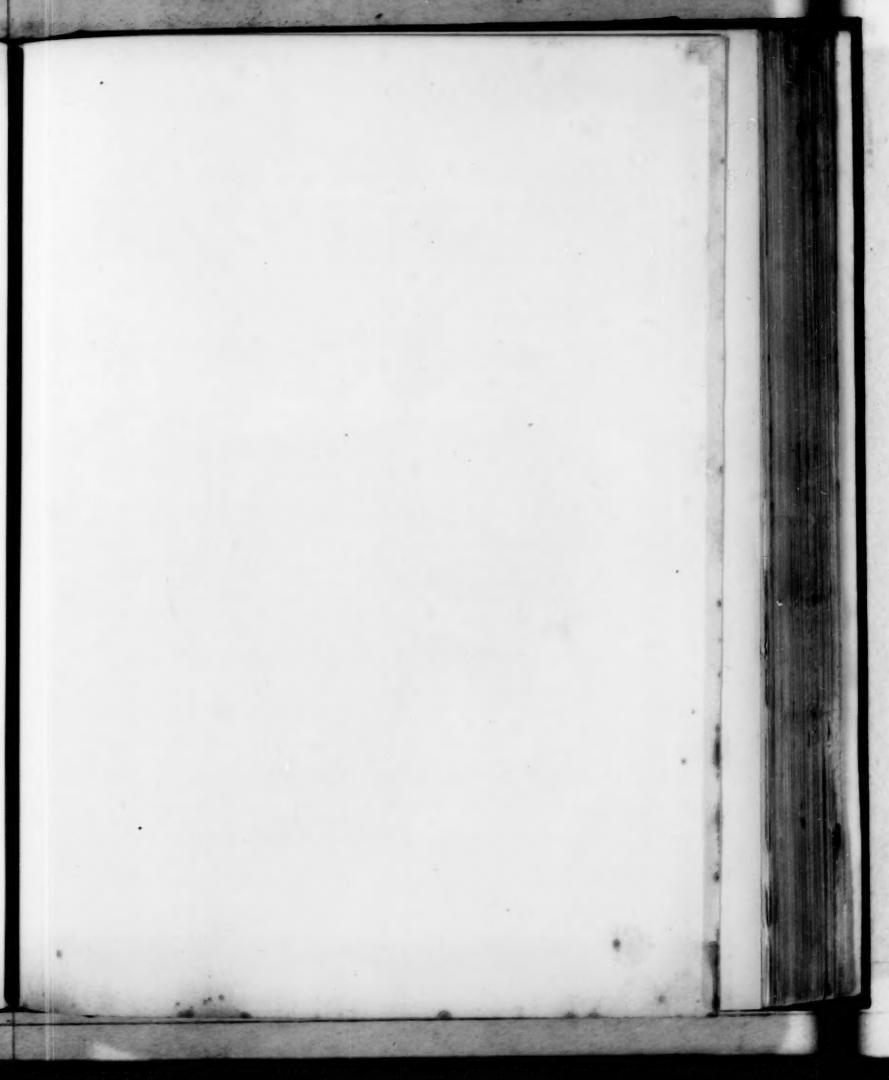
e "In primis, omnes forestæ quas Rex Henricus, avus noster, afforestavit, videantur per probos et legales homines; et si boscum aliquem alium quam suum dominicum afforestaverit, ad damnum illius cujus boscus fuerit, statim deafforestetur."—Cart. de For. Art. I.

⁴ "This king John, in like manner, within a while after that he came to be king, began by litle and litle to follow the examples of his father king Henry the second, and king Richard the first his brother, in afforesting the landes of his subjects, that were any way neare adjoyning unto any of the Forrestes of the said king. So that by the new afforrestations of these three foresaid kinges, the Forrestes in every place were to much inlarged, that the greatest part of thys Realme was become Forrest."—Manwood; Forrest Lawes, e.sp. xx. fol. 127, ed. 1598.

identify, but we know for certain that it was situated between "Baillard's Ash," now corruptly called "Banners Ash," and the rivulet Garsbourne, and that the line proceeded by the course of the stream to Woodbridge and Garsdon, as far as the bridge which is between that village and the court of the Abbot of Malmsbury. Then ascending, it included the "Vishweresmull" and proceeded to "Shaldeforde," and thence, still northerly, to Braden Brook. Then, including Flisterage, or Flusrigge, it swept round the wood called "the Steorte," the locality of which is still indicated by a farmstead known at this day as Start Farm. Thence by the course of Swill Brook to "Pye Hegge," the memory of which survives in Pike Corner. Then by the course of the Thames to "Halegheston," now Hailston, to West Mill, a designation still retained. It then proceeds to the "Coueldecroyz," which is stated to be within the limits of the forest, but I am unable to identify its precise situation, unless, indeed, it was the cross which stood near the junction of Cricklade High Street and Calcot Street. The cross which occupied this spot was removed about forty years since, and, although that structure was clearly, by the style of its architecture, of a later period than that of this perambulation, it probably occupied the place of a more primitive erection, to which the term cowled or covered cross might have been applied. From this cross, the line extended by the highway to Calcot Bridge, and thence by "Stokkenlake," or, as it is now called, "Dance Brook," across the marsh to Eisey Bridge, eastward by the course of the Thames to a mere, or boundary, which must have been on the western bank of the river Rey, which runs southward from the Thames, and crosses the high road at Seven Bridges, then known as Langebrygge. This stream formed the eastern boundary of the forest, and the next spot recited in the perambulation is the Mill of Wydyhull, or Widhill, the situation of which, on the east bank of the Rey, is indicated on the map. The perambulation states that it was "without the forest." The next place indicated is "Ayldeforde," which I conceive to be the spot known as Woodward's Bridge. A very old inhabitant of the district well remembers the ford here, as well as the mill above mentioned. Shaghebrigg (Shaw Bridge) is next mentioned as within the forest bounds, and the line extends to Lydiard Tregoze, which was also included. The limit then runs from east to west, including the Mill of Migghale, Baillardes Asshe, and the tres divisas, b and terminates at Brimynggesbrigge, the spot first mentioned.

A meadow here still bears the name of "Langbridge Mead."

h i.e. the divisions of the three hundreds of Kingsbridge, Highworth, and Malmesbury. This suggests the origin of the name of the town of Devizes, which probably once stood at the junction of ancient boundaries obliterated in an age long past, and of which no record remains.



FRACMENT OF AM ANCIENT MAP TEMP.

The report further states these bounds included woods belonging to the Abbey of Malmesbury, in the various manors of Brokenbergh, Cheorletone, Brenkeworthe, and Purton; also the woods in the manor of Minety, belonging to the Abbey of Cirencester; the wood of the Abbey of Stanlegh, in the manor of Mighale, then held by Queen Isabella; the wood in the manor of Ashton, belonging to the Abbey of Tewkesbury; the wood of William de Grandison, in his manor of Lydiard Tregoze; the wood at Hailstone, belonging to the Abbey of Gloucester; the wood belonging to John de Clinton and Robert Russell, in their manor of Lydiard Milicent, and the wood which belonged to Earl Warren, formerly the Earl of Lincoln's, within the manor of Aldebourne; the woods at Brochure, belonging to Elizabeth Paynel and Alianora de Kaynes, being deafforested by the perambulation made after the confirmation of the Charta de Foresta by King Henry the Third.

The perambulation now made greatly reduces the limits of the ancient forest of Braden. It commences at the "Beostock," includes a small stream called Greenbourne, and extends as far as "Colstockesford," proceeding thence by the "two Sandfordes" and the "Calewehille de la Cove" to "Godefrayeshurne." Several of these localities can be identified in a map on vellum of the time of Queen Elizabeth, in the possession of Mr. Richard Mullings, of Circnester, who very kindly presented me with the copy now exhibited. (Plate VI.) The boundary then proceeds to "Sandraggeshok," as far as Canonesweye, which was within the forest, and thence to the house of Henry atte Bourne, and along the stream of the Thames to the land of William atte Brigge, which was without the forest; thence again to the Thames, as far as the house of William of the Mill: from this house it proceeds to the Cowledcross, mentioned in the first perambulation, and so by the king's highway to Stokebridge. Thence the boundary extends to "Widemor," which was within the forest, and thence between the woods of Hugh Peverell and the Earl of Lincoln southerly, until it reaches the "Beostock" before named. The perambulation states that the king has no demesne within the forest.

The perambulation made in the twenty-eighth year of Edward the Third, recorded on the fly-leaf of the Cartulary preserved in the Stone Tower at Westminster, contains some particulars not recited in the others. It mentions the Cowled Cross, and states that the boundary then proceeds by the high road to the cross before the house of John de Coluham, which may have been the cross at the junction of Calcot-street with Cricklade High-street, in which case we must look for the Cowled Cross without the town.

A breviate of the 5th Henry the Sixth (anno 1426) recites the boundaries of

the forest in much the same terms as the foregoing, but the names of places are strangely corrupt. We need only notice the "Beostocke," which is called Buscolke. The designations, being no longer appropriate, were soon corrupted when delivered orally. We have numerous instances of this in the land-limits of the earlier charters.

The boundaries of Braden, as ascertained in the reign of Charles the First, in whose reign it was disafforested, are recited in an order or decree of the Court of Exchequer, in a suit between that king and certain persons claiming right of common in the forest. A copy, describing these limits, for which I am indebted to Mr. Richard Mullings, will be found in the Appendix No. 6. From this recital it will be seen that the boundary runs from West Mill to the locality called "The Forty," thence by the highway to the end of Chelworth-lane to the "Frith-end," or "Duchy Ragg," by Munch's Rail, by the brook called Stoke Brook to Stoke Bridge and Scholar's Cross, and so southerly down to the boundaries of Minety, when it proceeds by the course of the little stream called Greenbourne as far as Sandford, or, as it is called in the old perambulations, and in the fragment of the ancient map now exhibited, "the two Sandfordes," then northerly to the Thames. These limits show at a glance how much the forest had been shorn of its ancient proportions at this period.

In conclusion, it will be seen that I have attempted no more than the identification of the bounds of this once extensive hunting-ground. A history of the Forest of Braden I leave to other and more competent hands. Such a history would unfold much that is curious and interesting, and afford us many glimpses of social life in the middle ages. Despite the severe laws already alluded to—for severe they continued to be, though mitigated by the terms of the Charta de Foresta—the Placita, yet preserved among our ancient records, contain abundant evidence that offences against the forest laws were here and elsewhere many and frequent.^b

^a Mr. T. Duffus Hardy has favoured me with a copy of another perambulation in the General Record Office in which "Beostock" is transformed into Bristoll!

^b Mr. Burtt, of the Chapter House, Westminster, to whom my acknowledgments are due for much kind attention, gives me the following proofs from rolls of Placita in that depository:—

Placita temp. Edw. III.—Certain offenders against the venison of the Lord King took a stag at "Benetham" in said forest.

The like "apud La Penne;" and they stood near the pale of the park "de la Fasterne" (belonging to Hugh le Despenser).

The like "apud Stonhurst."

Doubtless in those days the maxim "unde habeas quærit nemo" was observed by dwellers within the forest precincts; and the old lines quoted by Budæus—

> Non est inquirendum Unde venit venison, Nam si forte furto sit Sola fides sufficit,

if not known to them, were verified by usage in the towns and hamlets around. The lawing or expeditating of large dogs, so rigorously insisted on, might have acted as a partial check upon deer-slaying; but the long-bow and the arbalest, in skilful hands, compensated for the want of fleetness in those animals, and there are never wanting in society men of daring spirit to whom danger would operate rather as an incentive than a denial.

The name of Braden Forest is still used to designate the tract of land in which it was once comprised, but the forest itself has long since ceased to exist. Viewed from the hills below Swindon, the stranger, from the sylvan character of the whole district, might suppose that vert and venison were here still guarded with

The like " in quodam bosco vocato Colepittesmor."

The like "in quodam loco qui vocatur Cokstall."

The like "in quodam loco qui vocatur Oxeheye," et "in alio loco qui vocatur Wekhurst."

The like "juxta la Horethorne."

The like "apud Chelesworth."

The like "in quodam loco qui vocatur le Fryth."

The like " in grava de Haleweston."

The like "in bosco d'ni Willi' de Granzoun in quo loco qui vocat' Troweye."

Other localities of the forest are thus mentioned :-

"Et q'd id'm Adam Fraunceys tenuit in foresta p'd'ca unu' carbon' apud Kulstokisford et alibi in foresta." Gilbert Basset assarted seven acres at Wootton Basset.

List of "Bosci de novo vastat'," for which the owners were fined, including Sandrigge, Perhamstede, la Barndhulle, Horstempnelake, Huly et Sterte.

Regard. Temp. E. III.

" Cepit unu' damu' apud Bennemor."

Do. "apud Stonyhurst."

Do. "apud Burghslade."

Nets taken " ad quendam locum voc' Hasle."

Stag taken " juxta le Horethorne."

Placita. 34 E. I. (?)

Stag found dead "apud Pukeburn."

Do, "apud Burlade."

Certain Malefactors were "apud Hippingescombe."

the jealous care of old; but, on traversing the space included between the Rey and the Thames, he will perceive that the inclosures have obliterated every trace of its ancient state. Time has destroyed even its traditions. The forest laws are no longer remembered, and the terms "stable stand," "dog draw," "backbear," and "bloody hand" would be as unintelligible to the inhabitants as many other obsolete phrases in the statute book.

J. Y. AKERMAN.

27th January, 1857.

APPENDIX TO BRADEN.

No. 1. From the Roll of Placita Forestæ, Wilts, xxI. endorsed "Perambulac et Metæ et Bundæ Forestæ in Com Wilts, tempore Edw. 3¹⁵" in the Chapter House, Westminster.

BRADENE.ª

Custos 7 ministri foreste de Bradene dicunt qd bunde foreste pdce incepunt tempe H. Rege fit R J. apud Brimynggesbrigge q fuit in foresta. Et sic vsus occidente usq, domu Reginald de la Slade que fuit in foresta. Et inde usa Garesbourne 7 fuit in foresta paca Garesbourne. Et sic p rivu aque usa, la Wodebrigge q fuit in foresta. Et inde p long ejusdm rivi usa, Garesdone fuit villa de Garesdone tunc infr." forestam usq. ponte qui est int ipam villam ? curiam Abbtis de Malmesbury ibidm. Et inde ascendendo usq la Vishweresmuff et fuit la Vishweresmull tñc infr forestă. Et se inde usa, la Shaldeforde q fuit infra forestă. Et sic usa, Bradenbroke qo fuit infra forestă. Et inde use, la Steorte q fuit infra forestă. Et sic use, la Pye Hegge qui fuit infra foresta. Et inde p long aque de Tamyse q est infra foresta usq. Halegheston q fuit in foresta. Et sic p pdčam aquā usq, la Westmull q̃ fuit infra forestā. Et inde usq, la Couledecroyz que ẽ in foresta. Et sic usq. ponte de Colecote q fuit in foresta. Et inde usq. Stokkenelake q fuit in forest. Et sic p̃ Tamisiā usq ex opposito le mere . . . q̃ est ext" forestā. Et inde usq la Langebrygg̃ q̃ fuit in foresta. Et sic usq, molendină de Wydyhull qd est exte foresta. Et inde usq, pontê de Ayldeforde q fuit in for. Et sic usq. Shaghebrigg qui fuit infr" for. Et inde usq. ad stagnu de Lydiard Treigoz quod fuit infr" for. Et sic usq, molendin de Migghale quod fuit in for. Et inde usq, Baillardes Asshe q fuit in for. Et sic usq. Tres Divisas q funt in for. Et inde ad pdcm

Itm dicunt q^d bosci quos Abbas de Malmesbury tenet infra bundas pdc̃as ptinentes ad maneria sua de Brokenbergh Cheorletone Brenkeworthe ? Purytone, Et bosci quos Abbas Cyrencestr̃ simir tenet ibidm ptinent̃ ad man^oiū suū de Mynty, Et boscus qui fuit Abbtis de Stanlegh ptinc̃s ad

a From the Proceedings in the Court of Exchequer, 4th Charles I. it appears that this boundary dates from the 12th Henry III., and that it was returned 28th Edward I.

man⁹iũ suũ de Mighale quẽ Dña Is Regina Angt modo tenet, Et boscus quẽ Abbas de Teuksbur tenet ibidm ptinentë ad man⁹iũ suũ de Asshtoñ, Et boscus quẽ Wittms de Grandisono tenet ibidm ptinent ad man⁹iũ suũ de Lydiard Treigoz, Et boscus quẽ Abbas Gloucestr tenet ibidm apud Haleweston, Et boscus quẽ Johnes de Clyngtone 7 Robtus Russel tenët ibid ptinent ad maner suũ de Lydiard Milicent, Et boscus quẽ Comes Warennye tenet ibidem qui quond fuit Comite Lyncoln ptines ad maner suũ de Aldebourn, Et bosci quos Elizabeth Paynel 7 Alianora de Kaynes tenet ibidm apud Brochure, sunt deafforestati p pambulacoem ibidm factam post confecconem carte pdci Dñi Reg H. de libtatib; foreste.

Dicunt eciam qd bunde pdce foreste nunc facte p pdcam pambulacoem incipiunt apud la Beostocke qui ĉ in foresta. Et sic usa, Grenebourne simitr in foresta. Et inde p Grenebourne usq. Colstockesforde simir in foresta. Et inde int duas Sandfordes usq. la Calewehull de la Coue qui est in foresta. Et sic usq. Godefrayeshurne qui est in foresta. Et inde usq. Sandraggeshoke sim'r in foresta, et sic usq. Canonesweve que est in foresta. Et inde ad domu Henrici atte Bourne que ĉ in foresta; et sic p ram ej dm̃ Henr̃ q̃ ĉ simtr in foresta, descendendo usq, ad aq m Tamesie 7 usq, ad fram Witti atte Brigge que c ex" foresta. Et sic inf fram ej dm Witti et fra Johis Hobbeshort, cujº Johis tra ĉ in foresta, usq. pdcam aq"m de Tamyse. Et inde p pdcam aq"m usq. domu Witti de Molendino que ĉ infr." for. Et sic ad le Coueldecroiz q est in foresta. Et sic p via regiă usq, ad domû Joh Hobbeshort q e in foresta. Et sic in? Pra Hugon Peverel que e in foresta Têram Johis de Nevyle q est ext" forest usq, la Fryth q c in for. Et inde p fossatu quod c divisu int boscu Johis de Nevyle qui c exte for et boscu Robti de Kaynes infe forest existent. Et sic int pdcm boscu ipius Robti 7 pastură pdci Johis de Nevyle 7 pastă Comite Lyncoln que sunt exfor usq. Stokebrigge q1 e in forest. Et inde usq. Widemor q1 est in foresta. Et sic p le Merwey in? bosců Hug Peverel qui est in for 7 bosců Com Lyncoln qui c extra for usq, ad la Bocchedelynde q e in for. Et inde apd la Strode q e in for usq, le Heremytecrofte simtr in for existent. Et sic usq, pdcm Beostoke. Et dicunt q4 Dns Rex nullu habet dnicu in foresta pdca.

No. 2. From a Cartulary of the Abbey of Malmesbury, preserved in the Stone Tower, Westminster.

BRADONE PERAMBULATE.

Perambulaco facta in foresta de Bradene die Ven'is pxīa ante fm scī Barnabe apli apd Saş anno Regni Rege E. xxviij. In psencia Johis de Berwyke et socoş suoş ad hoc assign vt pa[tet] in Rotulo de Claryndon 7 in psencia Witti de Roppele Batti Robi de Caynes forestar de f[eodo] 7 in psencia Thom Thyeys, Walti de Rysun, Jacobi de Grundewett, 7 Rogi Hasard viridarioş. Incipiendo apd Betstolke 7 inde vsq, ad Grenebourne 7 sic semp p Grenebornne vsq, Culs[to]keforde 7 ind duas Sampford vsq, ad la Calewehulle 7 vsq, ad la Godefrayeshutt 7 sic vsq, ad Sandricheshoke 7 inde vsq, ad Canewye et sic vsq, ad domū Henr atte Bourne et sic p Pram eiuschm Henr descendendo vsq, Tamis 7 inde p Tamisam vsq, ad tenem Witti atte Brygge et inde ind Pram eiuschm Witti 7 Pram Joh Hobeschert et Pram Johis Nouy vsq, ad pdcam Tamis et inde semp p Tamis vsq, ad domū Witti de Molendino et sic vsq, ad Coudecrouche et inde p viam Regiā vsq, ad crucc and domū Johis de Coluham et sic p viam Regiam vsq, ad domū Nichi Hobescort et inde ind Pram Hugon Peuerel 7 Pram Johis Neouile vsq, ad la Frithe et p fossatū q̃d est dimissa ind boscum Johis de Neouile 7

boscum Roti de Caynes et sic semp int boscum pdči Roti 7 pastură a pdči Johis 7 Comite Lyncolă et inde semp int Wydemor 7 Penereleswode 7 sic semp per la Mereweye int boscum Roti de Caynes 7 bosců Comite Lyncolă vsq. ad la Battenhende et sic semp p viam vsq. ad Tholnitreshulle et inde vsq. ad la Strode et inde vsq. ad Heremyte Crofte, et sic vsq. ad pdčim Beostoke. Et dicůt q̃d pdče mete 7 bounde pdčiam fforest solebant includere. Et q̃d dñs Rex ext pdčias metas nullů ht boscum pdčie fforeste adiacentě. Et dicůt q̃d očis bosci tre 7 loca pdčie foreste appiati que p istam Perambulacom deaforestant afforestata fuerůt post coronacom Dñi Rege H. proaui Dñi Rege nûc, set quid 7 q"ntum tempib; regů sepatim nullo modo eis constare potest.

No. 3. From the same Cartulary.

FLUSRYGGE.

Labbe de Maumeburs ad vn Boys q̃ est apele Flusrygge purtenaunt a sun maner de Cruddewelle del doun le Roy Cedwalla e ount en cel Boys seueral del Temps le Roy Cedwalla ou il ad cink cenz annz 7 plus dekes al temps le Roy Johan q̃ Lenforesta, e puis cel temps unt en meme le Bois hors de reward 7 seueral en dreyt de tote gent; del iour seynt Michel a houre de Noune desques le iour seynt Martyn a houre de Noune pr le pessun sauuer. Auynt Len demayn de La Seynt Michel le an le Roy Edward syme q̃ le Counte de Herford fui a sun maner de Wockeseye q̃ est pres meigme cel Boys de Flusrygge la vyndrunt sa gen; e mistrunt Les demeigne pors Le Counte & les pors sa gentz de La vile de Wockeseye en le Boys auuant dit vyndrunt les gent; Labbe e enparkerunt Les pors le Counte a Les pors sa gent; a sun maner de Cruddewelf. Tost apres vyndrunt La demeigne gent; le Comte e gent; de La vile od gant force bruserunt Les portes prystrunt hors Les pors aforce naufrerunt Les gent; Labbe tote La mort, issi q̃ le coroner fui maunde 2 tot le pays pr ver² cest gant defray. Les pors aforce cheiserunt al Boys de Flusrygge e La les tyndrunt quynze iours e plus od gant force des gent;, issi q̃ nul q̃ fuist od Labbe ne osa Le Boys aprocher La les tyndrunt a force desques tote La pessun fui Waste.

(Translation.)

The Abbot of Malmesbury hath a wood which is called Flusrygge, appertaining to his manor of Cruddewell of the gift of King Ceadwealh, and they (i.e. the Abbot's predecessors) have had this wood in severalty from the time of King Ceadwealh, now five hundred years and upwards, until the reign of King John, who enforested it; and since that time they have had the same wood out of the regard and in severalty against all men's right from Michaelmas-day at noon until Martinmas-day at noon, for preservation of the mast. It happened on the morrow of St. Michael, in the sixth year of King Edward, that the Earl of Hereford, being at his manor of Wockeseye, which is near to the same wood of Flusrygge, there came his people and put the demesne hogs of the Earl and the hogs of his people of the town of Wockeseye into the aforesaid wood; then came the Abbot's people and impounded the Earl's hogs and the hogs of his men, at his manor of Cruddewell. Soon after came the demesne people of the Earl and the people of the town with great force, and broke down the gates and forcibly took out the hogs, and wounded the Abbot's

people, even to the death, so that the coroner was sent and all the country to look into this great affray. The hogs they forcibly drove back to the wood of Flusrygge and kept them there for fifteen days and upwards with great force of people, so that no one of those who were with the Abbot dared to come near the wood. They forcibly kept them there until all the mast was consumed.

No. 4. This dispute was brought to an amicable conclusion, as appears by a quit claim of the Earl of Hereford, recorded in the same Cartulary.

Quieta Clamancia Dñi Humfridi de Bohun Com Hereford de comuna qam calumpniauit in bosco de Flusrugge.

Nouerint vniusi qd cum quedam controusia mota cet in? Dñm Humfridu de Bohun Comitem Herefordie Essex ? Constabulariu Anglie ex pte vna ? Dñm Willelmu Abbtem de Malmesbur ? eiusdem loci Conuentu ex alla, sup qadam comuna qam Idem comes petebat ? clamabat habere cu porcis suis ? hominu suoz de Wockeseye qui seruilis sunt condiconis in bosco pdcoz Abbtis ? Conuentus qui vocatur Flusrugge toto tempe annui, lis in hunc modu conquieuit in partes, videlicet qd pdcus comes p se ? heredib; suis ? eciam omib; hominibus suis pdce condiconis remisit ? quietu clamauit pdcis Abb ? Conuentui ? eoz successorib; totam comunam qam clamauit he in dicto bosco de Flusrugge cu porcis suis ? hominu suoz de Wockeseye condicionis pdce, a die sci Michis ad horam nonam usq diem sci Martini ad horam nonam. Ita uidelicet qd si cotingat qd custodes porcoz pdci comitis ul hominu suoz de Wockeseye condicois pdce porcos i pdco bosco de Flusrugge infra temp supadcm scien? intare pmiserint, tunc pdci Abbas ? Conuent ? eoz successores racionabiles inde capiant emendas. In cur? rei testimon hoc sciptum biptitu int ptes est confectum ? sigitt partium allanatim appensis roboratu. Hiis testib; Dñis Rogo le Rus, Galfrido de Morlee, Johe Walerand militib; Henr de Enefeld, Johe de Hanekynton, Robto ? Ricardo de la Lee, Rogo ? Ada de Cherleton, Robto le Scay, Ada Mrtyn, Pagañ le Clerk, ? aliis.

No. 5. Perambulatio Foreste Bradene. (Lansd. MS. 825, fo. 16.)

Humfrüs Regum filius, frater, et patruus, Dux Gloucestr, Comes Hannonie, Holland, Zelland, et Pembr, Dominus Frisie, ac capitalis custos Forestarum Domini Regis citra Trentam, Custodi Foreste de Braden vel ejus locum tenenti in eadem, salutem. Mandatum Domini Regis inspeximus in hec verba:

Henricus, Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie, carissimo avunculo suo Humfro Duci Gloucestrie Custodi Forest citra Trentam vel ejus locum tenenti in foresta nostra de Braden, salutem. Cum per quandam perambulationem in dicta foresta de Braden in presentia Johis Berewyke et sociorum suorum nuper per literas patentes dñi E. quondam Regis Anglie progenitoris nostri ad perambulacionem illam faciend assignatorum incipiendum apud Buscolke et inde usque Greneborne et sic semper per Greneborne usque Kulscokeforde, et inde usque inter duas Sampforde usque ad la Calawellhulle, et inde usque ad Grodefrayeshull, et sic usque ad Sandrychshoke, et inde usque Canonweye, et sic usque domum Henr. ate Borne, et sic per terram ejusdem Henr. descendendo usque Tamic et inde per Tamis usque ad terram Willmi ate Bryggs, et inde inter terram ejusdem Willmi et terram Johis Hobbshorte et terram Johis Nonye usque ad prædictam Tamic, et inde semper per Tamic usque ad domum Willmi de Molend, et sic usque ad Covdecrouch, et inde per viam Regiam usque ad domum Nichi Hobbsscorte, et inde inter terram

Hugonis Pevrett et terram Johis de Nevyle usque ad la Frythe, et inde per fossatum quod est divisa inter boscum Johis de Nevyle et boscum Robti de Keyns, et sic semper per la Morewaye inter boscum com⁹ Lincolñ usque ad Ratedelyngs, et sic semper per viam usque ad Tolmtreshutt, et inde usque ad Strode, et inde usque Heremytescrofts, et sic ad predictam Buscoke, fcam et in cancellar ipsius progenitoris nostri retornatam, sit compertum quod predicte sunt met et bunde predicte foreste de Braden ante tempus coronacionis H. Idm Rex extra predictas metas nullum habuit boscum predicte foreste adjacentem prout in literis patentibus Dñi Henrici nuper Regis Anglie patris nostri de exemplificatione perambulacionis predicte plenius continetur. Ideo vobis mandamus quod Abbatem et Conventum de Cirēcestr contra tenorem perambulacionis predicte non molestetis, perturbetis in aliquo, seu gravetis, prout in eadem perambulatione exemplificata plenius continetur. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti scripto remanenti penes quoscunque sigillum officii nostri de foresta est appensa. Dat apud Westm quarto-decimo die mensis Novembr anno regni Regis Henrici sexti post conquestum Anglie quinto.

No. 6. Extract from an Order or Decree of the Court of Exchequer, in a suit between the then King Charles I. and certain persons claiming right of common in the Forest of Braden.

And for the better Instructions, same Commissioners did at that time deliver unto the said Commissioners appointed for examination of witnesses Copies of Record, and also a Survey and Plot thentofore of said Forest, by one John Hexam, gent", by which directions &c. they said Bower and others, said Commissioners appointed for examination of witnesses, found the bounds of said Forest did begin at said Charnam Oak, were was a meare which did divide his said Majesty's Woods, then called the King's Woods but thentofore Peverill's Woods and the Dutchy Woods, thentofore the Woods of the Earl of Lincoln, as also one other Meare which did divide the Woods of the King's Majesty and the Woods of The Right Honble the Earl of Suffolk, and the Wood thentofore called Peverill's Wood, being within the Forest, both the other Parcels of Woods being without the Forest, and from thence by the said Meare to the bottom of the Hill to a little Gutter called Greenbourne, which said Gutter is the division betwixt said Peverill's Woods, which is within the Forest, and at the Woods belonging to the Manor of Myntie, which is without the Forest, unto a place called Sandford, and from said Sandford along the Leigh Marsh, betwixt the waste of Sir John Hungerford, knight, belonging to his Manor of the Leigh, which is without the Forest, and the said Waste thentofore Peverill's, which was within the Forest, to a place called Burnlake, and so by the said Lake to the House of William Messenger, which is within the Forest, and so by the said Lake to the River of Thames, and so by the said River to a little Close at Halstone Bridge, then the lands of Thomas Lawrence, gent., which they conceived to be the lands of William At-Bridge specified in the Ancient Records, which was without the Forest, and so by the said River to the West Mills, then in the possession of Edward Pleydell, gent^b, and so to a little Lane which divideth the Lands belonging to the Borough of Cricklade, which is without the Forest, to Culver Hay Close, and so by the said little Lane to a place near unto the said Borough called the Forty, and so by the King's Highway to the end of Chelworth Lane, the lands which were thentofore the said Peverill's then being divided to divers persons within the Forest, and the lands thentofore of John Neville then likewise divided to divers persons without

the Forest, and at the end of the said Lane by a Ditch which is the division betwixt the Lands that were Peverill's, which is within the Forest, and the Lands which were Nevill's, then Sir Henry Poole's of Oaksey, knt, which was without the Forest, to a place called the Frith's End, which they conceived to be that they then called the Dutchy Ragg, which said Dutchy Ragg, with two other Raggs, are all three within the Forest, and do extend into the said Forest, and shooting together betwixt the Land that was Peverill's to the great Lodge Rails, and so between the soil of the Dutchy Ragg and the soil of said Henry Poole, knight, to a meare which is the division of the soil of said Sir Henry Poole and Sir John Hungerford, at a parcel of Wood called Pouchers Raggs, which Ragg is within the Forest, and so by the same meare to a Ditch which is the Division between the soil of said Sir John Hungerford and said Sir Henry Poole, which Ditch extendeth near to a Place called Munck's Rails, and so by the Brooke to Stoke Bridge, and from Stoke Bridge by a straight line to a Place in Stoke March called Scholars Cross, which they conceived to be the Division between the Soil and Woods of aforesaid Hugh Peverill, which was within the Forest, and the Soil and Woods called the Dutchy Woods, late the Woods of Henry de Lacey Earl of Lincoln, which was without the Forrest, to the Meare, and then turn trow Meare, which said Meare divideth said Dutchy Woods and the Exchequer Woods, until you come unto said Charnam Oak.



ROMAN TOMBS IN THE NECROPOLIS AT CUME.

XIX.—The City of Cumæ, and the recent Excavations there. Communicated by ARTHUR ASHPITEL, Esq. F.R.A.S., F.S.A. &c.

Read 18 June, 1857.

There is scarcely a district in the world endowed with such singular beauty, and possessing such deep points of interest, as that extending about ten or twelve miles westward from Naples. A sky of such brilliancy as only Italy can shew; a sea of colours like the transparent hues of the sapphire and emerald; mountains on land and mountainous islands rising from the sea twice and thrice the height of those in Wales, and crowned with snow for a third of the year. The air of extraordinary clearness and purity, and redolent with the odours of the myrtle, orange, and citron. The earth covered with rich crops of maize, the vine hanging in a cordage of festoons from tree to tree, huge groves of figs and olives twisted in every fantastic form, and interspersed with the feathery palm, forests of pine, leccio, and cypress, all form a scene of beauty difficult to describe. But how

is the interest heightened when we reflect on the history of the spot! We are in the scene so exquisitely described by Virgil in the Æneid. Here are the Isles of the Sirens and of Circe, the Tomb of Misenus, the Grotto of the Sibyl, the mysterious River Cocytus, the Lake Avernus, and the Elysian Fields. Here, too, the great poet is supposed to have been interred. The heights are crowned with the remains of sumptuous villas, where Cæsar, Crassus, Pompey, Lucullus, and Augustus feasted, and where Cicero penned his best philosophical works. At Baiæ was the favoured haunt of Horace; "Nullus in orbe sinus Baiis prælucet amœnis," are his words to Mæcenas. Here, too, was the Ager Falernus, which produced the wine which he celebrates with such gusto. Here, also, is the spot to which we shall especially have to refer, - Cumæ, the seat of the sibyl Deiphobe, the "vacuæ Cumæ" of Juvenal, the "quieta Cyme" of Statius, and probably so called as a contrast to the bustling and licentious Baiæ. It is here the great poet has fixed the residence of his friend Umbritius, in one of those noble, those immortal Satires, described by Dr. Johnson as taking the highest moral tone, as pronouncing the greatest moral truths, next to the sacred Scriptures themselves.

The aspect, however, of the greater part of this country has been changed by a most singular and most marvellous circumstance. In September, 1538, a succession of shocks of an earthquake, sometimes twenty in a day, suddenly upheaved the whole coast for a length of six or eight miles, so that the sea appeared to recede 200 feet, and fish were left on dry land. Shortly after the ancient trachytic lava, the subsoil of the district, sank to a depth of from 14 to 20 feet, volumes of steam burst forth from the ground, and clouds of heavy black ashes covered the whole country, some of which reached Naples itself, eight miles off. The lighter ashes are said to have been driven, in the form of very fine dust, as far as the Val di Diano in Calabria, a distance of 150 miles. On the third day it was found that a mountain had been formed, now called Monte Nuovo, 440 feet above the level of the sea, and nearly two miles round. In Sir William Hamilton's time the crater was nearly as deep as the mountain was high. It may easily be imagined what a change was made in the country: the Lucrine Lake, where the Roman navy were

^a Horat. Epist. i. 1. 83.

b Horat. Carm. i. 20, 10; ii. 3, 8. See also Pliny, xiv. 6, 8.

c Juven. Sat. iii. 2.

⁶ Statius, Sylv. iv. 3, 65.

^e The best account of these eruptions is given by Simone Porzio, a physician, in a tract, called "De Conflagratione Agri Puteolani," afterwards reprinted in his collected works. There are also three MSS, in the collection presented to the British Museum by Sir William Hamilton, written by Francisco di Nero, Marcantonio dei Falconi, and Pietro di Toledo.

accustomed to lie, was half filled up, and the connexion between it and the sea cut off, so that the water rose into the Grotto of the Sibyl. It is probable there have been several alternate depressions and elevations on this coast as well as the one last described, for the Temple of Serapis at Pozzuoli has evident marks of sea-worms on the columns, which are now much above the sea level. At any rate, all round the coast are the ruins of houses, villas, baths, pavements, now submerged in the ocean. I know no sight more affecting than to watch these remains below the deep clear water, and to see the fish gliding over the marble pavements, and the seaweed clinging to the gilded walls once covered with beautiful pictures.

Before narrating the discoveries, the subject of this paper, I will shortly describe the spot, which is almost unknown to the ordinary traveller. The ancient town of Cumæ was situate on the east side of the Bay of Gaeta, b lying between the three lakes, Licola, Averno, and Fusaro; and it apparently formed a triangle of considerable size. Its only gateway now remaining is the Arco Felice, which crosses the road from Naples, in a deep cutting through the hills. It is of brick, 60 feet high, having a single arch about 18 feet wide. There are wing walls likewise of brick with several niches. As at the Highgate Archway, a road crossed at the top joining hill to hill, the main road entering the city under the great arch: an aqueduct is also supposed to have traversed it. Within the precinct of the old city is a quantity of waste land covered with myrtle, leccio, and underwood of the thickest growth. Here and there are some very fine vineyards, with a few scattered cottages of the contadini. Above the city towers the ancient arx, or citadel, on a steep rock accessible only on one side, and that with difficulty: it has probably been of volcanic formation. On it are the remains of the old fortress, huge masses of almost cyclopean masonry surmounted by Roman reticulated brickwork, and this again by the walls of the Gothic eastle. It was the resort of a nest of pirates in the thirteenth century, and was taken by storm by Godfrey of Montefuscolo, who dismantled it entirely. On this arx, or acropelis, was the celebrated Temple of Apollo, and close by, a cave, "antrum immane," where the Sibyl dwelt, both described by Virgil. Of the former, the only probable remains are a portion of a Doric fluted column and one capital, all in

^a See paper by Sir Edmund Head, read at the Society, Dec. 10, 1857, hereafter printed.

b Sinus Caietanus.

^e Supposed to be the "Literna Palus" of Silius Italicus, vii. 278 (though the passage is vague), and of Statius, Sylv. iv. 3, 66, immediately following the passage supra.

d There is little doubt, from Pliny, iii. 9, that the Lago Fusaro must be the Palus Acherusia, as he says the Acherusian Marsh, or Lake, is near Cumze.

º Now called " La Rocca di Cuma."

^{*} Æneid, vi. 41.

the oldest style. A vast dark opening is said to be the entrance to the Cave of the Sibyl, though the more popular account says its site was near the Lake Avernus, in a cave which has been often described. The remains still visible are those of a large amphitheatre, the middle of which is filled by earth, trees, and vines: the external part is visible, and seems to have had a colonnade; there are the vestiges of twenty-one ranges of steps, and of the place for the velarium. There are also the remains of a square vaulted cella, now called the Temple of the Giant, from a colossal statue of Jupiter found there, which is now in the Museo Borbonico. In 1606 a temple of Augustus was discovered by Cardinal Acquaviva, from whence some statues were taken; but this is now quite destroyed. In 1839 a temple of Serapis was found, from whence some large Egyptian objects were obtained. All these have been described in various works.

The real difficulty in excavating the city is simply that the land and the vines on it are so valuable; it is said, indeed, to produce the finest grapes on that side of Naples; and there is little doubt, with proper care, a wine might be made there equal to the famous Lacrima Cristi, from the foot of Vesuvius. The destruction, therefore, of the vines entails a most serious loss to the proprietor, besides the cost of the labour of the excavation itself. Notwithstanding this, the Prince of Syracuse, so favourably known to the artistic and archæological world, determined to devote some considerable time and expense to developing the remains of antiquity which might be found there, and, with extreme kindness, an opportunity was given me of being present on one of the occasions.

On arriving at the spot I found an excavation in the middle of the old city about 7 feet deep, in which were some large sculptured blocks of white marble, and Corinthian columns of cipollino. The greater part of these columns had been removed to Naples, as the proprietor seemed very anxious to have his ground made good again as soon as possible. I was informed the temple had been about 100 feet long, and had a semicircular end. From a statue of Diana with a dog, it was very naturally concluded to be a temple dedicated to that deity. The work was very beautifully executed, though of a late style of art. I made a sketch of one of the capitals, which seem of the Imperial period. Three inscriptions were found, or rather fragments of inscriptions. One on a piece of a frieze,

LVCCE ETIS' S' P :

another on a small marble base-

CN · LVCCEIVS · CN · F · GEML FRATER . . . and on another fragment-

. LVCCEI

The Lucceii were a well-known ancient family at Rome; one of them, Cneius Lucceius, was friendly with Marcus Brutus, and visited Cicero at his villa at Pozzuoli. Several inscriptions are there found to that family, which show them to have been of importance; and it seems more than probable that the first inscription here quoted, being on a frieze, and having the letters s. p. "sua pecunia," proves the temple to have been founded by one of them. There was probably a statue to another of the family, according to the second inscription. A piece of lead pipe was also found here bearing the name M BENNI BYFI, who is supposed to have been Consul with Q. Cæcilius, A.D. 7.

Close to this building are some large steps of marble, which appear to mark the site of another important building, or to be those leading to the open space of a forum.

After examining these objects, I proceeded to the great necropolis of the city, with little doubt one of the most curious in the world. Here rest the remains of the dead of Cumæ during many centuries. The Roman sepultures are immediately under the present surface, some not more than 4 feet. Those of the Greek period are below these, while about 30 feet below the present surface are found interments of a very curious and archaic character. Each of these classes deserves an account in its turn.

The first excavation^b I visited measured about 15 feet by 20 feet, and was about 4 to 5 feet deep. This seems to have been the necropolis of the poor, who are congregated together in large numbers, lying side by side in some instances, in others crosswise, the feet being to any point of the compass. This method of sepulture is extremely simple; two ranges of common tiles, measuring about 1 foot 9 inches by 1 foot 5 inches, are placed edgewise, meeting together at the top like the sides of the roof of a house. On this top is a range of semicircular tiles, which in fact form a sort of ridge. Within these structures hundreds of bodies

a Cicero ad Atticum, xvi. 5.

^b See vignette, p. 316.

^o These exactly resemble the interments found near York in 1768 by Dr. Burton, and given in the Archæologia, vol. II. p. 177, with this exception, that the sloping tiles at Cumæ are quite straight on the face, and not curved or bent, as those described above. The sizes are just the same. The Italians still call such tiles tegola, and the ridge-tiles imbrice—the old Roman tegula and imbrex.

are found. As has been said before, the feet of the dead were laid to any point of the compass. There were a great many different objects found in nearly all of them. Small vessels, of different sorts, pateræ, jugs of the form of "prochoos," coins, and in almost all what used to be called a lachrymatory, but which is more probably considered as a vessel for containing ointment or balsams. In these Roman tombs, which are easily distinguished by the coins found in them (some as late as Diocletian), the objects are almost always placed at the side of the body, as all the workmen agreed in informing me. The method of proceeding with the excavation is very simple. On arriving at the ridge-tiles the earth is carefully cleared away, the tiles lifted one by one, and the objects removed by hand. The tool principally used is the long-handled vanga, a species of heart-shaped spade, or a large hoe.

Besides these interments under tiles, large ollæ, or coarse pots, about a foot in height, and rather more in width, are found. Some of these have two ears or handles, others only one. The opening at the top is about six inches wide. These are filled with calcined bones and ashes; but in none of these, they told me, do they find coins. They are probably the interments of a better class: the poor being buried and not burned, as the fuel for the funeral pyre was expensive. The absence of coins is curious. Whether the richer classes were above the superstition of Charon's penny, or whether the money was usually lost in the pyre among the ashes, is not clear.

But there are other Roman tombs belonging to the rich of much greater pretensions, and these are mostly regular chambers, like those scattered all over Italy. In one of these, which was opened by the Prince himself, a most curious discovery was made. The tomb was nearly square, measuring a little more than 9 feet each way. The lower part was of rough tufo, the upper of brick, and it was vaulted. It had a very narrow doorway, which was blocked up with masonry, on removing which a very singular scene presented itself. Round three sides of the cell was a sort of raised platform or shelf, about 2 feet 6 inches wide, on which were the remains of four skeletons. Two lay separately, one on the right of the door, and one fronting the entrance; and two occupied the left bench or shelf, and lay side by side. As the light entered the tomb, Professor Minervini says, a most startling sight presented itself. The heads of these two last seemed to be entire, while the rest of the figure was a bare skeleton, and the eyes seemed open, and glistened as the light fell on them. A second glance showed these heads were of wax, and the eyes of a sort of glass paste. All the skeletons were without skulls,

^{*} See vignette at the end of this paper, p. 334.

and it was clear the place of the missing heads in these two had been supplied by wax models previous to their interment. One was evidently that of a female, the other of a male. The first, unluckily, on being touched, fell into powder; the second escaped with a slight fracture, was most carefully removed, and placed under a glass in the Museo Borbonico, in one of the rooms containing the frescoes from Pompeii.

A most careful search was immediately instituted into the other contents of the tomb. There were found first a number of very thin plates of bone, about 5 or 6 inches long, and an inch wide. These were supposed with great reason to have been the "sticks," as we call them, of a lady's fan. There were also six small vases of glass, of the most beautiful workmanship: two of red-coloured glass, with flowers of a lighter colour inserted into the mass itself of the glass; two were of green glass, with small concentric circles in relief; and two were of white glass, with coloured flowers, also inserted in the body of the vase. An inkstand of bronze was also found, and a small casket of wood, the material of which was so decayed that the letter S only of an inscription thereon could be decyphered. It had a lock made of bronze, and contained a few small vials, some pieces of gilt terra-cotta, the remains of a necklace, two hair-pins, and a small mirror: it was evidently the dressing-case of the lady whose remains had been there entombed. Some ashes, as if those of a dead body, were scattered about; but the most instructive of all the objects found was a small brass coin of Diocletian, evidently proving the interment must have been of his period, or shortly afterwards.

So singular a discovery excited the greatest interest among the learned; and of course the first question was, whose remains they were, and why this hitherto unheard-of circumstance—the wax heads? That the Romans were acquainted with the art of working in wax every scholar knows. It was the custom at the funerals of great men to carry with them the effigies of the dead, "cerâ expressi vultus," which were taken home after the body was burnt, and placed in cases (wooden cases, says Polybius b), and exhibited on solemn days in the "atria" of

^a Pliny, xxxv. 2. The passage is very curious, and, though often cited, has hardly ever been given at length. After describing a great number of ways of making likenesses, as pictures, bronzes, &c. he says, and the likenesses with our ancestors of those things which we see in their halls (apud majores in atriis); they are not statues (signa) of foreign artists, nor bronze, nor marble, but their faces pressed in wax are disposed in separate closets (singulis armariis), so that they may be images which may accompany the funerals of those of gentle blood" (gentilitia funera). We have no exact word in English to express gens:" it is more analogous to the Scotch word "clan" than any phrase we have.

^b Polybius, Hist. vi. 51. He gives a long account of the Roman funerals and the images carried there in procession, and an eloquent appeal to the feelings of those who witness the procession of the representation

the houses. On these "imagines" were placed the "tituli," or rank and quality of the deceased. Becker says, and with reason, this right, or "jus imaginum," was the exclusive privilege of the "nobiles;" and we also learn from two passages of Juvenal, and one of Tacitus, that in cases of treason, or any great crime, these figures were delivered up to the executioner to be destroyed publicly. The way in which these predecessors of Mrs. Salmon and of Madame Tussaud proceeded is described by Pliny, lib. xxxv. cap. 43, 44. He says it was the invention of Lysistratus of Sicyon, the brother of Lysippus; that they first took the form of the face in gypsum (plaster of Paris), in the way invented by Dibutades, and then squeezed wax into this form or mould, and so obtained the likeness. Thus were made the "imagines" which were placed in the Roman halls, like the family pictures in our houses. In this sepulchre the wax heads had been attached to the rest of the body, the real heads, or skulls, being quite gone, and had formed part of the interment. What was the cause of this? It seemed clear the bodies had been decapitated, and the heads taken away, and were missing at the time of the funeral.

It was said immediately—There is a coin of Diocletian; that emperor was a notorious persecutor; therefore these are the bodies of Christian martyrs, beheaded by him on account of their faith, and that the inkstand was a reliquary, and what was supposed to be ink was the blood their sorrowing friends had gathered at the time of the execution. Some years ago this opinion would have been eagerly credited, and new names added to the calendar of saints and martyrs; but the aid of chemical analysis was called in, and the remains in the bottle proved clearly to be ink. Besides this, it was asked, Why should the coin of their persecutor and murderer be placed in the tomb of the victims? In all probability, the coin was a "naulus," or offering to Charon, the passage-money of his grim ferry-boat. It was also asked, Why, if they were Christians, were they interred among the heathen? why should they be laid among idols and their worshippers, a thing we know to be very repulsive to the habits and feelings of the early Christians? Again, the heads are representations of persons living, and having the eyes open. The probability is, that, were these the representations of departed Christians, they would have been shown with the eyes closed in the sleep of death: the of departed greatness. He says, "When they have buried them, and have performed all the rites, they place the images of the departed in the most conspicuous parts of the houses, surrounding them with small wooden shrines" Evaiva vaidia.

^a We should gather from the passage in Pliny, that sometimes the "stemmata" or pedigrees were placed on or under the "imagines."

b Juvenal, viii. 18, x. 58; Tacitus, Annal. vi. 2, alluding to the fall of Sejanus.

very word used by them for their places of interment being κοιμητηρίον, "cemetery, or place of the sleepers." Besides this, no symbol whatever of martyrdom, no emblem, trace, or vestige of Christianity, in any shape was found. One very curious circumstance was, that the ears of the male figure were pierced with two holes, evidently intended to receive ear-rings. These ornaments are of the remotest antiquity. Homer (Iliad, xiv. 182) mentions them among part of Juno's dress; Xenophon (Anabasis, iii. 1, 31) mentions them as part of the dress of the Lydian men, as Diodorus (v. 45) does of the Persian men; and Pliny (Hist. Nat. xi. 50)* mentions the custom of women wearing pearls in their ears, and adds, "In the East it is thought honourable for men also to wear gold in their ears." From this circumstance the bodies were immediately pronounced to be those of foreigners; some supposing them to be Persians, others from Alexandria, although there was nothing of Oriental character about either the tomb or the articles found there. It is not improbable, however, from the ornaments and apparent wealth of the parties, that they were "libertini," or emancipated slaves, who, as we know, frequently amassed considerable wealth. In the first Satire of Juvenal b the libertinus says, "I am first—why should I be backward in keeping my place, though I was born by the Euphrates? The effeminate holes (molles fenestræ) in my ears would prove this, even if I should deny it. But I have got five shops, which bring me in forty sestertia (about £320). I am richer than Pallas or Licinius:" the two last named were also freed men—the one of Claudius, the other of Augustus.

Then came the question, how did these four bodies lose their heads? Was it by the hand of the executioner? This, it was said, could not be the case, as the bodies of those who were beheaded were dragged along to the next river by a hook, and thrown in, to become a prey to the fishes or birds. Passages in Juvenal, Suetonius, and many other authors, were cited to prove this. But much more to the purpose was a passage from Ulpian (Digest. xlviii. tit. 24), "Let not the bodies of those condemned to be beheaded be denied to their relations, though sometimes this is not to be permitted in case of those condemned for treason:" proving that before this time the bodies of those beheaded were invariably denied the rights of sepulture.

Then came a most singular theory, that the heads had been taken away for magical purposes; and passages were quoted from Apuleius and Lucan as to the plunder of tombs and dismemberment of corpses by the witches for the purposes of incantation; an idea which prevailed up to Shakespeare's time, and, in fact, very

^{*} There are many other authorities among classic writers.

b Juvenal, Satir. i. 102.

much later. But I remarked to Professor Minervini how absolutely improbable it seemed that the witch who broke open the tomb should be at the trouble of getting two wax heads made, and placing them where no one would ever see them; and why such a thing should be done in two cases only, instead of all the four? I ventured to remind the Professor of the passages in Plutarch; and Dion Cassius, describing the assassination of Cicero by Antony's soldiers, "They cut off his head, which was afterwards given to Fulvia;" and of course the body was burnt or buried without it. I suggested, that probably the skeletons were those of some wealthy freedman and his family, who had been murdered in some of the tumults so common between the times of Diocletian and Constantine, that their heads were carried away as trophies, a price probably having been placed on them. I also suggested the family might have possessed busts or casts of the heads of two of them taken during their lives, for it is clear, from the expression of the features, particularly the nostrils, these heads were not made from casts taken after death; in fact, had they possessed the real heads, what need of wax? These busts would not be kept as "imagines," for it is clear the parties were not "nobiles;" and thus the survivors may have thought them best employed in supplying the place of the missing heads. How near the truth these suggestions may be I cannot say, but I think they are free from many of the objections made to the

We now come to the consideration of the second stratum of tombs, so to speak, which are about 15 feet below the surface, and which are evidently of Greek origin. These are very numerous, and are mostly formed of blocks of stone, the tufo of the country. Some are only just long and wide enough to contain the body and a few vases, and are covered with large flat stones; others are somewhat larger, and are covered by long stones, laid sloping like a roof; others are a sort of small houses, also covered with long slabs of stone in single lengths, leaning against each other, and meeting in a sharp point or ridge, forming a steep roof, and with an entrance at one end. Of course, I inquired what peculiarities had been remarked, and was told that in the Greek tombs the feet of the bodies were always turned to the west, while in the Roman interments they are to any point of the compass. The various objects found in Greek tombs are mostly at the feet; a large vase is invariably found in that position; while in the Roman tombs they are almost always by the side of the body. Again, in the Roman tombs what used to be called "lachrymatories" are almost always found; in

Greek tombs they never exist. It will be remembered that the tombs are generally identified as being Greek or Roman, by the coins found in them.

Many of these tombs have been opened and plundered at some very remote period, certainly not later than Roman times; others contain articles of the greatest value and curiosity. Fourteen tombs were opened, thirteen averaging 7 feet 6 inches long, 2 feet wide, and 2 feet 6 inches high; one (in which were two bodies) was of the same length, but nearly 4 feet wide, and 2 feet 9 inches high. It may serve to elucidate the subject if I state that in these the following articles were found:—

GOLDSMITHS' WORK.—Two ear-rings of silver, covered with very thin plates of gold, and several fragments of silver rings.

GEMS.—A scarabæus representing, on a plane face, Hercules seizing a stag by the horns with his left hand, and about to strike it with his club with the right.

Bronze.—Four circular and one square mirror without engraving, a small spoon, a small circular vessel, and two strigils.

IVORY AND BONE.—A small sitting figure of Minerva in bas-relief, with helmet, spear, and shield, about 3 inches high, and 2½ inches wide; and a fragment of another figure representing Mars; and some dice.

ALABASTER.—A great many small unguentaries, some of the form "lekythos," and others of those called "alabastron."

Terracottas.—A large number of vases of the usual types, with Bacchic subjects.

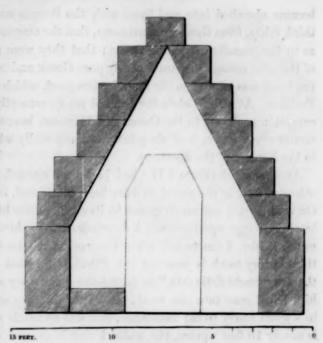
GLASS.—A number of small vases, some coloured and some plain; a few very small amphoræ; and some objects supposed to be playthings.

Coins.—A great many of bronze, in bad preservation, except a few, having the head of Apollo crowned with laurel on one side, on the other a demi-bull with a human face, the inscription NEOHOAITE Ω N.

Among others a very curious Greek tomb was discovered, 7 feet long, 4 feet 9 inches wide, and 4 feet 3 inches high, to the beginning of the roof; this was of tufo, rough outside, and worked fair inside; the door was of one huge piece of stone, also rough on the outside. Lines in red, white, and black were painted round the circular aperture over the door. The inside was painted white, with a sort of red skirting; on the walls some red lines, between which was a Greek meander painted in black; besides this, on the end opposite the door, was painted in red, yellow, and black a very large palmette, which nearly filled up the end. On a sort of raised shelf was a quantity of ashes and burnt bones. A vessel of bronze of the form "prochoos," and some common

vessels of clay, were found. Besides this was some beautiful pottery of Greek workmanship, with an excellent jet black glaze, sparingly ornamented with gold near the handles; and there was one which excited the greatest interest. It was a vase of similar manufacture, with an inscription in gold. There were but two words, but those words were Oscan, and no doubt read vpils uffils.

This was probably the name of the tenant of the tomb, for it seems too large and conspicuous to be read as the name of the potter, and was no doubt the ancient form of Opilius Ofius. That such an inscription should be found in what might be designated as a family tomb or vault excited the greatest interest. About the year 420 the City of Cumæ was conquered by the Samnites, as will be shown hereafter: the Cumæans, who were Greek colonists, were defeated, the city pillaged, such of the men as could not escape to Neapolis were put



SECTION : LANGE GREEK TOMB, CUME



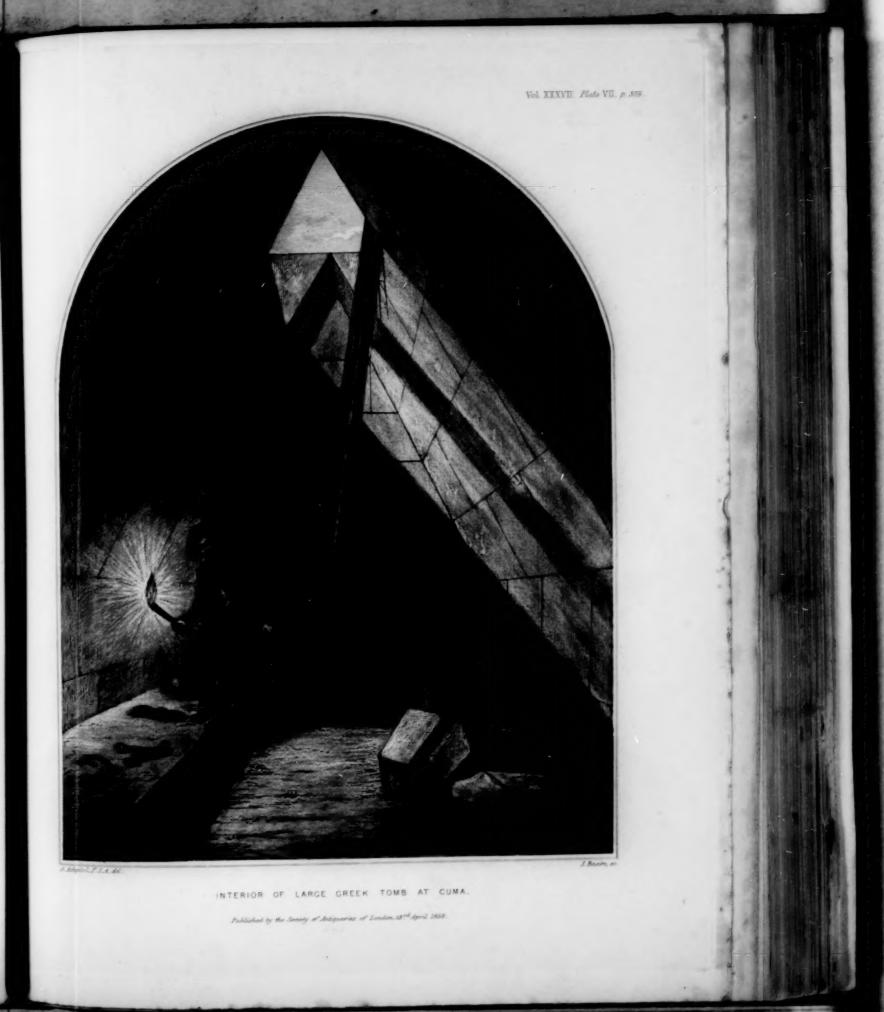


OSCAN INSCRIPTION, CUM.R.

to the sword, and their wives and daughters seized by the conquerors; it was held by the Samnites as a colony, and so it remained till, like the rest of Italy, it became absorbed into and fused with the Roman nation. It was inferred, and I think fairly, from these circumstances, that the account of Livy (x. 20) is confirmed, as to the Samnites speaking Oscan; that they were not without some knowledge of the arts, though they used nearly pure Greek and not Etruscan forms; and that the tomb was later than the Samnite conquest, which took place about the time of Pericles. At a time when the learned are so earnestly occupied with investigating everything relating to the Oscan and Etruscan languages, every line, every word, almost every letter, is of deep interest; especially when there can be no doubt as to the locality of the discovery.

Another tomb (Plate VII.) had just been opened, much larger than any of the others; but, as it seemed to have been plundered, it excited but little attention. On visiting it, I was much struck by its size; a stone had been removed from the top, leaving a large aperture, and I determined to explore it. Taking a vine-dresser's rough ladder, I descended, when the workmen seemed seized with a panic; they think every tomb is haunted (at Fiesole they used to call the vaults under the theatre "buchi delle fate," or fairy-holes), and they all ran to my friend, and told him I had gone into the tomb. He thought they said I had fallen in, and came in a great hurry to my assistance, and was as much struck with it as myself. It is nearly 10 feet square, the walls 4 feet high, and to the point of the ridge is nearly 13 feet high. Its cubic contents are five or six times as large as most of the others. But the most curious fact was that it was roofed with large pieces of stone overlapping each other till they met in a ridge, and afterwards worked fair inside, not in a curve or false arch, like the treasury of Atreus, or the walls of Tiryns, or the entrance to the Regulini-Galassi Tomb, but perfectly straight; the courses are about 2 feet deep. I could not see the outside or back of the roof, on account of the great accumulation of rubbish, but the workmen told me that the stones were about 2 feet 6 inches in width, or bed; their lengths varied, but, if the men were correct, none weighed much less than 1½ ton. There had been a door with a sort of canted head, but this had disappeared, and the opening was filled up with late masonry, probably Roman. On two sides of the tomb was a raised shelf, about a foot high; but the tomb had been stripped of everything, except the vestiges of a few bones. Of course I mentioned this very singular discovery, and found no one could recollect such an instance anywhere, and arrangements were made for taking careful plans of it. This, however, seems never to have been done, for I received a note from Naples the other day requesting copies of the plans, &c. which I had taken; a request, of course, I instantly and gladly complied with. It was deeply to be regretted that neither coin nor vase was

^{*} See section, page 327.





found from which a date might be inferred. From the general design, and from its position, it clearly is of the Greek period; and, being too large to be covered with pieces of stone in one length from the wall to the ridge, the system of corbelling over was adopted. The probability is, the tomb was constructed before the invention of the arch, or at any rate by a people ignorant of that method of covering open spaces. That the Etruscans were acquainted with the use of the arch is easily shown from the Cloaca Maxima at Rome, and from several tombs discovered by my friend Mr. Dennis; and these works must have been executed during the palmiest days of Cumæ. What the Greeks knew of the arch we have yet to ascertain.

We come now to the third or lowest series of the tombs. These are found from twenty to thirty feet below the surface, and are chiefly mere interments in the ground. Hollow places or caves have been dug, large enough to receive the body, and in many instances it is but a sort of common grave, roughly covered with pieces of stone. The skeletons are so far decayed as to fall to powder on exposure to the air. There are other interments, which seem to be those of persons of higher rank. These consist of large ollæ, which are filled with burnt bones, ashes, &c. and are surrounded and covered with large pieces of tufo, apparently for the protection of the contents. In these graves are many vases, rings, fibulæ, beads, &c. but there is nothing of Italo-Greek work, as might be expected; they contain, however, very curious and rude archaic vases, which will presently be described.

After I had left Italy, some excavations were made in a piece of ground adjacent to that of the Prince, and some articles dug up of similar description. One very fine œnochoe, and some specimens of alabastra, bombylii, &c. a bronze fibula, a curious little bronze vessel for heating water, or burning incense, and a very singular and, I believe, unique scent-bottle were kindly sent to me. There were also found some objects in glass of great curiosity, which were consigned to me, with a request to forward them to the Duc de Luynes, but with permission to sketch them. One was a Roman funereal urn of the usual shape, full of burnt bones and pieces of charcoal; there are several of similar form in the British Museum. Another is a most curious and singular article, said to be entirely unique. It is the flat vessel, formed of a rim of bronze, with a bronze handle, like the handle of a common pail, to which is attached a chain; the bottom is very flat, made of glass, with radiating ribs, and six knobs, forming short feet for the vessel to stand on. It is $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches across, and but $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep. The glass is of great antiquity, as is evidenced by its iridescence. The use of the

^{*} See vignette at the end of this paper.

^b See vignette, page 331.



GLASS FUNEREAL VASE PRON CUMA.



GLASS AND BRONZE VESSEL

vessel is very problematical: the chain would lead us to infer it had been suspended over a fire as a cooking-vessel. or it may have been used for religious purposes. I made a careful drawing, from which the following representation is taken. But a far more curious article of glass was a small elegant statuette. apparently of a deity, standing on a small pedestal. This was also consigned to the Duc de Luynes; and, having read the description, I certainly opened the case with the greatest expectation. To my amazement I found a pedestal, it is true, of ancient glass, but on it, instead of an elegant figure, was a strange grotesque monster. It had a flat head with open jaws, something like that of a crocodile, and a tail which finished with a sort of cup. It was covered with a species of bulbs, and was hollow, and seemed to have been intended for a lamp. The upper part appeared to be of Venetian work, and yet it was covered with a very early iridescence. I took these articles over to Paris myself; and, on showing this to my friend who had discovered them, he instantly exclaimed, "This is not what I saw dug up." "No," I replied, "I suppose not, but how shall we proceed to investigate it?" At last we determined to turn a jet of steam on the junction of the stem and upper part, when we found the former had been

dexterously attached to the latter by a sort of wax cement; the flakes of iridescent glass likewise came off, and the cheat was proved. The fact is that the statuette of glass was of the greatest value, probably quite unique, and either the

person intrusted with it, or some one at the Italian Custom-house, had stolen it, and, being obliged to send over something, had substituted a piece of mediæval grotesque.

But to return: among the lower range of tombs, as has before been stated, are a great number of very early articles of pottery. Some are of the simplest and rudest manufacture; others have plain lines or bands on them; others are ornamented with figures. The ground is without glaze, of a common greyish yellow colour; the figures black, relieved here and there with red, and with lines etched or rather scratched on them with a sharp tool. The figures on them are mostly huge birds, almost like turkeys, animals of the feline tribe with very sharp noses, somewhat like that of the lynx, antelopes, large birds with female human heads; many of the animals have two bodies joined to one head, and all are of a very archaic character. Vessels of similar forms are scattered about through Italy, and it is clear are of the earliest work there. Here, at Cumæ, they are found in great numbers among the very early interments, and it is not too much to suppose were the work of those buried there.

On discussing the matter I found they were frequently called Egyptian, but there seemed nothing about them like the emblems of that nation. It is true the early rude pottery of all countries is very much alike. A common pot of common



GROUP OF YASES, ETC

[The circular vessel is of clay of pale colour, and is probably unique. It is supposed to have been a scent-bottle, and that a string passed through the loops at the side by which it was suspended from the wrist or neck. The small vase with the dolphin at the top is of bronze.]

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clay is much the same everywhere; but as soon as it begins to be ornamented we may guess where it was made. Now there is no lotus, no scarabæus, nor any Egyptian emblem: the bird with a woman's head may be said to be a species of sphynx; but it is not an Egyptian sphynx, which is a lion, with the head of a man, and always without wings. They are not at all likely to be the work of the aboriginal tribes, for they are found in the tombs of the early settlers, and are covered with representations of animals (the antelope, panther, &c.) which did not exist in Italy. It was then suggested they might be Etruscan or Phænician.

A very long and interesting discussion arose, when I suggested we should go to the library, and look a little closer into the history of the place. We have the clearest evidence from Strabo (v. 243), that Cumæ was the earliest Greek colony in Italy. His account is very clear and conclusive. He says it was formed by a joint colony from Chalcis in Eubœa, under Megasthenes, and from Cyme in Æolis, under Hippocles; and that by an arrangement between the two it took the name of its Asiatic parent, Cyme, or Cume. Its Asiatic origin is alluded to again and again by poets and historians. The fertility of the land, and its fine harbour, speedily brought it into reputation as an important town. It founded Naples as a colony, and is also said to have done the same for Nola and Abella. About the year 500 it seems to have attracted the envious notice of the Etruscans, who were then rapidly overrunning Italy; and we have a very long and circumstantial account of the transactions that followed in the seventh book of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. An enormous army of Etruscans, Umbrians, and Daunians was levied, but was repulsed by the Cummans with great triumph. This was about the year 500 B.C. The Etruscans about thirty years after took a safer way to weaken and humble their enemy. They joined their fleet with that of Carthage, impeded their commerce, and threatened the safety of the city. The Cumæans, however, formed a league with the famous Hiero, king of Syracuse, who, joining his fleet with theirs, engaged the Etruscans in a naval battle, and gained such a victory that they never recovered their naval power. There is a very full account of this in Diodorus (xi. 51), and it is mentioned in one b of Pindar's Pythian Odes. Scarcely half a century afterwards, as we learn from Diodorus, xii. 76, Livy, iv. 44, and Strabo, v. 243, the Samnites made themselves masters of Capua: they fought the Cumæans, and, after defeating them in the field, sacked the city, as has before been stated, killing all the men except those

^a The bronze helmet of an Etruscan form, dedicated by Hiero to Jupiter Olympius, from the spoils of the battle off Cumz, was found at Olympia, and is now preserved in the British Museum. See Rose, Inscriptiones Grzecze, p. 66.
^b The first.

who escaped to Naples, and made Cumæ, as Velleius Paterculus a states, an Oscan city.

Now in this account there is not a word about anything Phoenician. The colony is not of that origin, but from Greece and Asia Minor. The Phœnicians, it is true, were a most active maritime people, and had colonies in Sicily, and nearly all round the coast of Africa eastward of the Nile. But it is equally true they had no colonies in Italy. What distinguishing features their arts may have had we do not know, but there is every probability they were unlike Greek. They were a Semitic people, spoke a Semitic language, and, if we are to believe Herodotus, l. i. 7, 89, who made a voyage himself to Tyre to inquire into their antiquities, they were but strangers and colonizers in Palestine, having come from the Erythrean sea. I must confess it seems to me as much begging the question to call these objects Phoenician as Egyptian. Are they, then, Etruscan? It is true many similar things are found in Etruria; but the Etruscans never had dominion in Cumæ; they tried, it is true, and failed signally. On the vases may be some things in common with objects found in Tuscany, such as panthers and deer, but no positive Etruscan emblem or inscription has been found. b The form of the government of Cumæ was that of a Greek Republic; that of Etruria a mixture of aristocracy and theocracy-of Lucumones and Augurs. The Cumean tomb is the last resting-place, the Etruscan the banqueting-hall, of the departed; the former is a narrow inclosure roofed in to prevent the earth pressing heavily on the dead, the latter a direct imitation of a dwelling-house, palace, or temple. It would be presumptuous in me to speak positively, but at present I see little analogy between the people.

It may be said, that it matters little whether the Phœnicians, the Greeks, or the Etruscans formed these unimportant vessels; but, in truth, the investigation possesses considerable interest, as it may possibly throw some little light on the greatest ethnological problem of all,—whence came the civilization of Western Europe? The general opinion is that it came from India, and a very probable opinion it is; but by what route did the arts, knowledge, and refinements of the East pass to us, and through what hands were these precious gifts conveyed? Did they travel from the Ganges to the Euphrates, from the Euphrates to the Nile, and then cross thence to the Tiber? Did the Chaldee and Assyrian instruct the

^a Vell. Pater. i. 4. Cumanos Osca mutavit vicinia.

b I have stated that the devices on this pottery seem to betoken an Eastern origin, and accordingly we find vases with very similar designs near Corinth, and in other parts of Greece proper, the Greek Islands, and even in Asia Minor itself. They also occur not unfrequently at Nola, which I have already mentioned as probably a colony from Cumse.

Egyptian? and was his lore the foundation of Etruscan knowledge? has been often asserted, but there is much anomaly, much difficulty in the way: the greatest, that there is no direct trace of either the language or the religion of Egypt in Italy. Did civilization pass to Syria, and was it then conveyed by the Phonicians to Europe? They have left no trace of either their language or religion in Italy, though they have at Carthage. There is nothing Semitic in the Italian dialects, nor did Italy ever receive the worship of Ashtoreth, or Baal; they did not erect the conical stone, nor plant the grove on the mountain top. Is it possible that from India arts and literature passed first into Asia Minor, and thence to Western Europe? If this were so, it would then be easy to conceive how the Sanscrit of Hindostan became the Greek of Asia Minor, and how the language of Homer reached Italy, and there, blended with the Oscan, became Latin; and it would be easy to conceive why the cold, gloomy, indigenous deities gave way to Zeus, Hera, and Hermes, and how the rude Saturnian verse took Greek forms, proceeding from the hexameter of Ennius to the Sapphics of Horace; how one by one the graces and conveniences of life sprung up till the people possessed

> Delicias quoque vitæ funditus omnes, Carmina, picturas, et dædala signa polire.

Should this have been so, the course must be traced through the history or remains of the earliest colony, and this was clearly the one we have had under our consideration, Cumæ, for we have the express authority of Strabo, that this was the earliest Greek colony either in Italy or Sicily, a colony never Phænician, never Etruscan.

If this attempt would incite any other Fellows of the Society to follow the clue I have ventured to throw down, I shall feel myself amply repaid for the time which I have bestowed on this subject, which I believe to be one well worthy the attention of all Archæologists.



BOMAN PUNEREAL URN, OR OLLA.

XX. Remarks on Four Deeds, of the time of Henry VI., with Seals appended; and a Memoir of Sir William Oldhalle, Knight. In a Letter to Joseph Jackson Howard, Esq., F.S.A. By Weston Styleman Walford, Esq., F.S.A.

Read 10th December, 1857.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE great pleasure in furnishing you with some remarks on the four Deeds, with seals, of the time of Henry VI., which you propose to lay before the Society, and also with a brief memoir of Sir William Oldhalle, whose seals are appended to those documents. A subject, that has interested me so much, may not be without interest to others.

The first Deed is dated on the 10th of July, in the 18 Hen. VI. (1440); it recites that Brian de Sandforde, Knight, had become bound by a statute staple to William Oldhalle, Knight, in £100, and had granted to him and John Lavenham a tenement in the parish of St. Olave, in "Mugwel-strete," in the ward of "Farndone" within London, viz., between a tenement of the said William Oldhalle on the south, and a tenement belonging to the hospital of the B. Mary without

Bishopsgate on the north; to hold to the said William Oldhalle and John Lavenham, their heirs, and assigns; and the effect of this deed was to make the statute staple void, in case Sir William Oldhalle and John Lavenham, their heirs, or assigns should not be evicted by any heir of Sir Brian de Sandforde from the tenement so granted to them. There is no witness. On a label is a circular seal 1½ inch in diameter, of red wax; the device is a shield couché, charged with a lion rampant, and ensigned at the sinister corner with a helmet having ample mantlings, and for a crest a lion's head issuing out of a coronet. The legend is imperfect, but from what remains it



SEAL OF SIR W. OLDHALLE.

should seem to have been figillom Willelmi Oldhalle militis in black letter. A woodcut of this seal is given in the margin.

The second Deed is dated on the 22nd of the same month of July; and thereby Sir William Oldhalle and John Vyncent demised to Sir Brian de Sandforde four

messuages in Thorpe Salvyne, which they lately had of the gift of the said Sir Brian; to hold to him, his heirs, and assigns, upon condition to be void, if Sir William Oldhalle and John Lavenham, their heirs, or assigns should not be evicted by any heir of Sir Brian from the tenement in "Mugwel-strete" mentioned in the preceding deed. It was witnessed by "Johanne Meltone, milite, Johanne Serleby, armigero, Nicolao Gouxille, armigero, et multis aliis." There are two seals, each on a separate label. The first is circular, 1½ inch in diameter, of red wax, having a very great resemblance to that on the preceding deed, yet apparently an impression from a different matrix; however, it has been much blurred by the matrix having been re-applied. The arms of Oldhalle, as given by Glover and others, are, Per pale az. (another gu.) and purpure, a lion rampant erm. It is a noticeable fact, that in neither of these seals is the partition line or any ermine spot shown. The absence of the former may be accounted for by the lion covering the place it would have occupied. The books are probably correct as to the arms; and, if so, we learn from these examples to be cautious how far we receive seals as evidence of coats even in regard to details of form. The second seal is octagonal, barely half an inch in diameter; the device is a bird, probably a raven, standing, and looking to the dexter, with something obscure in the beak; the legend, which is in black letter, I read asfo . . rw, but cannot explain it. The supposed f may possibly be a t; and it is not clear that any letter is missing between the o and the r. This we may assume to have been attached as the seal of John Vyncent.

From these two documents, both of which are indented and in Latin, I collect that Sir William Oldhalle had purchased, in the names of himself and John Lavenham, the tenement in "Mugwel-strete" (more properly called, as it now is, Monkswell-street, from a well formerly there belonging to the monks of Garindon), with a defective title; and the object in taking the statute staple (then a common security) and the grant of the four messuages in Thorpe Salvin, a small village in Yorkshire, was to indemnify him in the event of his being evicted by the heir of Sir Brian de Sandforde.

The third Deed is dated on the 20th of February, 35 Henry VI. (1457.) This is indented and in English, and is in effect a contract by Sir William Oldhalle to sell to Thomas Saunder, citizen and brewer of London, a tenement with a garden in "Mugwel-strete," between a void "place of grounde" pertaining to St. Mary Spitall without Bishopsgate on the north, and the king's highway of "Mugwel-strete" aforesaid on the east part, and the tenement of Roger Chamberleyne, knight,

A Cistercian abbey near Loughborough, Leicestershire.

late (of) the said Sir William Oldhalle on the south, and the wall of the city of London on the west; Sir William was to make a sure estate in fee simple by the feast of St. Martin in winter next coming; for which tenement the said Thomas was to pay to Sir William 100 marcs, i. e., to retain 25l. 16s. 9d. in satisfaction of all sums of money due to him the said Thomas by Sir William, and also pay to Arnold Berebrewer, 24l. in payment of all sums of money due by Sir William to the said Arnold, and to Joan Whitehede, late wife and executrix of Simon Whitehede, wax-chandler, 7l. 8s. 6d., in satisfaction of all sums of money due to

her by Sir William, and to Sir William himself 9l. 8s. 1d. in full payment of the said 100 marcs. There is no witness. Under the fold, on the sinister side, is the signature of Sir William Oldhalle, of which a fac-simile is here given. Upon a label is a circular seal, about half an inch in diameter, of red wax, evidently from a seal-ring, the device of which is a Flote, such as is to be seen in the arms of the

Ses Sujation

SIGNATURE OF SIR W. OLDHALLE.

Bowyers' Company and the Fletchers' Company, being a tool for smoothing the surface of wood-work, especially of bows and arrows; above and below this is

a scroll, and on each scroll this legend, mich l'p atain, in black letter, which may be rendered mine touches (or strikes) it there; as if he had overcome some difficulty, or attained some object. (See woodcut in the margin.) At the end of the signature "W. Oldhaff" is what is most likely an abbreviated word. I was disposed to read it Knt. for knight; but it looks more like Snr. for senior; which, however, the state of the family does not



SIGNET OF SIR W OLDHALLE.

appear to warrant, there being then no other William Oldhalle in it, unless there were an unknown nephew or cousin of that name, or a son who died in his father's lifetime.

The fourth Deed is dated on the 3rd of September, 36 Henry VI. (1457); it is in Latin, and thereby Sir William Oldhalle conveyed to Thomas Saunder, Luke Broune, Brewers (*Pandoxatoribus*), Richard Holbeche, "Iremonger," and Wiliam Hunte, "Joynour," citizens of London, a tenement with a garden adjoining in "Mugwelstrete," viz., between the king's highway of "Mugwel-strete" and a tenement of the Prior of the Hospital of the B. Mary without Bishopsgate, and a void piece of land belonging to the community of the art or mystery of Goldsmiths, London,

on the east and north parts, and tenements late of the said Sir William Oldhalle, and then of Roger Chamberleyne, knight, on the south part, and a garden of the Abbot and Convent of "Gerondone" on the west part; which tenement and garden the said Sir William Oldhalle then lately had of the demise of Thomas Canynges, John Yonge, John Stodeley, and John Hole; and they had lately had them, with other lands and tenements, of the feoffment of the said Sir William Oldhalle. In witness whereof Sir William Oldhalle had affixed his seal, the said Thomas Canynges being then mayor of the city of London, John Stiwarde and Ralph Verney sheriffs, and Geoffrey Feldyng alderman of the ward. It was witnessed by the said Geoffry Feldyng, Geoffry Boleyne, John Middletone, Robert Caldecote, and Walter Brigger. On a label is the same seal as on the last preceding deed. There is no signature. The name "Plumer," which is engrossed at the sinister corner below, under the fold, was most probably that of the scrivener who prepared the document. On comparing the boundaries, it is evident these are not the same tenement and garden that are comprised in the preceding contract. It appears by the Rolls of Parliament, as we shall presently see, that Sir William Oldhalle had three tenements in Mugwell-street.

At this period deeds had lost much of their early simplicity. Troublous times had led to ingenious devices to avoid the consequences; and most estates became vested in feoffees for the use of the beneficial owners. One great object was to escape forfeitures for treason and felony; crimes which no man could then say he might not have imputed to him. The life of Sir William Oldhalle did not differ in this respect from those of most of his contemporaries. Having described the Deeds, I will give a brief sketch of his history; for he was of sufficient note in his generation to justify this, though the historians have not awarded him a place in their pages.

The family was settled in Norfolk a century and a half at least before the date of the earliest of these deeds; and the name still distinguishes two or three manors in that county, which once belonged to Sir William, or some of his ancestors. An Isabella de Oldhalle held half a (knight's) fee in Dersingham in 31 Edward I., and it does not appear to have been then a recent acquisition.^a A Nicholas de Oldhalle held the manor of East Derham early in the reign of Edward III.^b From him, it is supposed, was descended, either as son or grandson, a Sir William Oldhalle, who married Emme, a daughter and coheiress of Sir Richard de Bellhouse of West Bilney; whose son, Sir Edmund Oldhalle, married Alice, one of the coheiresses of Geoffry de Fransham, and was the father

a Blomfield's Norfolk, iv. p. 515.

^b Ib. v. p. 1184.

of Sir William, the party to the deeds above described. Both these alliances augmented the possessions and importance of the family in the county. This Sir William was born, in all probability, near the close of the 14th century, hardly earlier than 1390; and should seem to have been either the eldest or only son of his father. There is some reason to believe he went out in the expedition under Henry V. on the invasion of Normandy in 1415; for he was there shortly after, as an esquire in the retinue of Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorset, b who was subsequently Duke of Exeter. He does not appear to have been at Agincourt; but as the earl, though generally said to have been there, was left, it should rather seem, in command at Harfleur, his young esquire may have been in attendance on him at the latter place. The father was at that time a Receiver of the Duchy of Lancaster; which may account for the son being in the service of a Beaufort. In November, 1417, while he was in Normandy, his father died intestate, leaving him his heir. One William Shelton contrived to obtain authority from the Archbishop of Canterbury to administer his father's personal estate; and, by representing that the son had died abroad, he prevailed on the surviving feoffee of the father's manors of Narford and Bodeney, in Norfolk, to sell them, and hand over the money to himself; an act which certainly exhibited great simplicity, or something worse, on the part of the feoffee, who was the parish priest of Thornham. The son, after serving at the siege of Rouen in 1418, teturned with the king in 1421; and, on finding what had taken place in regard to his father's affairs, petitioned the King in Parliament for redress; and the administrator was required to appear, and be examined as to the facts.* The property should seem to have been restored, as Sir William Oldhalle several years after held some fees in Narford.'

We soon find him again in active service. Having gone back to France, he was, in 1424, at the important battle of Verneuil, on which occasion he was knighted; he was also at the taking of Ivry, and was appointed constable of Mountseur (Q' Montsoer) after the surrender of it to the Earl of Salisbury. In the same year, it appears, he was Seneschal of Normandy. In 1426 he was

^a Blomfield's Norfolk, v. pp. 1002, 1184.

b Rot. Parl. iv. p. 158 b.

^e Blomfield, i. p. 409.

⁴ Will. of Worcester's Itin. p. 374.

^{*} Rot. Parl. iv. p. 158 b.

f Cal. Inq. p. Mort. iv. pp. 170, 172, 274.

W. of Worcester's Itin. pp. 161, 282.

h Hall, 88, 92.

¹ This I learn from a MS. mentioned in a Catalogue of MSS. issued by Mr. Thomas Thorpe in 1844, p. 25, No. 128, where it is thus described: "Original Commission of Sir John Fastolf, Grand Master of the Household of John Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, &c. appointing R. Stafford and Rich. Conyngstone to take the muster of the Troops under Sir W. Oldhalle, Seneschal of Normandy. A curious document, on vellum, 3l. 3s. Alençon, 8th Nov. 1424." I am not able to state what has become of this MS.

Governor (Capitaneus) of the Castle of St. Laurence de Moitiers, in Anjou; and his name is found enrolled among the distinguished chitalry of the Regent John Duke of Bedford as knight and banneret, and governor of Argenten and Esse (Argentan and Essey), as well as of the last-mentioned castle.4 About this time he returned again to England, and seems to have risen rapidly under the patronage of Humphry Duke of Gloucester, at that time Protector of the realm, and governing in the name of the infant King, his nephew; for in July, 1426, shortly before the death of his former patron, Thomas Duke of Exeter, he was sent on an embassy to the Duke of Burgundy. The nature of the business is not mentioned; but, seeing that Jaqueline Countess of Hainault, the wife of the Duke of Gloucester, had just then fallen into the hands of her adversary the Duke of Burgundy, and that the quarrel between these two Dukes about the lady was then rife, it is highly probable that either her affairs or herself formed the subject of the embassy, though it is described as one that much concerned the public good of the King and his realms. In 1434 and 1439 Sir William Oldhalle appears to have been a privy councillor; and probably he had continued to be so during the whole intervening period. Shortly after, in 1441, he was one of several trustees in a grant of divers manors for the benefit of Richard Duke of York and his Duchess Cecilia; the first intimation we have of any connection between him and the house of York. This, however, was before the Duke of York had taken any active part in opposition to the court, being then engaged in France, where he had succeeded the Duke of Bedford as Regent.

Sometime previously Sir William had married Margaret, one of the daughters of William Lord Willoughby of Eresby; and about this time, or a little earlier, we may probably place his purchase of the manor of Hunsdon in Herts, and the neighbouring manor of Eastwick, as well as the house in Mugwell-street, described in the two earlier of the above-mentioned deeds. Hunsdon appears to have become a favourite place of residence. About 1447 he began to erect a castellated mansion there on so large a scale that it is said to have been never completed. However, it was carried so far towards completion as to afford a large amount of accommodation, according to the habits of society in his time. We are indebted to that early antiquary, William of Worcester,

a Hall, 102, and No. 41 of MSS. in the Library of this Society, p. 7.

Proceedings of Privy Council, iii. pp. 201, 244.

⁶ Ib. iv. p. 212; v. p 108.

^d Ib. v. pp. 136, 137.

^e Collectanea Topog. vii. p. 155.

f Clutterbuck, iii. 164, 179.

^{*} W. of Worcester's Itin. p. 89.

who was in the service of Sir William's acquaintance and fellow-soldier Sir John Fastolf, for some curious particulars of the building. He calls it "Turris manerii de Howndesdon per iiij, miliaria de Waar villa, cum aliis edificationibus ac cum stabulis de bryke factis." The tower is stated to have been 80 feet square. with seven very wide buttresses on each side, the height more than 100 feet, and the principal hall in it 80 by 24 feet. The range of buildings and stables was 80 of his steps long. From this it should seem to have been a structure of unusual type, consisting of a very large square tower, most likely of brick, with an extended line of buildings attached; something, perhaps, after the manner of Faulkbourne Hall, Essex, built by another of Sir William's fellowsoldiers, Sir John Montgomery, but on a much grander scale than that in every respect. The tower may have more resembled Tattershall Castle, which is of the same period. A long range of subordinate buildings may, after defence had ceased to be a principal object, have been less unfrequent than we are accustomed to suppose; but, having been generally of wood, they have disappeared. The novelty of these seems to have been due as much to their being of brick as to their length." They probably formed one side of a large court-yard, or of a space divided into several such yards, the other buildings having been of timber. In the measurement of the hall there is an evident mistake, as the thickness of the walls appears to have been overlooked: perhaps for lxxx. feet we should read lxx. The building cost, William of Worcester states, 7000 marcs 8 shillings and 2\dd d. which is, certainly, being very minute; but then he mentions having had his information from Humphry Paris, an officer of Sir William's wardrobe. Reckoned in pounds this is 4666l. 18s. 93d., which, taken at its relative value in the expenditure of the age, was a large sum, and probably equal to nearly 40,000l. at the present day.

Hunsdon church, close to which the house was built, is for the most part in the earlier perpendicular style; and there is reason to think that most of the churches in that style were erected before the wars of the Roses. It was once rich in painted glass, fragmentary portions of which still remain in some of the windows. From them it appears that Sir William was a benefactor. In all probability the chancel windows at least were contributed by him, if no others. In

^a So long a range of subordinate buildings of brick may have been thought remarkable, though W. of Worcester was no stranger to a large building of that material; for he had seen Caistor Castle erected by his master, Sir John Fastolf, of brick, coped with stone; which is said to have been about 300 feet square. (Paston Letters, iii. p. 352.) Brick was then coming into favour as a building material. Beside Tattershall and Faulkbourne, Hurstmonceaux Castle was of brick, and others might be mentioned.

the tracery lights of the east window are remains of saints and subjects; and in the upper parts of the principal lights, beside some quarries, are portions of



FROM A WINDOW IN HUNSDON CHURCH.

borders, consisting wholly of several of those tools or implements called Flotes, such as that on the seals of Sir William attached to two of the deeds above described, the once intervening pieces of coloured glass having been removed. In the more easterly of the south windows was, until it was recently to a great extent reglazed as a memorial window, part of a border also of these Flotes in situ (see a woodcut of one in the margin); while in the head there remains part of the original glass, which has been replaced, comprising a yellow fetterlock between two white roses, each in a separate compartment. In the other south window, which has also been to a great extent reglazed for a similar purpose, there is left a white single rose, probably once a double one. In the tracery lights of the north window are, of the original glass, a white double rose and a yellow fetterlock, and also the word Margareta reversed, in black letter, evidently out of place; which, it will be remembered, was the name of Sir William's wife. In a small building, with a crypt beneath it, on the north side of the chancel, now used as a vestry, perhaps once a sacristy, are windows with some of the original quarries, and on one of them a double rose with the outer petals

stained yellow. The windows of the nave would seem to have been filled with saints under canopies, now all missing; in the head of one is a white rose. The original glass throughout, though by different hands, is apparently of the same date, and as well from the nature of the material, as from the style and character of the painting, may be referred to about 1440 or 1450. A part of it, including some of the Flotes from the south windows of the chancel, having been submitted to Mr. Winston, unquestionably a most competent judge in such matters, he ascribed it to that period before anything was known of the person to whom it might be attributed. The white rose and the fetterlock were, as is well known, badges of the house of York, to whose fortunes, we shall presently see, Sir William had attached himself about 1448. A man of his disposition was not

likely, at that time (when the church, we may suppose, was being glazed, and he was in full prosperity), to have given only two or three windows to his parish church, which stood so near to his own house. No trace of the motto, mien I'p atain, has been discovered in any of the windows. It was less likely to appear there than the Flote, though in all probability it was assumed at the same time as that device, to which it seems to refer. If it be understood as importing that he had overcome or had smoothed down (i. e. removed) some obstacles in the way of his advancement, his success in life had been such as to make it not inapplicable; or it might have been allusive to some act of skilful diplomacy in his mission to Burgundy. Such devices were then in vogue in that country; and the idea may have been suggested by the Plane which, a few years before, John Duke of Burgundy had assumed with the motto, Die houd (I hold it), signifying that he would smooth the Knotted Staff of his rival, Louis Duke of Orleans, who had adopted that device with the motto De l'enbie.

To proceed with Sir William's history. He was knight of the shire for Herts in the Parliament that first met on the 6th of November, 1450, and on the 9th of the same month he was chosen Speaker; which, as well as his embassy to Burgundy, implies that he was a man of considerable address. Being, as we have seen, a Norfolk man, it might be expected such an event would not be unnoticed in the Paston Correspondence. Accordingly, I find it announced to John Paston, Esq., by Damme and Gresham, in a letter commencing,—Please it you to wit that Sir W. Oldhalle is chosen Speaker of the Parliament, and admitted by the King.4 This was written on the 11th of November. Among other things in the same letter, we learn that it was said, the Duke of York should not come to Westminster this sevennight, and, as men supposed, no sheriffs would be chosen till he came. A noticeable fact, because the historians in general have represented him to have continued in Ireland till the ensuing summer. To render Sir William's further career more intelligible, I must briefly mention the state of affairs when this Parliament met. In 1447 the Duke of Gloucester, who, we have seen reason to think, was his patron after his return from France, had died suddenly at Bury St. Edmund's, and was believed to have been taken off at the instigation of the Queen and the Duke of Suffolk, who governed in the name of the King; and the Duke of York, who had been previously recalled from France, had become the head of the opposition or popular party in the place of the Duke of Gloucester;

^a Monstrelet, ch. 35. Barante, ii. pp. 389, 407.

b Clutterbuck, i p. xxvii.

^c Rot. Parl. v. p. 210 b.

⁴ Vol. iii. p. 100.

which may account for Sir William passing over so readily to the Yorkists, the Duke not having then openly aspired to the throne. In 1449 the Duke was sent as governor to Ireland, avowedly to quell an insurrection, but in fact to be out of the way. He soon restored peace to that country, and had leisure to contemplate the occurrences in England. Meanwhile the Queen and Suffolk became more and, more unpopular; and in the last Parliament Suffolk had been impeached, but submitting himself to the King, he was, without trial, yet in reality with a view of protecting him, banished for five years. He was, however, waylaid at sea, and murdered off Dover on the 2nd of May, 1450. Close on this event followed the insurrection under Jack Cade, a Yorkist movement to ascertain the feeling of the country as to the dormant right of the Duke of York, as heir of Mortimer, to the crown. This had been suppressed in July. Instead of remaining in Ireland, as is generally supposed, from 1449 till about June 1451, there is very great reason to believe that he returned to England for a while a few weeks after that insurrection was suppressed, not only to take advantage of the death of Suffolk, but also to protect his friends who had been compromised by joining or assisting Cade. Beside the passage in the above-mentioned letter, showing he was expected at Westminster in November, 1450, the letter immediately preceding it, written evidently only a few days earlier, shows he was about to go into Norfolk; and he seems from another letter to have been named a little later in the commission to try some of the Kentish rebels; and even in the September previous, when the speaker in the last Parliament, William Tresham, was murdered near Sywell, in Northamptonshire, he was entrapped by being requested to go to meet the Duke of York, b who should seem to have been at no great distance; which would hardly have been practicable or attempted had he not been known to be in England. This agrees with certain statements in William of Worcester's Annales, to the effect that the Duke returned from Ireland at the beginning of September (1450), and was near Northampton when Tresham was murdered; the authority which has been followed by Dr. Lingard. Whether the object of that crime was to facilitate the election of Sir William to the speakership is left to conjecture. The court party, weakened by the death of Suffolk, had recalled Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, from France, who arrived in November, 1450, about the time the Parliament assembled in which Sir William was speaker. According to the Rolls of nothing worthy of present notice occurred except a petition by the

^a Paston Letters, iii. p. 136.

^b Rot. Parl. v. pp. 211 b. 212 a.

^c Liber Niger Scace. p. 473.

^d Rot. Parl. v. pp. 211, 216.

widow of Tresham, detailing the particulars of the assassination of her husband, and asking for justice on the murderers; and a petition for the removal from court of divers persons of Suffolk's party; which was partially granted. This Parliament was continued by prorogations till May, 1451; shortly after which the Duke of York finally relinquished the government of Ireland. From the historians we learn, moreover, that Somerset on his return from France was accused of having neglected his duty there, and on the Commons petitioning for his committal to prison, the King complied, but released him as soon as the session terminated; and Somerset presently filled the place which Suffolk had occupied. His influence prevailing, notwithstanding the return of the Duke of York, Sir William Oldhalle was indicted for treason, being charged with having been implicated in Cade's insurrection; and on being found guilty, he made his escape, and was outlawed. Thus his estates were forfeited to the crown. The exact date of this conviction does not appear, but most likely it took place towards the end of 1452 or the beginning of 1453. On the meeting of Parliament in the latter year, in order to make sure of the forfeiture, his attainder was, on the petition of the Commons, confirmed without prejudice to the grants made by the crown of his estates, several of which are mentioned in the petition, and among them Hunsdon, which had been given to Somerset," and the three tenements in Mugwell-street, which seem to have been granted to Sir Thomas Tyrrell, knight, and others, most likely as trustees for some one else. The King having become ill in November, 1453, and soon after incapacitated for business, early the next year the Duke of York regained the ascendancy, procured the imprisonment of Somerset, and was appointed Protector. About Christmas, the King recovered, and resuming his authority in February, 1455, released Somerset; whereupon the Duke withdrew, and shortly afterwards took up arms. Sir William remained in difficulties and disgrace notwithstanding the restoration of his party for awhile to power, and he was probably for a considerable time in sanctuary at Westminster. For, after the battle of St. Alban's, May 22, 1455, in which the Yorkists were completely victorious, Somerset having been slain and the King made prisoner, we read in a Paston letter, written evidently in London or Westminster early in June following, that-Sir William Oldhalle abideth no longer in sanctuary than the chief judge come; for that time he shall go at large, and sue all his matters himself.d From the same letter we learn that the Duke and the Earl of Warwick would

^a Rot. Pat. 31 Hen. VI. pt. 2, m. 13.

^b Rot. Parl. v. pp. 265, 266.

^c Paston Letters, i. p. 80.

^d Ib. i. p. 106.

wait the assembling of Parliament, the former at Ware, and the latter at Hunsdon, we may presume in Sir William's house at the cost of Somerset's representatives: the Earl of Salisbury, another Yorkist leader at St. Alban's, was about to take up his quarters at Rye, no doubt the Rye House. On the arrival of the chief justice, Sir William soon obtained the reversal of the outlawry, and was acquitted of the alleged treason. This is mentioned in one of the Paston letters, dated at Caistor the 7th of July, and written by William of Worcester. Parliament met on the 9th of July, and on the same day Sir William petitioned for the repeal of the Act of attainder against him. His petition, embodied in an exemplification of later date, is printed in the Rolls of Parliament.^b It states that he all the days of his life had been a true faithful liegeman to the King, and his father and grandfather, and had dispended his young days in the service of them and of other princes of their blood, as well in France as in Normandy and Guienne and other places; that he intending in his old age to serve God, and to live upon such poor livelihood and goods as he had of his inheritance and by his long-continued labour, certain undisposed persons, imagining utterly to destroy him, and by subtle untrue means to have of the grant of the king his lands and goods, caused him to be declared traitor by an Act passed in the last Parliament, by which it was supposed he had given false untrue counsel to the great traitors, John Cade and John Wilkins, and to one John Halton, whereof he was never guilty, "ne the said persons never knew, ne with them had communication:" he then proceeds to mention the indictment for treason and his outlawry, and that the outlawry had been reversed at his suit, and he of the same treason acquit by the oaths of twelve notable sufficient persons before the King in his bench. The prayer of his petition was, in effect, that the Act of attainder might be repealed, and he restored to his lands and goods; which was granted.

There is a remarkable letter in the Paston collection, dated St. Faith's (Oct. 6th), which mentions Sir William Oldhalle when in the height of his prosperity and influence. It must have been written while the Duke of York was in England, and at the time or on the eve of a general election, and in all probability before the Duke had openly claimed the crown. The editor was unable to assign to it a more precise date than between 1451 and 1456. He probably assumed it was not written in 1450, because the Duke was supposed to have been then in Ireland. In 1451, which might otherwise seem the most likely year, there was no parliament

a Paston Letters, iii. p. 128.

b Rot. Parl. v. p. 451.

^e His service in Guienne I have not found elsewhere mentioned.

⁴ Paston Letters, iii. p. 154.

summoned in the autumn. It could hardly have been later, as Sir William's history shows. Therefore I am induced to think it must have been written on the 6th October, 1450, about which time we have seen reason to think the Duke was in England; and the summonses for the Parliament in which Sir William was speaker were dated the 5th September, 1450. It was written by William Wayte, evidently from London, and was addressed to John Paston in right great haste. The writer was in the service of some Yorkist, but of whom does not clearly appear. It is too long to give in extenso. He mentions—he had been "in my lord of York's house," and heard much thing more than his master had written of: he had heard much thing in Fleet Street; but "my lord" (apparently meaning the Duke of York) had been with the King, and he "visaged" so the matter, that all the King's household were afraid right sore, and his said lord had put a bill to the King, and desired much thing which was much after the commons' desire, and all was upon justice, and to put all those that were indicted under arrest without surety or mainprize, and to be tried by law as law will: insomuch that on Monday Sir William Oldhalle was with the King at Westminster more than two hours, and had of the King good cheer; and the King desired of Sir William Oldhalle that he should speak to his cousin York, that he would be good lord to John Penycock (who was one of the esquires of the King's body, and that he should write unto his tenants, that they should suffer Penycock's officers to go and gather up his rent-farms within the Duke's lordships; and that Sir William answered again to the King, and prayed him to hold "my lord" excused; for though he wrote under his seal of his arms, his tenants would not obey it, insomuch that when Sir Thomas Hoe met with the Duke beyond St. Alban's the western men fell upon him, and would have slain him but for Sir William Oldhalle being by; and therefore would they have fallen upon Sir William, and have killed him; and so he told the King.—The writer proceeds to state, that Sir "Borle" Yonge and Josse laboured sore for Heydon and Todenham to Sir William Oldhalle, and proffered more than 2,000l. for to have his good lordship. Heydon was recorder of Norwich, and had, with Sir Thomas Todenham (who had formerly been with Sir William in the household of the Duke of Exetere), and some other Lancastrians named Windham and Prentice, been guilty of some excesses in Norfolk, in the nature of extortion; and their trial seems to

^a Perhaps of Sir John Fastolf (see Paston Letters, iii. letter 31), who, though not an avowed partisan of the Duke of York, was suspected by the Queen's party (ibid. letter 29), and was most probably, like John Paston, a well-wisher to his cause at this time.

^b Rot. Parl. v. p. 237 b.

e W. of Worcester's Itin. 370.

have been about to take place in May, 1451,* and the letter goes on to recommend a great outcry to be made against them by the populace when the Duke of York went to Norwich, lest they should come to grace. There is then an offer to get John Paston favourably introduced to the Duke. After which the writer urges John Paston to stand for the county, and suggests persons by name as candidates for Norwich and Yarmouth, and returns to the subject of the outcry against the extortioners. A bribe of 2,000l. was a very large one at that time, and seems hardly credible, unless the accused had reason to expect to be very severely dealt with. Sir William Oldhalle appears, from this letter, to have been in attendance on the Duke when the affray beyond St. Alban's occurred. We learn, too, of his being with him in Wales (probably in September, 1450), from the correspondence which took place when the King and the Duke, with their armies, were near Dartford in 1452; for the latter, complaining of an attempt meditated against his person near Conway, mentions that the head of Sir William Oldhalle was to have been struck off on that occasion.

We do not find Sir William in any public situation after the reversal of his attainder. He should seem to have got into debt during his outlawry; for we have seen that he sold one of the Mugwell-street houses in 1457, and the greater part of the purchase-money went to pay some brewers and a wax-chandler. He had become a widower, but the time of his wife's death does not appear. The last notice of her as living that I have met with, is her having, in 1447, joined in conveying some lands at Baconsthorpe, in Norfolk. She was buried at the Grey Friars, London.d If we may trust the date assigned to a letter about to be mentioned, his case was not so desperate during his adversity, but that a match was in contemplation with a daughter of Sir William Paston; for in one of the Paston letters, the date of which is ascribed to March 1453 or 4, and which was written by the lady's mother to her son John, it is stated that she had heard he had—been laboured to for Sir William Oldhalle to have his sister.—The lady was not unwilling, yet the marriage did not take effect; owing perhaps to his age and the state of his affairs. She afterwards (probably in 1458) married Sir Robert Poyning, who had also been in trouble about Cade's insurrection; and not without reason, as he had

^{*} Paston Letters, iii. letter 27.

e Blomfield, iii. p. 714.

b Holinshed, ii. p. 638.

^d Collectanea Topog. v. p. 282.

^a Vol. iii. letter 45. I question the date assigned by the editor to this letter; for in it the lady's mother suggests inquiries whether Sir William's lands were clear: whereas at that time he was attainted, and his lands forfeited. It is more likely to have been written in March, 1456, when the attainder had been reversed.

openly joined him, and acted as his sword-bearer and carver. After Sir William's restoration to Hunsdon, we find "my Lord of Canterbury" and Lord Bouchier (who was his brother) were to go for a week to Hunsdon, and hunt and sport them with Sir William Oldhalle; sufficient proof that his house was not in a very incomplete state, as their attendants must have been numerous.

His troubles were not yet over; for, continuing a zealous partisan of the Duke of York, he was again attainted, together with the Duke and many others, by the Parliament which met at Coventry in November, 1459. He does not appear to have been in arms against the King, but was charged with traitorously compassing his death, in conjunction with the Countess of Salisbury and John Vaghan. On this occasion his estates seem to have been granted to Humphry Duke of Buckingham. I find no special repeal of that Act of attainder; but on the accession of Edward IV. in 1461, the Acts of Kings Henry IV., V. and VI., with some necessary exceptions, were treated as void.

Little more is said of Sir William. It is not clear that he survived till the Yorkists' triumph in 1461. The last notice I have met with of him is in a Paston letter of 12th October, 1460, written from London by a servant of John Paston, in which he speaks of Colbine, apparently late a fellow-servant, but then out of employ, awaiting-upon Master Oldhalle the most part at Redre, at his place,—where it should seem Sir William was then living in retirement. By "Redre" was probably meant Redriff, i.e. Rotherhithe. The battle of Northampton took place in the preceding July, and dispersed the Lancastrians, leaving the King again a prisoner. The Duke of York, who had just landed from Ireland, where he had taken refuge after his attainder, now formally claimed the crown. Sir William may have survived him, and witnessed the accession of his son as Edward IV.; but if so, he was dead before 6th Edward IV.; for Walter Gorge, who married his only child and heiress Mary, survived him and died in September in that year, seized of his Norfolk estates, as appears by two inquisitions in the following October, and by a petition presented to Parliament by Edmund Gorges (as he was called) their son and heir, in the 5th Henry VII. From that petition it appears, that on Sir William's first attainder his Norfolk estates were granted to Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke.

Chauncy, and Clutterbuck following him, represent Sir William as leaving a son and heir, Sir John Oldhalle, who succeeded him, built the house at Hunsdon,

a Paston Letters, i. p. 58.

b Ib. i. p. 172.

[°] Rot. Parl. v. 349.

^d Rot. Pat. 38 Hen. VI. pt. 2, m. 24.

o Vol. i. p. 200.

f Rot. Parl. vi. p. 435.

and fell fighting for Richard III. at Bosworth field, and was attainted the next Parliament. The inquisitions and petition just mentioned dispose of the question of his having left a son and heir; and I cannot discover that any one named Oldhalle was present at Bosworth field, nor whence this story was derived. No such name appears on the Rolls of Parliament among those who were attainted in the 1st Henry VII., or indeed afterwards.

The house at Hunsdon did not go to the heirs of Sir William Oldhalle, but remained in the crown, or was given up to the crown after his last attainder. It was granted by Henry VII. to his mother, Margaret Beaufort, and her husband, Thomas Earl of Derby, for their lives; and is said to have been converted by Henry VIII. into a palace, at great cost, for the occasional residence of himself and of his children. The Lady Mary appears to have frequently resided there in the reign of her brother. Elizabeth granted it soon after her accession to her cousin, Sir Henry Cary, whom she created Lord Hunsdon. It must have undergone great alterations, and the large tower been taken down long ago; for the print given by Chauncy of Hunsdon House, as it then was, bears no resemblance to what it was in Sir William Oldhalle's time. If any portion of it remain, it is very inconsiderable, and forms part of the present mansion called Hunsdon House, built about 1804, and now the property of Edmond Calvert, Esq., whose ancestor, Josias Nicolson, Esq., purchased the estate in 1743. The buildings taken down soon after that date, and supposed by Clutterbuck to have been part of the original house, were most likely of more recent erection, possibly part of the additions made by Henry VIII.

In conclusion, lest it should seem strange that I have not referred to Manning's Lives of the Speakers, published in 1851, I will mention that I did not see the work until I had nearly completed this memoir, and then I found the notice of Sir William Oldhalle so very deficient and inaccurate, that it did not afford me any assistance.

I remain, dear Sir, Yours, faithfully,

WESTON STYLEMAN WALFORD.

To Joseph Jackson Howard, Esq., F.S.A.

XXI. Particulars respecting Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, with a fragment of the "Itinerarium ad Windsor." written by Mr. Serjeant Fleetwood, Recorder of London. Communicated by John Bruce, Esq. F.S.A.

Read March 26, 1857.

THE communication which I desire to make to the Society on the present occasion will be found to be in some respects peculiarly unsatisfactory. It is a tale of an interesting manuscript, imperfect; of inquiries respecting it, unavailing; of researches, baffled on every hand; and now of an ultimate appeal to this Society, in the hope that some Member may supply the deficiencies which I have not been able to remove.

The manuscript to which I have alluded is Harleian MS. No. 168, Art. 1. It is a transcript, by Ralph Starkey, of a paper entitled "Itinerarium ad Windsor.," written by William Fleetwood, Esq. Recorder of London. Many years ago I was attracted by its title in the Catalogue, and, being about to publish a little volume, the original manuscript of which had passed through the hands of Fleetwood, I was desirous to give an account of what appears to be one of his works, which has hitherto remained unnoticed. I sought at that time, by inquiries in the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge, and in a variety of other quarters, to discover a perfect manuscript of this "Itinerarium," but all my endeavours were unsuccessful. I have kept the subject before me on subsequent opportunities, and have tried all the usual channels of inquiry, but entirely in vain.

The manuscript deserves the pains which I have taken, for, although of no antiquity, it presents a picture in which the life which belongs to reality is united, as I am fain to believe, to some little of that interest which ought to distinguish a romance. It represents a transaction which took place in the month of July 1575. A cavalcade of noble gentlemen quitted the well-known Essex House, one of those inclosed mansions which then studded the bank of the Thames from Temple-Bar to Westminster; and, riding along the Strand, passed the very spot where we are now assembled, pursued the way by the park side, since termed Pall Mall, and close by the walls of what was then considered the "most princely and stately palace" of St. James's. Taking this course, they proceeded by "the park corner," and so onwards, on the road to Windsor.

The journey which was thus commenced was connected with business relating to Windsor Forest, and probably also with those extensive alterations at Windsor Castle, which were then in full progress. The chief person of the party was the Earl of Leicester, who travelled according to his own pompous notions, and according also to the custom of the time, accompanied by a princely cavalcade of attendants: John Dudley and William Dudley, two of his own family, were present on the occasion, together with "divers knights and noble gentlemen, as well courtiers as of the country." Among his companions or attendants, the present narrative brings conspicuously before us two well-known persons, Thomas Lord Buckhurst and William Fleetwood.

Two men more essentially different can scarcely be imagined. Buckhurst—the facts of whose life have been admirably strung together by my friend Mr. Durrant Cooper, in his edition of "Gorboduc"—was a person of distinction almost from his youth. As Thomas Sackville, ere well out of his teens, he became celebrated, not as a lawyer, although the law was his profession, but as a companion of poets, and as himself a poet of unquestionable genius. Quaint in form, and laboured in expression, there is little in his poetry to attract a modern reader; but Mr. Hallam awards to Sackville the high praise of "fertility of imagination, vividness of description, and strength of language."

Sackville's personal tastes inclined him in everything to delight in the rich and the splendid. Brought before the world by his success in letters, he took the lead in many of the amusements of his time, and became as conspicuous for personal extravagance as for literary ability. As the heir of his father, whose characteristic nickname was "Fill-sack," he might look forward to a considerable patrimony; but Sackville lived as if the inheritor of a kingdom rather than of an estate. In a few years all property over which he had any control was sold or deeply mortgaged, and he himself was bound hand and foot in the power of usurers and bailiffs. Of a sudden, he became the subject of a remarkable change. The whole course of his life was altered, as it were, at once. The spendthrift was converted to prudence; the man of pleasure became a man of business. Sackville's contemporaries account for this change in various ways. The kindly remonstrances of the Queen, and the purse-proud insolence of a creditor who kept him waiting in his hall, are both set down as having contributed to bring it about. The misery of a wife, to whom he was affectionately attached, and the degradation of a numerous family, may have had their influence. Whatever the cause, the fact is unquestionable. He quitted England for a time; and, on his return, after the death of his father, devoted himself to the public service, and the

redemption of his estate. He was gifted with eloquence, and his general talents easily adapted themselves to the business of the state. The Queen gave him encouragement. He was employed on embassies; was rewarded with a peerage; and lived to succeed Lord Burghley as Lord High Treasurer, to hold the office of Chancellor of Oxford, to obtain the Garter from Queen Elizabeth, and an earldom from King James I. Amidst all his changes, two circumstances are recorded of him which seem links between his earlier and his later life. It was long before he freed himself from a condition of comparative poverty. Even after he had been ennobled as Lord Buckhurst, there is evidence that he lived in a style of extreme simplicity. But still he retained his old love of magnificence; and his will contains very precise and peculiar directions for the disposal of his own private rings and personal jewels. Again, we are told that such was the unusual sensitiveness of his taste in composition, that in all his public business he could get no secretary to please him, he was "so facete and choice in his phrase and style." (Naunton's Frag. Reg. p. 279, ed. 1808.)

The other person who accompanied Lord Leicester was William Fleetwood. His letters, published by Sir Henry Ellis, have made him generally known. There are others of the same kind in the State Paper Office, which have been brought to light by Mr. Lemon's recently-published Calendar. Fleetwood is praised by his contemporaries as a sound lawyer, and a man of indefatigable diligence. He is also entitled to be held in honour as having been a collector and preserver of historical manuscripts. It is evident that he was a precise, prudent, cautious, methodical person, and, in the character of his intellect, the most absolute opposite of Lord Buckhurst. Under the patronage of Lord Leicester, Fleet-

* Mr. Durrant Cooper informs me that the only note of any speech of Sackville's that he has found is one reported in a very unfriendly spirit in the proceedings against Lord Vaux and others for harbouring Campion, published in Archæologia, vol. XXX. p. 106.

^b A contemporary epigram on his election to the chancellorship of Oxford, for a reference to which I am indebted to Mr. Durrant Cooper, contains some little evidence of the estimation in which Buckhurst was held in 1591. It is derived from MS. Addit. 3728, fol. 65, a volume of poems in honour of Buckhurst, compiled and addressed to him by William Thorn, Fellow of New College.

Occidit Hattonus, retrahit sua lumina Phœbus, Nec visa in nostris lux fuit ulla scholis. Sacvillus venit, en reddit sua lumina Phœbus, Jamque coma solito splendidiore nitet. Obscuras veteres obscurabisque priores, Nemo fuit similis, nemo secundus erit. Sis bonus ô felixque tuis: interque clientes (Alme) tuos aliquem me precor esse velis. wood procured the Recordership of London, and was called to the degree of Serjeant. These are evidences of professional eminence; and his letters to Lord Burghley contain many proofs of his zeal and activity as a magistrate. But all his more studied writings which have come under my notice are peculiarly dull, formal, and pedantic. In the composition which I am now about to read to you, he seems to have striven to be a little more lively; and it contains some things which, totally undesigned by him, have a value at the present time which they had not when he wrote; but, even in these pages, the Society will have an opportunity of judging whether he did not possess the qualities which I have attributed to him.

I have alluded to some things in Fleetwood's "Itinerarium" as having a value now which Fleetwood himself never contemplated. Amongst them is one circumstance which gives the paper a special applicability to this Society: Buckhurst and Fleetwood, it will be seen, were both antiquaries. Attachment to archæological inquiries constituted a strong link between them. It united their opposite characters and qualities—the poetry of the one and the prose of the other. Fleetwood has always been reckoned amongst the members of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries; but I am not aware that that has been the case with Buckhurst. The present paper, unimportant as it is, will, I hope, be allowed to pass, if it be found to add such a valuable name to our pedigree of antiquarian forefathers.

Fleetwood's paper runs as follows :-

ITINERARIUM AD WINDSOR;

Written by William Fleetwood, Esq. Recorder of the Cittye of London.

[Harl. MS. 168, fol. 1.]

In the moneth of Nisann, in the seavententh yeare of the most happie raigne of the virtuous and most noble Ladie Queene Elizabeth, the right honnorable Robert Earle of Leicester, beinge constable of Windsore Castle and chiefe forester of the forest thereunto appendant, (beeinge with divers noble knights and other gentlemen, as well courtiers as of the countrye, accompanyed,) did take his journeye from his lordship's howse scituated neere the barres of the Newe Temple in London, towardes Windsore Castle; amongst which assemblye the right honnorable baron Thomas Lord Buckhurste was present, and I, William Fleetwoode, reporter hereof, beinge recorder of London, was, by the comaundement of the said Earle of Leicester, there alsoe attendante, for the better servyce of the queene in matters that weare to be debated within the honnour and forest of Windsore aforesaid. And as the said earle in his journey was uppon the newe cawsey over agaynst her majesties howse called Sainte James Parke, hee espyed, even fast by the verye walls of the same howse, two rydeinge alone, noe creature eyther rydeinge or goeinge before or after them; and

beinge desyrous to knowe whoe they weare, no man knewe, untill Mr. John Dudley and his brother told the said earle that it was the Lord Buckhurste and the recorder of London. "Naye," quoth the earle, "it cannott bee they, for heere bee their men." "Yeas," quoth Mr. John Dudley, "my lord. it is their condition to separate themselves from all companye when they ride into the countrye. and then their manner is to use argumentes of eare and very straunge thinges, sometymes of parleamente matters, sometymes of chronicles and historyes, but cheifelye of the antiquityes of this realme of England, for they be both marveylouslye given to be antiquaryes." "Then," quoth the earle, "what meane you by that name antiquaryes?" "Marrye," quoth Mr. John Dudley, "they canne tell your lordshipp of the antiquitye of Leister House; they can shewe your lordship howe that the territoryes betwene the Temple Barre and Ivye Bridge was in the Saxons tymes knowne Temple Barre. and called by the name of Vavasorian, and that Iven was the Vavasor and lorde of the same; and Ivie Bridge. they can tell you the Danes, being dryven out of this realme, and yett suche as were naturalized, partlye by birth, for that they weare children of Englishe women, but chieflye by the benefitt of the noble Kinge Ethelbert, was allowed them that place to inhabitt in, where they buylded a church in the honnour of Saint Clement, the patron of the Danes; and thereof it is called, even unto this St. Clement's. daye, Sainte Clement's Danes. They can declare the first foundation and founders of Sainte St. Spicott's Spicett's Chapple, and what marvells and straunge thinges there happened in that place. They are Chapel. able to disclose howe the Savoye first had that name, and of the escheate of the same to the crowne, Savoy. and of grantinge thereof to Crochback the Earle of Lancastre; and as for the antiquitye of Thorney, Rounsivalls, Charing Crosse, Saint James, the scite of which Sainte James was first made an St. James. hospitall, and annexed to a monasterye in Normandye, and soe beinge the landes of Prior Aleins, was given unto the crowne by parleamente in the second of Henery the fifte, and by Kinge Henerye the sixt given to Eaton Colledge, for the advauncemente of learninge and bringinge up of youthe; and in the tyme of Kinge Henry the eight, Cromwell, then Earle of Essex, obtayned a long lease thereof, and there beganne to buylde, and by his attaynder it came to the handes of Henry the eight, in which place, as your lordship maye see, is buylded a most principe and statelye pallace for the kinges of this realme." "Then," quoth the earle, "surelye these be straunge thinges that you speake of; but can they discourse in suche sorte of all other places within this realme?" Mr. John Dudley answered that he thought verelye they could. "Then," quoth the earle too Mr. Thomas Dudley, "I praye you when my Lord of Buckhurst and Mr. Recorder come againste the parcke corner, tell them that I would speake with them;" and after Mr. Thomas Dudley was ridden before, Mr. John Dudley said to my lord the earle, that it should be best for his lordship to move some questions of learninge toucheinge the state and pollecye of this realme; "and," quoth hee, "that will please them well, for they are muche like of disposicion to one Sir Richard Barkeley, a knight of Gloucestershire, whoe delighteth in noe man's companye but suche as be learned, or that can move wittie or subtill questions, whereuppon arguments of knowledge maye aryse and growe." "Then," quoth the earle, "I lyke them the better, and I shall, God willinge, followe your counsaile, and move sutche fruitefull questions unto them, as that they shall not be wearye of my company; -well, I see them at hand.

"Nowe, my Lord of Buckhurste, I wonder what matter it is that your lordship and the recorder have all this waye bene debateinge soe earnestleye betwene yourselves?" Then quoth my Lorde

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of Buckhurst: "My verye good lorde, my old frend Mr. Recorder and I doe evermore use to discourse of one matter of learninge or other when wee cane gett any leysure or tyme convenyent. Our talke was at this tyme of the excellencye of the regall dignetye of a kinge, and especiallye of the royall majestic of the Kinge of England; and yf it please your good lordship to move anye question disputeable, as touchinge that kynd of knowledge, or any other matter wherein wee have anye skyll, your lordship shall have our oppinyons to the full, with this caution, that non may be permitted to ryde within the ringe, excepte onlye Mr. John and Mr. Thomas Dudley, your lordship's gentlemen; for naturaliter scirc desiderat unusquisque (sayth the philosopher), and it is often seene that simple wittes, for wante of judgmente, maye conceyve an errour of which maye ensue hurte, and greate peryll in tyme to come."

"Your lordship sayes wiselye," quoth the earle, "and your request shall be performed. My Lord Buckhurst, and you Mr. Recorder, lett me ryde betwene you, and then I will move a question, the which, though I make noe greate dowbte thereof, yet would I gladlye heare what you thincke thereof. I doe read that the most auntient states of this realme, beinge made by kinges then raigninge, doe not only attribute and refferr all prerogative, prehemynence, power, and jurisdicion royale unto the name of kinge, but alsoe doe give, assigne, and appointe the correction and punishment of all offenders agaynst the regalltye and dignetye of the crowne and lawes of the realme unto the kinge, and not by the name of a queene. Heereuppon would I gladlye heare the reason, whie the queene, our mistress, should have and execute the like and the same prerogatyves, and other regall preheminencye as have bine given onlye by parleamente unto her highnes most noble progenitours beeinge kinges, and by the specyall name of kinges, and not unto them by the names of kinges or queenes; for I have learned all penall lawes made by parleamente are expounded and understood accordings to the letter, and not inforced by interpretacion, eyther to the person, to the tyme, or to the place, but are benignely expounded according to the moste favorable meaneinge of the letter. I praye you therefore, my lord and Mr. Recorder, lett me heere your myndes in these matters."

"My very good Lord of Leicester, (said the Lord of Buckhurst,) your question is very honnorablye and wyselie moved; for wee doe both perceyve that your lordship doth not dowbte thereof, but that for knowledge sake you desier to heare the very reason thereof; and suerlye, as to the former matter that Mr. Recorder and I alonge by Saint James' walles ded begin to debate uppon, toucheinge the excellencye of the royall dignetye of the kinges of England, there cannot an apter question bee propounded for the furtheraunce of that argumente then this that your lordship hath moved. The lawes of this realme doe most abundantly flowe of these matters, and you (Mr. Recorder), what longe, and lardge, and howe manye learned arguments have you and I heard and read in our bookes, as touchinge the expoundinge of penall statutes. You remember, I ame suer, the olde sayeinge concerninge that matter in anno septimo Henrici sexti: Quod lex beneficialis, casu consimili, remedium pravtat, odiova autem lex casu quo efficitur ulterius non extendit (that is to saye), that beneficiall lawes are expounded by equitye, but penall lawes are taken (as my lord said) strictly.

"The full discourse of the first parte of your lordship's question, as toucheinge the regall prehemynence in the queene our mistress, and the second parte beinge moved rayther for an

example then for any matter concerninge the exposicion of penall statutes, would both betwene them make up a compleate volume; -but ad propositum. My lord, before wee enter into this greate and hawtye matter, it muste bee agreed on all sides that the kingdome of England, that is to saye, the doome and judgment of the Kinge of England over his people (comytted by God unto his chardge), yea, and tota plenitudo totius regni Anglia, that is, the landes and goodes of all the fulnes and store of the whole realme, are subjecte to the onlye doome and sacred sentence of the Kinge of England, whose doome is conducted by meanes of the matter thereunto subjecte:

- "1. Sometymes by the onlye censures of Godes most holye lawes, I meane the Old and the Laws of God. Newe Testaments, as in matters touchinge matremonye.
- "2. Sometymes by suche cannons ecclesiasticall as be allowed of within this realme by the Spirituall lawe. custome of this land, as in matters of tythes and thinges testamentarye.
 - "3. Sometymes by the civill lawes, as in maryne causes, or in contractes made out of the realme. Civill lawe.
- "4. Sometymes by the martiall lawe, as before the Constable of England, in his court, as Martiall lawe, touchinge matters of armes, and offences comytted in the kinges campe or battayles.
- "5. Sometymes by the forest lawes, as in matters that doe concerne vert and venizon, and suche Foreste lawes. lyke.
- "6. Sometymes by the lawes of Oleron, the which lawes are verye often in our bookes termed Lawes of by theise wordes, secundum legem mercatoriam, that is, lawe merchante, the which lawe concerneth mercatorum. assuraunces and suche like things.

"7. Sometymes per leges treugarum, by the lawes of the wardourye agaynst Scotland, executed Leges treugaby the lord wardens of the three severall marches, for the correction of thee marche treason, outputters, lymmers, fyled persons, inryders and outryders, and a thowsand suche like.

"8. Sometymes by the pryvate custumarye of lawes of cittyes and auntient burroughes.

"9. Sometymes by the Lorde Steward of England, in his court of the coronation of the kinge, Lawe of the where eache man's clayme for the servyce of graund sergeauntie, and the arraignment of peeres, bine onlye dealte withall.

"10. Sometymes by the highe courte of parleamente, in which courte causes maye as well be Parleamente. heard and judicyallie executed as maye be the makeinge of lawes and statutes for the realme.

"11. Sometimes, yea, and that most commonlye, by the auntient common lawes of this realme, all Common lawe. causes, as well personall, mixt, and crimynall, are by the same common lawes heard and judicyallie ended.

"12. And yett there is another lawe, the which is seorsum ab omnibus aliis regni legibus, whereby Lawes of y certayne especyall and singuler causes are absolutely deemed of, the which lawe is called lex corona, and that lawe is the perticuler lawe of the crowne. Mention is made of this lawe in the statute of the xxviijth of Henrye viij. ca. vij.; the wordes in effecte are these: 'By the lawe of the crowne of England, it hath bine accustomed that the crowne ought to succeed and goe to the eldest daughter, when the femalis are heritable, etc.' There was a booke wherein the especyall laws of the crowne weare wrytten, the which booke did remayne alwayes in the custodye of the Lord Cheife Justyce of England, for it is his offyce to answere all dowbtes and questions that concerne the lawe of the crowne. This book, as I have heard Sir Richard Sackville, my father, saye, that it was not permytted to come to the handes of Sir Richard Listar, or of Sir Roger Cholmeley. He thought

wardonrie ago Scotlande.

England at perenation,

that yf the late Earle of Southampton (whoe sometyme was Lord Chauncellour of England) weare lyveing, that he could make an account what is become of that booke."

"Trulye, my Lord of Buckhurste," quoth the Earle of Leicester, "I thanke you verye muche for discoveringe of the aforesaid severall jurisdictions; and yett I, howe manye soever they bee, they doe all proceed ex solio regiae majestatis; and further, I doe note by your lordship's argument that infinite sunt legum species."

BUCKHURST, "Yea, my lord, your lordship will see saye by that tyme that wee have gone thorough with the whole disputacion. But, my lord, nowe lett us intreate Mr. Recorder to shewe his mynde as towchinge your lordship's former question. Goe to, Mr. Recorder, lett us heare what you can saye to the matter."

RECORDER. "Althoughe (my singuler good lords,) the question propounded doth requyer a deeper consideracion then my simple wytte is able to reache unto, and my skill very slender, yett, because I ame fullye perswaded that although I erre I shall with favour obtayne pardon at both your good lordships' handes, I shall be the bolder to pursue the arguments uppon the aforesaid question as effectually as my knowledge will serve. I doe read that this worde Kinge is a Saxon terme, and doe originally comme and growe out of this ould Saxon word cyning, which doth signefie a cuninge, a wyse, a virtuous, a polleticque, and a prudent person, fitt to governe as well in peace as in warres; and this word Queene, in the same toungue, is in effect of the same force, referringe the same to the female sex, and therefore it is to be noted that the crowne of England is not alwayes bound especiallye to be governed by the male; but yf there wante heyres males, then ought it to descend to the heyres females, as it appeareth by the judgmente given touchinge the dawghters of Zelophehad (xxvi. 33 Nombers), and as it did in the tyme of the Bryttons descend uppon Queene Cordeila, whoe was queene of this realme before the Incarnation of Christ 805 yeares, even at that tyme that the good Kinge Ozias did repayer the cittye of Jerusalem, which was in the yeare of the world 3358. This Cordeila was dawghter of Kinge Leire, whoe buylded the auntient cittye of Leicester; yea, and is it not a most true and playne matter, that the crowne of England maye descend and come to the female dawghter, where there lacketh heyre male, as it did unto Mawde the Empresse, whoe was dawghter to Kinge Henrye the First, and by the meane that William, Mary, and Richard, the children of the same Kinge Henry the First, were drowned in the seas by shipwracke, it soe fell out the said Mawde the Empresse became sole heyre, and notwithstandinge an ynterruption made by Kinge Stephen the intruder (for that is his proper addition in the auntient chronicles), yett the judgmente fell out for her parte, and she and her posteritye, even to this daye, have justlye and most rightfullye enjoyed the crowne without any enterclayme of anye person that ever hath bine heard of."

LEICESTER. "I see that this is a greate and good proofe that the female hath had and enjoyed the crowne of England by just and lawfull tytle; but you have not showed what arguments we are made of Kinge Stephen, while the female ought not to inherit the crowne."

RECORDER. "There weare manye such arguments made, eyther by Kinge Stephen, or by some other that tooke his parte; for Stephen claymed the crowne as sonne and heyre to Adela, whoe was the eldest dawghter of the Conquerour, for he had yssue other dawghters beside the said Adela (viz.), Cecilia, Constantia, and Gundreda; and soe Kinge Stephen was not able to make argument

Kinge

Queene.

whie the female ought not to inherritt the crowne, because hee himselfe claymed the crowne by Adela his mother, whoe was (as I have said) the eldest dawghter of the Conqueror, and soe you see that the tytle of Kinge Stephen was by the female, which is another president for proofe that the female maye inheritt the crowne, or els woulde Kinge Stephen never have made tytle by the female."

BUCKHURST. "Mr. Recorder, a man must take heed to your argumente, or els he maye lett slipp manye thinges that be worthie notinge; for you said that the Conquerour had divers dawghters, and that Adela was the eldest, and that, as from Adela, beinge the eldest dawghter, Stephen claymed to be kinge. By this I note that even from the Conquest it hath bine taken, by the lawe of the crowne, that where the kinge had noe other children but females, there the eldest dawghter should solelye inherritt, and by consequence this my president to bee good and sound, that heerewhile I vowched out of the acte of parleamente made in anno xxviij Henr. viij. cap. vij. concerninge this matter."

RECORDER. "It is well noted; but your lordships knoweth that the manner of my arguments hath alwayes bine grownded uppon authorityes and presidents, and not on reasons ynvented by myselfe; and therefore it is to be remembred that myne argumente is not my owne argumente, but the speeches and judgments of those that first sett them downe, and after that every byrd hath plucked awaye his owne proper feather, I for my parte ame like in this could and blusteringe moneth of Nisan to become yellowe, and then maye I shrowde myselfe in a hollowe tree with the poore cuckoe."

LEICESTER. "I like illud argumentum quod est ex authoritate sumptum, for that is sound argument, and suche argument hath worthie John Jewell, late lord Bishop of Sarum, used thoroughout his whole bookes agaynst Dr. Hardinge; but, Mr. Recorder, as my Lorde of Buckhurst said, it is good to take heed to your argument, or els it maye be saide of my lorde and mee, that muche water passeth by the myll that the myller knoweth not of. But me thought you spake even nowe of a judgmente or sentence that was pronounced for Mawde the Empresse and her posteritye, agaynst Kinge Stephen and his posteritye; for I knowe that Kinge Stephen had yasue a sonne, called William the Earle of Bloys and of Warren, whoe overlyved his father, the which William did not succeed his father as kinge, but Henrye, who was sonne and heyre to the said Mawde the Empresse, did quyetlie succeed, as all men knowe. I would gladlye knowe what the effect of that judgmente or sentence was, and whoe was the judge thereof that gave that sentence, or whether by that sentence the person of Kinge Stephen were removed from the regall dignitye of the crowne."

RECORDER. "In very deed (my good lord,) I used those wordes (viz.), that a judgment fell out on the parte of the said Mawde and her posteritye. To that I answere, recordes doe make mencion of the civill warres that were within this realme by meanes of the severall claymes of the said Kinge Stephen and Mawde the Empresse and her sonne Henrye, for the quyett appeasinge whereof the noblemen and bishops of the realme brought the kinges to a consultation touchinge the said severall tytles, and, that graunted, as well the kinge as the said empresse and Henrye her son did cause fyfteene archebyshoppes"—

Desunt cetera.

Here unfortunately the manuscript comes to an end. Comment on its main subject is unnecessary; its character lies upon the surface, and can be understood by every one; but, as Lord Buckhurst is here brought before us in the special character of an antiquary, which gives us all an interest in whatever relates to him, perhaps I may be allowed, in conclusion, to append part of a letter of his, which I believe has never been published, and which illustrates what I have before mentioned respecting the comparatively homely style of his living, even after he had been honoured with the peerage. I have been directed to this letter, the original of which is in the State Paper Office, by a reference to it in that great mine of information respecting our Elizabethan worthies, to which I have before referred, Mr. Lemon's "Calendar of State Papers." The letter is dated in 1568, September the 30th, and is addressed to the Privy Council. The circumstances under which it was written may be shortly stated. It will be remembered that in 1568 Cardinal Chastillon, one of the family of the Coligni, having preferred the faith of his relation the admiral to that faith to which his numerous and lofty church preferments seemed likely to bind him, sought refuge against a papal sentence of excommunication in England, accompanied by a bishop of Arles. The cardinal was received with distinction at the English court; and it was evidently a part of the government policy of the time to give encouragement to a person who was placed in the singular position of being a cardinal, and yet a Protestant. Amongst other places which he visited was the royal palace of Sheen. At that time Lord Buckhurst was residing there. His mother, as he states, "had the order and keeping of the house," under her majesty; and, by his mother's "sufferance," and on payment of forty marks rent to the crown, he was allowed to occupy a certain number of rooms, constituting about a fourth of the whole palace. Preparatory to the visit of the cardinal, the council wrote to Lord Buckhurst to do the best he could to accommodate the foreign dignitary, and also to give his assistance to the queen's officers, who were to make the necessary arrangements for the cardinal's reception. After the cardinal had paid his visit, complaints were made against Lord Buckhurst that he had not complied with the injunction of the council; and it was formally intimated to him that the queen was "greatly displesed with him, for that he had not in better sorte entertained the cardinall, who having bene with so great honor receved, not only by thos in whos houses he had rested before, but also even by the quenes maiestic herself, her highness did the rather take it in verie ill parte." It is his answer to this censure that I am now about to read. It runs thus:-

Toching the furste parte of this message, with how grete greif I received the same, God and my

sorofull harte can beste witnes. So injuste reportes of me to her majesty trobled me very muche; her highness displesure a grete dele more; but doubting how to remove the same, that greved me most of all. For, whatsoever my deserte have bene, I know not how I may presume to clere myself, yf her majesty have alredy condemned me; and yet, thinking it both a great fault and a folie to betraye mine ynocencie with silence, I have resolved to laie before your lordships, plainly and simply as it past, the whole discourse of my deling towards the cardinall, with this protestacon beside, that yf anie parte thereof be found untrue, I wishe to myselfe the losse of her majesty's favor, and consequentlie of my lief withall: and therefore when your lordships shall have considred therof, if to the same it may apere that I have no waies deserved this displesure, I shall then most humblie beseche your lordships, that ye will vouchsafe on my behalf, with most lowly peticon to her majesty, to restore me again to her majesty's most gracious favor.

Yt may please your good lordship therefore tunderstand, that having received your lordship's lettres that I should repaire to Shene, and there to do the beste I cold, in accommodating the cardinall, with mine advise, aid, and assistans towardes her majesty's officers who then were at Shene for that purpose (the same your lettres containing no other effecte at all), I toke hors within one hower after, I being then xxx. mile of from Shene, and so rode all the night. And upon my coming thether, being but two daies before the cardinal's arrival, I spake with her majesty's officers with whom I had conference for the better accommodating of the cardinall. I brought them into every part of the house that I possessed, and showed them all such stuff and furniture as I had; and where they required plate of me, I told them-as troth is-that I had no plate at all. Suche glasse vessels as I had I offered them, which they thought to base. For naperie, I cold not satisfy their turn, for they desired damask work for a long table, and I had none other but plain linnen for a square table. The table whereon I dine meself I offered them, and for that it was but a square table they refused it. One only tester and bedsted not occupied I had, and those I delivered for the cardinall himself; and when we cold not by any menes in so short a time procure another bedsted for the bushop, I assigned them the bedsted on which my wiefes waiting wemen did lie, and laid them on the ground. Mine own basen and ewer I lent to the cardinall, and wanted meself. So did I the candlestickes for my own table, with divers drinking glasses, small cushions, small pottes for the ketchin, and sundry other such like trifles, although indeed I had no greater store of them then I presently occupied; and albeit this be not worthy the writing, yet mistrusting lest the misorder of some others in denieing of such like kind of stuf not occupied by themselves hath been percase informed as towardes me, I have thought good not to omit yt. Long tables, forms, brasse for the kitchen, and all such necessaries as cold not be furnished by me, we toke order to provide in the towne; hanginges and beddes we received from the yeman of the wardrop at Richmond. And when we saw that naperie and sheets cold no where there be had, I sent word thereof to the officers at the courte, by which menes we recieved from my lorde of Leceter two pair of fine shetes for the cardinall, and from my lord chamberlen one pair of fine for the bushop, with two other courser pair and order beside for ten pair more from London. At which time also, because I would be sure your lordships shold be asserteined of the simplenes and scarsytie of such stuff as I had here, I sente a man of mine to the courte, speciallie to declare to your lordships that for plate, damaske, naperie, and fine shetes I had none at all, and for the rest of

my stuff, neither was it such as with honor mighte furnishe such a personage, nor yet had I any greater store thereof then I presentlie occupied, and he brought me this answer again from your lordships, that if I had it not I could not lend it. And yet all things being thus provided for, and the diet for his lordship being also prepared, I sent word thereof to Mr. Kingesmele, and thereupon the next daie in the morning, about nine of the clocke, the cardinall came to Shene, where I met and receved him almost a quarter of a myle from the hous, and when I had furste brought the cardinall to his lodginge, and after the bushop to his, I thought good there to leve them to their repose.

The next morning, making excuse of urgent business, Buckhurst quitted home, and did not return until long after his guests-if they were to be considered such—had left the palace. On his own showing there was no cordiality in his reception of them; but my purpose is not to dwell on that part of the story, but simply to point attention to the homeliness of Lord Buckhurst's domestic arrangements at Sheen. But all this was soon altered. He who had occupied a part of Sheen by sufferance, without plate, and with nothing but plain linen, in an age when the dinner-tables of the noble glittered with vessels of splendid silver, and were covered with curious ornamented napery, lived to possess not merely ample, but even extraordinary, stores of all such articles. In his will be makes mention of the "white silver plate ordinarily used in his several mansion-houses;" and he bequeaths to his wife a complete set of "fifty-and-one pieces of white silver vessell," to be selected at her pleasure, besides the silver plate and silver vessels appointed for her cupboard and "cushion cloth;" he gives, also, to his heir, all his gilt silver plate, with "one hundred pieces of white silver vessell," and makes mention of the care and charge, by the space of many years past, with which he had "gotten and gathered together" these valuable stores. His will also contains numerous legacies of plate and jewels to the most distinguished of his contemporaries, with many other highly curious bequests, which manifest the superabundance of his wealth in these particulars, and the entire recovery of his estate from that condition of depression to which we have seen it reduced.

I will only add, that if any Fellow of this Society shall ever be able to direct me to a complete copy of Fleetwood's "Itinerarium," I shall esteem myself indebted to him.

a Collins's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 131, ed. Brydges.

XXII. An Account of the Investigation of some remarkable Circular Trenches, and the Discovery of an Ancient British Cemetery, at Stanlake, Oxon. By John Yonge Akerman, Secretary S.A. and Stephen Stone, Hon. Memb. Ashmolean Society.

Read 3 Dec. 1857.

"These are sad sepulchral pitchers, which have no joyful voices; silently expressing old mortality, the ruines of forgotten times."—Hydriotaphia, Ep. Dedicatory.

In a communication by Mr. Stone, read to the Society of Antiquaries in the last session, the writer alluded to the appearance of a number of circles, heretofore looked upon by the country people as "Fairy Rings," which had been observed by him among the corn. As the summer advanced, additional circles became visible, and finally the number which could be distinctly traced amounted to thirteen.

The spot on which these phenomena had exhibited themselves is five miles south of the town of Witney, and about half a mile north of the church of Stanlake. Nearly the whole of the district was, until very lately, Common land, and has only recently been brought within the operation of the Inclosure Act. In the neighbourhood immediately S.W. of these circles rises a fine perennial spring, called Chadwell, and about two furlongs further west, another, termed Rawpit, while at about the same distance N.E. are several others known as the Underdown Springs,—all celebrated for the purity of their waters, which have never been known to fail. The last-mentioned springs, after flowing about two hundred yards, empty themselves into a branch of the Windrush, a tributary of the Thames or Isis, which it joins about a mile and a half to the south. The district is, however, remarkably barren of all external objects of interest, and a superficial view of it would certainly not lead the antiquary to infer that the earth held the relics which recent research and accident have brought to light; yet within the radius of a mile

^a "Account of certain (supposed) British and Saxon Remains recently discovered at Stanlake, in the County of Oxford." Proceedings of the Soc. Antiq. vol. iv. p. 92.

may be noted no less than four Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, namely, at Cokethorpe, near Yelford, at Brighthampton, and in the immediate vicinity of the pits already described by Mr. Stone.

On the gathering in of the harvest an examination of these circles was determined upon, and arrangements for that purpose having been made by the Rev. Dr. Wilson, President of Trinity College, Oxford, and other gentlemen interested in the antiquities of the county, the investigation was forthwith commenced. The result will be seen in the following Diary.

Septr. 16.—Opened ground for the purpose of exploring the circles in a field of saintfoin on the Downs, with the permission of Mr. Thomas Pinnock, the owner and occupier of the land. The sizes and relative distances of the circles will be seen by reference to the accompanying plan. (Plate VIII.) On excavating No. 1, in several places, the circle was found to consist of a trench 12 feet in width at top, the sides sloping gradually until they met at the depth of 5 feet 6 inches, thus V. No abrasion of the sides was observed, nor were any marks indicative of the trampling of feet, either of man or beast, nor the least appearance of exposure to the weather, distinguishable. On the contrary, the trench had apparently been fashioned with the nicest care, and then filled in again. The preservation of its original form could not have been more complete.

The trench was discovered to be full of a dry, but rich looking, earth, among which occasional fragments of very rude, unbaked, and exceedingly friable pottery were observed, mingled with which were the bones of the ox, the deer, the sheep or goat, the hog, and other animals. These, like the pottery, appeared to be of remote age. Here and there a stone was noticed which had been subjected to the action of fire. No other remains were observed.

The area, 76 feet in diameter, inclosed within the trench, appeared not to have been disturbed, except near the centre, where a circular excavation was discovered, about 2 feet diameter, and 18 inches in depth, having a slight trench a few inches in width and depth across the bottom of it.

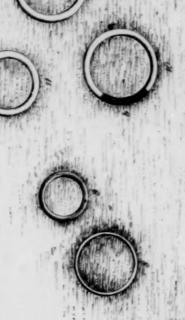
No. 2 was next examined. The trench was opened in several places. It was found to be 11 feet in width at the top, the sides sloping until they met at the depth of 4 feet. It contents were precisely of the same description as those of No 1, and its original form was as completely preserved; the area however which it inclosed was not circular, but oval, having diameters of 87 and 73 feet respectively. No excavation whatever could be discovered within the space inclosed within the trench.

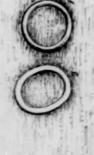
Septr. 17 .- No. 3 was next examined. The trench was found to be 12 feet wide

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EXAMPLES OF THE URNS.

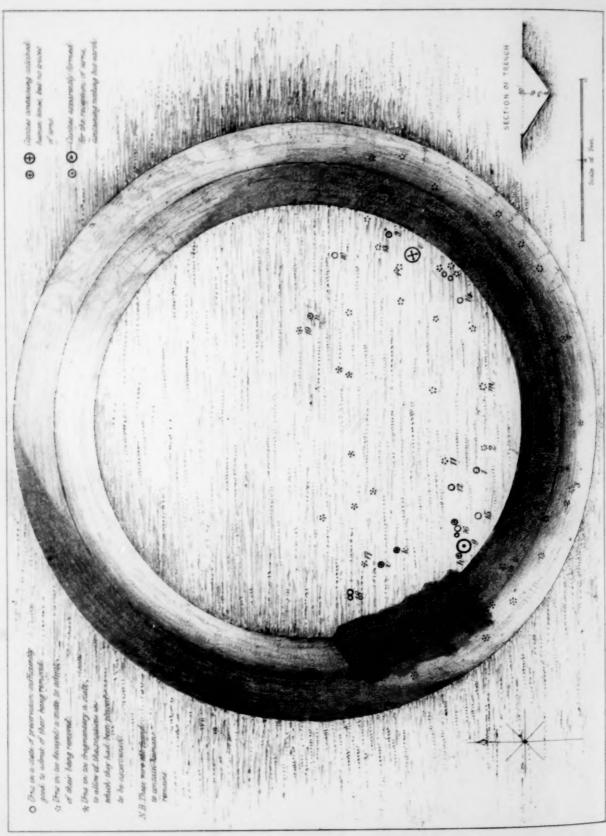












PLAN OF AN ANGIENT BILITIEN CRMETRIX AT STANLARE OFON EX

The said and True to Bear we were

at top, the sides sloping like those of Nos. 1 and 2, and meeting at the depth of 5 feet, the area inclosed being 92 feet in diameter. In this trench considerable derangement was observed: its sides had been shelved down, and a quantity of the loosened gravel was found lying at the bottom, as though the foot of either man or beast had frequently trodden it. No excavation was discovered in the area inclosed by the trench, the contents of which, with the exception of the loosened gravel, agreed with those of Nos. 1 and 2.

No. 4. The trench here was found to be 15 feet in width at the top, the sides sloping until they met, at the depth of 4 feet 9 inches. The circular area it surrounded was 90 feet in diameter. No disturbance of the sides of the trench was observed. Its contents were precisely similar to those of the others.

Septr. 18.—No. 5 appeared to differ in nothing, except in its dimensions, from the last. Width of trench at top, 10 feet, depth, 3 feet 9 inches. Diameter of area inclosed within the trench, 102 feet.

Devoted the remaining part of the day to an examination of No. 6. (Plate IX.) Opened and cleared out a portion of the trench at the northern side, which was found to be 10 feet in width at top, the sides sloping in the manner already described until they met at the depth of 3 feet 6 inches. There was no perceptible derangement in this portion of the trench; its original form appeared to be well preserved; neither could anything remarkable be perceived in its contents; but, on clearing out a portion on the south-western side, fragments of unbaked mortuary urns, mostly of the rudest description, were found occupying the cavities in which they had originally been placed, the calcined human bones lying within them.

Septr. 19th.—Discovered further evidences of cremation in fragments of urns and calcined human bones. Although, as already observed, the greater portion of the urns were of the coarsest material, and of the rudest workmanship, a few fragments were of finer material and ornamented with a variety of patterns. As the workmen proceeded marks of fire became more evident, the mould being exceedingly fine and densely black. It should be remarked that by far the greater portion of the bones had been subjected to violent and continuous combustion, with free access of air, which had rendered them perfectly white, and given them the consistence of porcelain; but in one or two instances the combustion had not been conducted so carefully, and the bones had assumed the appearance of charcoal, and had not been reduced to such fragments as in the other cases.

Septr. 21st.—Continued the excavation in a northerly direction, to the extent of 15 feet, when the vein of black mould was exhausted, and no further traces of urns or bones were observed. This portion of the circle, in fact, appears to have been

the ustrinum, or burning place, where the bodies underwent the rite of cremation, and the constant iteration of that ceremony on this spot may possibly account for the shattered state of so many urns in its immediate vicinity. We seem justified in arriving at this conclusion, from the circumstance of our finding the urns more perfect in the more distant parts of the area.^a

Septr. 22.—The area thus far explored appearing to yield no other relics than those above described, and these excavations having been undertaken with a view to discover the general character of the circles in this neighbourhood, permission was obtained from Mr. Carey Pinnock to explore four circles in a field occupied by him on the opposite side of the road, in a direction N. E. of the one last examined. Accordingly No. 10 in that field was opened on the N. W. side. The trench presented precisely the same features, being 10 feet in width at the top, and 3 feet 9 inches in depth. On the S. W. side, immediately below the natural soil, the labourers came to a bed of ashes, about one foot in depth, containing large quantities of calcined bones of the hog, sheep, or goat, and other animals. With these were mingled fragments of the rudest description of unbaked pottery. The disposition of these remains was limited to the width of the trench, and extended to a distance of 90 feet; the area inclosed within this trench being 124 feet in diameter.

The time allowed for exploring the circles in this field being very limited, their investigation was necessarily incomplete.

No. 11 was next examined. The area, 100 feet in diameter, was found to be encircled by a trench 12 feet in width at top, and 5 feet in depth. Nothing remarkable was observed beyond a fragment of Roman or Romano-British pottery.

Septr. 23rd.—From a brief examination of the circles Nos. 8 and 9 the following results were obtained.

No. 8. Trench 6 feet in width at top, and 3 in depth, inclosing an area of 106 feet diameter.

No. 9. Trench 9 feet in width at top, the sides sloping until they met at a depth of 4 feet, the contents disclosing no new feature. Area 77 feet in diameter.

Septr. 24.—The labourers were this day occupied in filling in and levelling the earth in Mr. Carey Pinnock's field.

Septr. 25 .- The investigation of the area of the circle No. 6, in Mr. Thomas

An old shepherd informed us that he had often penned his sheep on this spot, which may account for the destruction of many of the urns.

Pinnock's field, was resumed, and the search continued on the S. W. and E. sides, when several more shattered urns and calcined bones were discovered.

Septr. 26.—Continued the search eastward. Found more shattered urns, with their osseous contents. One of these (No. 3) was standing upon pieces of rock, evidently placed for the purpose; another (No. 4), the bottom of which and the greater part of the side fell to pieces, was placed upon a flat stone; another (No. 5), was found inverted; a fourth (No. 6) was standing upright; and another (No. 7), reclining on its side.

Septr. 28.—Continued the excavation round the trench on the eastern side, proceeding thence northward, in which latter direction other fragments of urns were discovered, but at length they were no longer perceived, and in despair of meeting with anything that could afford us further illustration of the use and object of these curious circles our operations at this spot were suspended until

October 3, when Dr. Wilson and Mr. Atkins, of Kingston Lisle, came over to see the progress of the excavations. On reviewing with those gentlemen what had been effected, and deliberating as to the chance of further discovery, we found that the earth had fallen away at one particular spot where it had previously been loosened, and had disclosed a group of four urns, in a far more perfect state than any yet met with. Two of them were inverted, a third reclined on its side, and a fourth was standing upright. They were deposited within a few inches of the surface, and just within the area inclosed by the trench. Hitherto all those discovered, with the exception of one which was just beyond the inner edge, and close to the group just above mentioned, of which it may be considered to have formed a part, were contained in the trench itself. It should here be mentioned that the area within the trench had already been cut across in three several places, but no traces of interments had been observed. This furnishes a significant hint to future explorers, and shews the necessity of a thorough search in places like those under notice.

October 5th.—The examination of the circle No. 6 was this day resumed, and four urns were discovered, and got out in a more or less perfect state. One of these (No. 9) measures 10 inches across the top and 6 inches at the base, its height being 12 inches, and its only ornament a row of indentations, apparently made with the point of the finger, surrounding it about two inches below the rim. This urn was placed upright in a pit 2 feet 8 inches deep, and 18 inches in diameter, the space between the urn and the outside of the pit being filled in with ashes. Urn No. 10 was found in an inverted position, and No. 11 lying on its side. No. 14, a singularly rude and ungracefully-shaped urn measuring 8 inches across the top, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the base, and 10 inches in height, ornamented with a row of impres-

sions somewhat similar to those on No. 9, just above which it had been pierced with a couple of small holes one inch and a half apart. Among the bones contained in an urn (f) which had perished, a *spiral bronze finger-ring* of the plainest form was discovered, — the only fragment of metal brought to light by these excavations. Near this spot was a cavity (e) 2 feet in diameter and 6 inches in depth, which contained a large quantity of human bones, and ashes of a very light colour.

October 6th.—Removed the soil from a further portion of the area, and discovered several more urns, two of which were sufficiently sound to allow of their being removed. No. 12 was found in an inverted position, as was also No. 13, directly under which was another also inverted. No. 1 was standing upright. This urn measures 9 inches across the top, 6 inches at the base, and is 10½ inches high. Around it are three rows of impressions, made apparently with the finger: the rim is also marked with impressions, half of which appear to have been made with the finger-nail and the other half with a pointed stick. No. 2 contained the calcined bones of a child, with which were mingled the scapula and other unburnt bones of a kid or lamb.

October 8.—Proceeded with the removal of the soil from further portions of the area. Discovered urn No. 15 lying on its side, the upper part absorbed, and the remaining portion so much decayed as to require bandaging previous to its removal; a necessary precaution in almost every instance. We next came to a large urn (No. 16), which had a small one placed by its side, and in contact with it, both standing upright. The largest measures $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches across the top, and 6 at the base. It is ornamented with a rude moulding on the upper part. The smaller one, which is similarly ornamented, is basin-shaped. It measures $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches across the top, which is also its height. Close to these urns a cavity had been formed, apparently for the reception of a third, which, however, was not destined to receive an interment. It contained not a vestige of urn, bones, or ashes; and if designed, as it appeared to be, to receive an urn, the accidents of humanity had defeated the intention.

Within two feet of the same spot another circular pit was discovered (g), about 1 foot 8 inches in diameter, and 3 feet 6 inches in depth. The mouth of this cavity was carefully closed with pieces of rock. Like the former, it appeared to have been prepared for the reception of an urn, which probably did not find a location within this cemetery. No traces of bones or ashes were found within it; it contained earth only. Close to this cavity was a small one (h), containing the ashes of a child, without any trace of an urn. The shape, however, of the compacted

mass of bones, plainly indicated that they had been deposited in a vessel of circular form, which had become absorbed by the surrounding soil. The number of urns hitherto discovered here which had been partially absorbed warrants this inference, while it suggests to us the probability that interments by cremation observed in other localities apparently without urns were not committed to the earth unprotected. Traces of two more urns were also found here.

October 9.—Continued the removal of the surface soil, and discovered two more cavities (i and h), containing human remains, but without traces of the urns, which had perished in both instances. Near to these was found an urn (No. 17), ornamented with the herring-bone pattern, but in a very shattered state. Beyond this was found a large and a small urn (No. 18) in close contact with each other, the first standing upright, the other inverted. The largest contained the bones of an adult, the smaller one those of a child. At some distance to the east of these was a fourth (m) in an inverted position. It had been superficially buried, and had been injured by the passing of the plough, but its contents lay together in a conpact mass of calcined human bones. On separating this mass an arrow-head of flint was discovered. It had evidently been deposited in the urn when its contents were still glowing from the funeral pile, and had been bleached to whiteness by the heat, which had caused it also to crack in three places. In this way one of of its barbs has been lost. This object, although of little value in itself, is of vast significance, affording as it does an idea of the condition of our primitive forefathers in this district of Britain. Whatever difference of opinion may exist among antiquaries as to what is called the "Stone Age," no one will hesitate to ascribe this object to a very early period, long before the effects of Roman civilization had been felt in this Island. Fragments of two other urns, filled as before, were also discovered near the same spot.

October 10th.—We this day completed our investigation of the area, having throughout the day discovered the traces of two urns only, with their contents, one of which (No. 19) was placed N.E. of the centre of the area, and a cavity (n) containing earth, but no trace of urn or bones.

October 12th.—Excavations were this day made without the trench, with a view to ascertain whether the interments extended beyond its outward limits; nothing, however, was discovered in that direction, the ground having apparently never been moved.

Here, for this season, at least, our explorations ceased, as it became necessary to level the ground we had disturbed, preparatory to its being brought into tillage. Our researches within this circle occupied thirteen days, and, as may be seen by

reference to the accompanying plan, they have resulted in the discovery of upwards of eighty interments of one generally uniform character. Yet, although all of them have occurred within a certain space bounded by one of the circular trenches, it appears, nevertheless, doubtful whether those areas were originally designed for the purposes to which at least one of them has been consecrated. Further research may possibly lead to further discoveries, and eventually afford a solution of what is at present an archæological enigma. That the trenched circles were not intended as inclosures for cattle seems evident from the peculiar formation observed in all of them, for, as already stated, their sides slope gradually from the edge to the bottom, and would, therefore, offer no impediment to the ingress or egress of any animal. For the same reason they are not adapted for defence against the attacks of an enemy. If the areas inclosed within them are, as may be conjectured, tabooed spots, consecrated to religious rites, further research may possibly render this apparent; and it is to be hoped that after the gathering-in of the next harvest the investigation may be renewed, and attended with more satisfactory results. The facts elicited by what has already been effected shed a new light on the sepulchral usages of our primitive forefathers, and will probably lead to discoveries in other localities hitherto not suspected to conceal such interesting remains. They help also to dissipate a very common error among antiquaries, namely, the belief that the graves of the ancient inhabitants of Britain were generally protected by tumuli, a belief founded on the description given by Tacitus of the burial of men of note among the ancient Germans: -- "Funerum nulla ambitio: id solum observatur, ut corpora clarorum virorum certis lignis crementur. Struem rogi nec vestibus, nec odoribus cumulant: sua cuique arma, quorumdam igni et equus adjicitur. Sepulcrum cespes erigit."—Germ. xxvii.

That this description would apply to the funeral of an ancient British chief is extremely probable; and, if read by the light which researches like these supply, we shall perceive that the words of the great historian have reference to the interment of individuals of rank and fame, and do not imply that the tumulus was erected over the graves of the lowly and unhonoured dead. That the interments at Stanlake rank with the latter class seems abundantly proved: within a portion only of a circular area of seventy feet diameter were detected upwards of eighty interments, only two of which were accompanied by relics, and those of the simplest and most primitive description.

JOHN YONGE AKERMAN. STEPHEN STONE.

15 November, 1857.

XXIII.—On the Land of Ditmarsh, and the Mark Confederation. Communicated by Benjamin Williams, Esq. F.S.A. and F.R.G.S. in a Letter to Rear-Admiral Smyth, K.S.F., F.S.A. &c. &c.

Read November 26, 1857.

November 9th, 1857.

MY DEAR ADMIRAL,

That excellent scholar the lamented Kemble has pointed out the correspondence which exists between the mortuary urns of our ancestors, the borderers on the Elbe and the Eider, and many of our own. The same correspondence may be expected to be found in the institutions we have in common, and I now beg to submit to the Society of Antiquaries some account of probably the most striking example of the old Mark Confederation, the foundation of our elective institutions. In the republican community of Ditmarsh—which existed till the promulgation of the new Danish Code of Laws in 1554—we may see the germ of our power of self-government and of our jury system. Their system of house-marks was certainly once in use amongst our own yeomen, although now nearly obsolete; a system which throws, I think, considerable light on the papers on the Hide of Land and certain Manorial Customs, which, through your encouragement, I submitted to the Society, and which are printed in Volumes XXXIII. and XXXV. of the Archæologia.

Well does Professor Dahlmann call the attention of "those who discover the spirit of freedom and honour only in mountainous countries, such as Switzerland and the Tyrol, to the north-western extremity of Germany, washed by the North Sea, a tract of country not undistinguished in the Middle Ages. Here, for centuries, flourished the truest freedom, not only within the fortified Hanseatic towns, but in open fields, on the open low lands from Fly, Upper Lauer, Ems, Jahde, to the northern side of the Eider, the home of our North Frisians. The hat of the noble free Frisian of the Seven Seelandes was a terrible war-badge for him who respected but slightly the property of men who

^a The reader is referred to Kemble's "Saxons in England" for an explanation of the markland—the uncultivated land that bordered the settlement. The modern words marches and lords marchers are only corruptions of A.-S. mearc.

enjoyed their federation, their lands, and their rights, or who hoped to fetter that arm which waged continual warfare with the floods of the North Sea. Situated between the Frisians of the Great Confederation and the brave Northern Frisians of Holstein, the independent people of Ditmarsh have claimed and cultivated a small corner of the globe."

This interesting land, situated between the mouths of the Elbe and the Eider, on the western coast of the province of Schleswig, is not more than seven (German) miles long, from Lunden in the north to Brunsbuttel in the south, and from three to four miles wide from the western coast to the eastern boundary, beyond Alversdorp. This powerful commonwealth of a bold peasantry (reminding us of the Odelsbondin of Norway), which maintained for centuries an isolated and strange independence, consisted of not more than from 40,000 to 50,000 souls, of whom fully 6,000 were armed men; and they long succeeded in warding off all supremacy as not assimilating to the constitution of the country. A purely agricultural community—for their two small but principal towns were little elsethey retained freedom in honourable peasantry, and knew how to preserve their landed property untaxed, without lords' tribute or lords' service, and to maintain a peculiarly matured state of cultivation, with unrestricted freedom of trade, and with judges chosen from their own body, so that an old chronicler of Ditmarsh could well say, "We have neither lord nor head, and do what we will." Professor Michelsen has remarked, that he who wishes to study the condition of the peasantry in its original freedom and in all its bearings, should not resort to Central Germany, where on every side he will meet with palpable traces of their servitude, but should rather seek the Frisian races, or, still better, the commonwealth of Ditmarsh, as developed in its Book of Rights.

From this precise district formerly emigrated some of those tribes which succeeded in effecting a permanent settlement in England. Here dwelt the "wondering borderers of the Elbe and the Eider," as Kemble called them, rovers who wondered at the spoils of Roman cultivation they found in England. These were the "Nortliudi trans-Albim sedentes" of the Annales Laurish. and Einhardi (quoted by Pertz, i. 184—186), also called the Marcomanni or Nordalbingii by

^a Neocorus der Dithmersche, von Dr. F. C. Dahlmann. Kiel, 1818.

b Johann Adolfis genannt Neocorus, Chronik des Landes Dithmarschen, von Professor F. C. Dahlmann. 2 vols. 8vo. Kiel. 1827.

c Sammlung Altdithmarscher Rechtsquellen von A. L. J. Michelsen. Altona, 1842. His former work has also been consulted, Urkunden-sammlung zur Geschicht von Dithmerschen. Kiel, 1839; and the same author's Nordfriesland im Mittelalter. Schleswig, 1828.

Hrabanus Maurus at the beginning of the ninth century. (See Kemble, in Archgol, XXVIII. 334.) The main part of the waters of the Elbe were formerly diverted from their present channel by an immense island of sand (Sandfoert) which lay off the western coast of Ditmarsh, causing them to flow in a stream parallel to the coast; and, till the year 1500 at least, they actually passed through the western peninsula of Ditmarsh, and discharged themselves into the Eider. Busen was then a considerable island, and there were others, which are laid down in Neocorus's map. The tribes of the Angeln were the immediate neighbours of the Ditmarshers, and sailed down the Eider. The provincial language of Ditmarsh, as spoken in the present day, is a dialect of the Platt Deutsch: three centuries ago it was the nearest approach to Early English of any of the Anglo-Saxon off-shoots." The following list of names of places, extracted from King Waldemar's Erdbuch (Census Daniæ in Langebek, Script. Rer. Danic. vol. vii.) of the beginning of the thirteenth century, will enable the reader to judge approximately in what degree these Northmen gave the names of their own towns to their settlements on or near our coast; more might be added:—

Rö, or Ruye, or Rythæ, Stening, Worthing, Öre, Hethe, Rumsö, Boking, Swansö, Vinblæsæ or Vintblæsö, Hölby, Grumby, and Withby. The Ditmarshers have also a Lund, nemus, and Lunden, but the latter town rose only in the middle ages. Our heathendom was also nearly allied, as the following list of places in Ditmarsh will testify: Wodenslag, Frestede (Freia), Herstede (Hertha), Hemmingstede, formerly Ham, Heme, and Hamste (from Thor-Hama or Jupiter Hamoys), Sonnenwohld, Mondestempel, and Marskammer. There is also a marked similarity in our family-names, witness the following list of families in Ditmarsh in the fifteenth century: Bute, Butteler, Evers, Greeve, Hartman, Hemming, Harder, Helman, Habie, Jerriman, Portman, Rise, Suwell, Weneman, and Wilder. "When we consider," said Kemble, "the extent of the former tribes (and in Ditmarsh there were Geshlechts of 200 families bearing the same name) we shall not be surprised to see them reproduced on our own shores."

This interesting land received its first settlers from Friesland and Saxony,e and

^a The similarity of their proverbs and phrases is remarkable; ex. gra. Flo und ebb, Sink oder swim, Slick un slamm, Quit und frie, &c. The most important publication in the Ditmarsh language is a pleasing collection of pastoral poems, called "Quickborn" (Hamburgh, 1857), to which is prefixed a précis of the language by Professor Müllenhoff of Kiel. See a notice in the Gent. Mag. for Nov. 1857.

b The termination ing is Gothic, pratus, pascuum (Lye), as in Reading, &c.

c It is worthy of remark that the men of Frisian and the men of Saxon descent were often in opposition in the troublous times which succeeded the Reformation.

later settlers from Westphalia and other places. The great emigrating tribe from Friesland, the Vogdemannen, established itself in two marks on the sea-shore, in the so-called marsh. They called themselves, after their dwelling-place, the North and South Vogdemannen, on which account both of the marks inhabited by them received in later times the names of the North and South Strand. The emigrating tribe from Saxony—amongst whom that of the Woldesmenner was the most important—settled in the midst of the country, in the so-called Geest, further inland than the marsh, in two other marks, which afterwards received the names of North and South Hamme. It was only in later times that to these four marks a fifth district was added, the Meldorper Döfft. The land was known in the latter half of the eighth century as Thiatmaresgaha; and it is recorded that about this time the Ditmarshers fought with the East Saxons under Duke Hassio. The population must have been considerable. Numerous weapons and instruments of the bronze period have been found in the land, and are now preserved in the Danish museums and at Berlin.

From the four original marks, Charlemagne, in the year 804, when the land had become united to the French kingdom, formed a distinct Christian Gá (German, Gau). The tithe was appointed and the great baptism held twice a-year, when no Ditmarsher could absent himself under the penalty of death. Seven parishes only are recorded in the ninth century. Early in this century the land appertained to the bishopric of Bremen; but yet it was only after long struggles with the Dukes of Saxony and the Counts of Holstein and Denmark, and after the battle of Bornhövede, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, that the bishop's lordship was recognised, so that the old mark system, which could not be said to be altogether annihilated during the short dominion of the distant French, had the necessary time to consolidate itself, and to become a great Mark Confederation. The bishop as "Emunitatsherr" (lord of the unappropriated wood-lands, somewhat analogous to our lord of a manor) had no legislative power or voice whatsoever, and no other claim than the Blutbann and Heerbann, and some revenues connected therewith; all the remaining rights belonged to the landed community, "communitas terræ Thetmarsiæ." Their self-made code of rights was only taken away ten years after the Church Reformation, and only after the terrible thunder, in the "leste Feyde" of 1559, of more than a hundred cannons of an enemy whose number four times surpassed their

a Geest, Old Frisian geste, mediæval Lat. gastum, is the elevated sandy, wood and heather land towards the east of the country. It was partitioned into koppeln by mounds and quick-set hedges, called knicken, and so called because they are cut every three or four years.

own; when, on a bloody battle-field, and under smoking ruins, they were compelled to yield to the sovereign of Holstein. Many severe previous and victorious struggles are recorded by Neocorus, particularly those of the years 1319 and 1500, the last at the entrance of the low-lands, on the so-called *Dusentdüwelswarf* (thousand-devils'-hill), in the neighbourhood of the Swinmoor. The following is the account of the old government of the country previous to the publication of the Code of Rights in 1447, as given by Neocorus:—

"The old Ditmarsh Government was arranged in the following manner: there were in every parish 'the Sixteens,' as they were called; amongst them were two Schlüter, who were also obliged to administer the possessions of the Church as churchwardens. They held their consultations weekly throughout the year, and if anybody intended to go to law he was to appear before this tribunal, and he demanded that the party of whom he complained should also appear before the court; upon that, one of the neighbours of the defendant was obliged to summons him. When the two parties had arrived, and the complainant and the defendant had been heard, the court of law pronounced sentence. If any one was not satisfied he might appeal from the Sixteens to the whole parish. In small parishes there were sixteen, in the larger ones twenty-four Kerknemedes. All appeals were brought before the parish, which decided. There were two Schlüter in the small parishes and four in the larger ones. Inferior to the Schlüter were the five Bögede or Vögte (advocate), who were appointed by the Bishop of Bremen to take care of his privileges. Usually the Kerknemedes were judges in matters of debt, the Schlüter were the judges of the scoundrels, thieves, and robbers, a jurisdiction of great use to the country. If the Schlüter of a parish were not strong enough, they called to their aid all the other Schlüter of the country to assist in the binding and the burning, which were the punishments of the whole land."

The parish Nemedes or Nadmanne, that is, the named or elected above mentioned, were the sworn representatives elected for life by the community of each parish from the most worthy and well to do of their members. They were so called from the old Saxon word, nömen or nemen, to name. In Sweden they were called Nämd, in Jutland Näffn, Nävn, from the Danish nävner. These were the judices primæ instantiæ, and assessors of the people's rights. They were also

^a Women of bad life were burnt, and their relatives assisted at the execution. Traitors and murderers were beheaded.

^b Schleswig-Holsteinische Provinzial-Berichte for 1793, p. 114. Even now, in Sweden, the word Namd is customary, which signifies a committee elected as assessors of justice; for example, Tolfmanna Namd, the committee of twelve Bauern, elected as assessors in the administration of the district.—Idem.

called the geschwornen, jurati; and by the people of Frisian descent they were termed the Landes Gevolmächtigen, Vollmachte, Vullmach, that is, the principal people of the whole land. It is worth while to observe the spirit of satire in which the Vullmach, slight as was his pre-eminence, is spoken of in the national poems. The importance with which he strides up the steps of his house on a court day, all the neighbours making way for him, is humorously painted. From their body the juries were invariably chosen, and on that account a jury was called a Nemede. Originally the bishop had only one Vogt or steward; in course of time a Vogt was appointed for each of the five Döffte or divisions of the country; but with the increase of their number their authority was divided, their power weakened, and their efficacy gradually reduced to a form. The Schlüter were two officers annually chosen from the Nemedes, whose business it was to convene the Nemedes, to preside over the juries, and to give effect to their verdict, to superintend the apportioning of the land by lot, to direct all military affairs, and to take care of the roads, bridges, and dykes. They were earlier called Schliessern (Schlüssel führer, those who kept the key of the parish chest), and in Latin clavigeri. After the partial breaking-up of the mark system, which, according to State-Counsellor Maurer, took place in Denmark, Germany, and Bavaria in the latter half of the thirteenth century, they had the care of the books, in which every man's arable land was registered. They also collected the tithes and church dues.

In the year 1265 the supreme government appears to have been invested in "Der Voigt, die Ritter, die Rathgeber, und die ganze Gemeine des Landes zu Dithmarschern," or, as it is expressed in another document, "Advocatus, milites, consules et tota communitas terræ Thetmarsi." (Neocorus, Chron. i. 649.) In a document of the year 1281 no counsellors are mentioned, only "Milites, advocatio (Ritter und Voigte), et universitas terre Ditmarcie." In the year 1304 we find, "Der Voigte, die Ritter und der ganzen Dithmarschen Gemeine." Anno 1308, "5 advocati et ceteri potiores terræ Thetmercie." In 1329 mention is made of seventy chosen, called "Potiores terræ et rectores politiæ." In Meldorp, the ancient capital of the country, we read in early times, "Wo Vögte, Ritter und die Aeltesten aus den Kirchspielen." The Lands Aeltesten were the natural heads of the different Geschlechts or races, who rose to the condition of Ritter or milites about the year 1300 without any rivalry, and who sat as counsellors (Rathgeber)

a See his very able work on the Mark, Hof, Dorf, and Stadt Verfassung; Munich, 1854: also, a Treatise on the Holsteinische Adel, by Professor Nitsch, of Kiel.

with the Geschwornen of the different parishes (Neocorus, ii. 533), reminding us of the "Seniores plebis meæ," with whose consent and counsel Ecgberht, king of Wessex, acted. In the year 1409 we read, "Wi Vogede, Slüter, Sworen, und ganze Meenheit des Landes to Detmerschen."

Up to this period each parish had been in effect a kind of separate republic, and had occasionally made separate treaties with foreigners, which were sealed with the parish seal; but in the year 1434 eight of the northern parishes, joined by two head men of Geschlechts, being weary of a wild independence, made a treaty with the Hamburghers, in order to give security to the Hamburgh ships in the Elbe and on the coast. In order to arrange this treaty it was found necessary for several brothers of the Franciscan Order of St. Mary Magdalene at Hamburgh to travel amongst the "Wild Ditmarshers," as they were called. The parties agreed amongst themselves to pay 100 marks Lübisch for every Landsmann slain on either side, and half of that sum for every German Knecht. Feeling the want of some central authority to enforce the laws, the senates of Hamburgh, Lübeck, and Lüneberg succeeded, after pressing representations, in bringing about an alteration in the Ditmarsh constitution. In consequence, shortly afterwards a new body for the first time appeared, called "The Eight-and-Forty," presided over by a chancellor, chosen from the clergy for life. Each parish elected two of these representatives, and in some cases three were returned by two small parishes. They formed, with the Vögte, a superior court, to whom an appeal lay from the Kerk and Bauer Nemedes; from whose sentence again an appeal only lay to the whole body of the Vögte, Nemedes, and Schlüter of the country, assembled in their Thing (communi placito), together with the peasants, and they met twice in the year. The range of jurisdiction, however, of the Eight-and-Forty had its limit: criminal and ecclesiastical matters did not concern it. In ordinary cases a college of twelve of their number acted, and a majority of two-thirds decided. In earlier times this complex system did not exist, and the old capital, Meldorp, retained to the last its original constitution.

A striking feature in the history of Ditmarsh during the Mark Confederation is the spirit of perfect equality and independence which pervaded the whole community, at least up to the close of the twelfth century. Each Geschlecht, or Bund of perhaps 200 families, had its natural elder or head; and there was evidently

^{*} See Codex Dipl. No. 232.

b The place of the national assembly was in open air on the heath, where afterwards the town of Heide was built. All questions of peace or war, and important changes in the laws were decided in this assembly. In like manner Eegberht of Wessex made his grants, "Cum licencia et consensu totius nostre gentis."—Cod. Dipl. No. 236.

some jurisdiction exercised over the members, as the family was responsible for their conduct. As possessors of a stake in the soil, the Ditmarshers called themselves "Edel-lude" and "Gude-men" (Neocorus, i. 496, 649), and their stake in the land their Fried (German, Freud, joy), a term possibly perpetuated in our expression free-land. It was also called their Feld-mark, or simply their Mark, b No bearing can be more manly and independent than that of the Ditmarsher of the sixteenth century, as portrayed by Neocorus, with his heavy war-axe in his hand, and his long poke or dagger at his girdle, reminding us of our own bold veomen of the same period. A marked spirit of kindness, a promise of mutual help in sickness and misfortune, was also observable. Widows, Wet-fru (wet, the pret. of wissen, to know), were to be assisted, the land of the sick was to be ploughed by their neighbours, and their teams to be sent to their aid. Everybody throughout the whole land was free to employ himself on his own account for three days in the week, viz. from sunrise on Saturday to sunrise on Tuesday. Their desire was, "God to honour, and our own Namakelinge (probably kin) to better.4 Although land descended to the "sword side," instead of the "spindle side," yet careful provision was made for the females. A boy became his own guardian at 11 years and 6 months, at 14 he bore arms, and at 18 he was eligible to act as a juror. Their extant Land Rights do not date earlier than 1447, and they resemble the Frisian, Electoral, and Hanseatic Land Rights of the Baron Van Richthofen's Collection, and the Old Schleswig Rights, published in Kosensiege's Leges Danicæ. The free Ditmarsher would be judged by his own people, and not by regents—by men of his own standing, and not of a higher class. Their judgment by Nemedes approximates in its principles nearer to our English system than any other northern code. Their Geschwornen were not merely witnesses of the fact, but judges of the case. Their deposition had the strength of an averment; the presiding Schlüter himself could not convict, if the defendant denied

^a When a stranger was admitted into a Geschlecht, he agreed "to stand by," or be judged by, six men out of his Kluft, or division of the Geschlecht. Compare the following extract from a Coroner's Roll, 23d Edw. I. "They say they are not guilty, and place themselves upon 12 sworn men." (Norfolk Archæol. Soc. iv. 244.)

b "So belake ik Grete Rymern Wedder myne Marke und alle mine Acker." "Alle unsere Meneweide oder Marke van Grasinge, Heyde und Mohr."—Bequests, anno 1496, Michelsen, Alt-Dithm. Rechtsquellen, p. 335.

c Right of 1447, section 87.

⁴ There is only a very short Glossary of this dialect. The quotation is taken from a "Bundeniss" in Neocorus.

^e Neither the Roman and Canonical Rights, or the Saxon Lage, or the Satute of Lubeck were incorporated into their code.

with a Nemede or jury. Their code gave great advantages to the defendant. An acquittal was given on the oath of the defendant alone, unless the crime were notorious. In Ditmarsh the defendant could demand an investigation before a Nemede, even if the plaintiff had brought forward the evidence of witnesses, an indulgence of which perhaps the Ditmarshers alone can give an example. In some cases the defendant might justify his denial by a Nemede chosen from his own Geschlecht; a right of challenge, with certain limitations, was allowed in other cases. The defendant had a right of appeal to the Eight-and-Forty; and, in extreme cases, to the judgment of God, before the whole assembled nation. Lastly, after 1538, almost all offences might be expiated by a Wehrgeld, or fine; but in 1554 it was decided, after much opposition, to punish homicide with the sword.

The judgments of God, and particularly that of bearing the heated iron, were retained in spite of Papal prohibition. The number of the sacramentales differed from that of the northern nations. In cases of trifling importance, such as debts not exceeding a mark, and disputes about flour at a mill, the Nemede consisted of two, besides the defendant, "selb dritter." The usual Nemede consisted of nine, and the defendant: of these five only could be challenged. The more solemn Nemede was twelve. There was also the "manifold Nemede," or Vullede, of thirty, through whom the complainant must convict of a murder, if the accusation were unsupported by proof. The Nemedes were also chosen according to the circumstances of the case; in heavy cases from the Kerk Nemede, in others from the Bauern, the Geschlecht, the Klüft (a division of the Geschlecht), or the Sibblod, the nearest relatives. When cattle were stolen, exculpation was allowed by a Nemede of neighbours or inmates of the house. The Nemede of the Sibblod led to abuses, for the abolition of which the clergy petitioned to the Eight-and-Forty. The abolition was effected about 1530, but it was accompanied by this restriction, that any one might exculpate himself by eleven irreproachable men possessed of a given amount of property. In all cases a majority of two-thirds decided. In the parochial and other large assemblies the parties divided themselves into three parts, called Eggen, and the voice of any of two of these convicted. The rule of the country was that of the zweiter Mann, the τὰ δύο μέρη of

^a The people of Prague, in Bohemia, appear also to have retained this right, for the small iron grate which held the fire in which the finger of the party on trial was put, still remains in the wall of one of the chapels of the cathedral of that interesting city.

b The Lord Warden of the Tinners, in Cornwall, empanels a jury of twenty-four in important cases. Seaford and other chartered boroughs had also juries of twenty-four.

Thucydides. Before quitting this part of the subject, it may be asked, Whether the judgment of the "Twelve Eyere" in the Jutlandish *Low Buch* did not give at least the name to our own Judges in Eyre?

Incorporated with the mark system was the ancient division of the lands into the hide and yard. The hide was called Hufe in Ditmarsh. It no longer exists there, but it exists in Angeln, and it existed in Ditmarsh as late as the first half of the thirteenth century, and probably later. From the Jutes, Bonnycastle derived the rule known to all school-boys, that three barley-corns, "hard and round," make one inch, barley being their staple bread-corn. But Bonnycastle stopped where he might have proceeded. He did not go on to say, as the Jutes did, that four yards (of sixty-four acres each in later times) make one hide of land. "Item. Quatuor virgæ terræ faciunt hydam." The English vard is derived either from the Norwegian jaurd, or the Jutish jordh. Odhals-iaurd, in Norwegian, are the ground-pieces or the sites of the village of the Adhalsmann. (Maurer, on the Mark, Hof, &c. pp. 12, 13.) A "fyeringe jordh göre en otting jordh" is mentioned in a Codex of the Leges Juticæ, quoted by Langebek, Scriptores Rerum Danicarum, vol. vii. In Ditmarsh King Waldemar II. bought of the Abbot of Bremen, in the year 1217, in communi placito, and therefore with the consent of the people, "ii. hove et dimidium, et dimidium jarde." Also in Ulversum, now Weldersum, "v. hovæ excepto uno jardæ." Hova is the same as huba, the Danish hufe, the Anglo-Saxon hiwisc, the Icelandic bol, the English hide. It is now well understood that the hide, or rather the yard, of land in early times consisted of a house and homestead, a varying quantity of arable land in the common fields, according to the nature of the soil, subject to the invariable three-course cultivation (winterfield, summerfield, and fallow), with the right of the proportionate use of the commons, meadows, pastures, woods, and waters of the community. Maurer and Waitz have fully and ably explained this, and have given examples from numerous nationalities. It does not follow that each vard-land had its separate owner; as many as four families have subsisted on a yard-land in modern times, and Maurer considers that a very few acres formerly sufficed for a family. So also Lèo, Rect. Sing. Person.

See the Erdbuch of King Waldemar II. in Langebek. This ancient geometrical measure was introduced by the Danes into Normandy in the tenth century; witness an entry in the Register of the Abbey of Gisors, "Antiquo fune geometricali Francorum et Danorum metito collimitat."

^b See a Treatise by Waitz, Uber die Altdeutsche Hufe, in the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Science at Gottingen, vol. vi. anno 1853-5. Also Haxthausen, Uber die Paderbornische Hufe.

The system of apportioning lands in the common fields annually by lot was carried by the Romans into England, Gaul, and Spain. We have records of the use of the Roman sors not only in the apportionment of lands in Anglo-Saxon England, but in our judicial proceedings, as was also customary amongst the Frisians in cases of homicide in the eighth century. Two twigs of withy enveloped in wool were placed on the altar, or over relics; if a priest for the accused drew the twig with a + he was innocent. Permission for its continuance was reluctantly given by the Popes, on the ground of ancient custom. The following quotation is worthy of attention, not only as proof of the use of the lot, but also of the signum, which will be hereafter referred to: "Tune unusquisque illorum septem faciat suam sortem, id est tenum de virga, et signet signo suo." (Lex Frisonum, tit. 14, sec. 1.) Beda speaks of the "hluton mid tánum," also "se tán ätwyde;" and Aelfric's Glossary gives sortilegium for hlyta." The phrases "scot and lot," in England, and "lot, cut, or cavil," in Scotland, attest the custom. The latter is found in King David the First's time, anno 1154; and that excellent antiquary, Sir Walter Scott, explained cavil as a share. In the Old Swedish laws, "Skipta med lut oc kafle," says Ihre, "est tactu bacilli et sortitione hereditatem dividere." (Diet., Suio-Goth. voce Kafle.) Los and kavel are identical in Sclavonian, and kawal in Polish means the same. In Vols. XXXIII. and XXXV. of the Archæologia will be found an example of the hide and yard of land in Oxfordshire, as it existed in the year 1854, and an account of the manner of the annual division of the common meadows by lot; and the reader cannot fail to notice the Court of the Sixteens, chosen, as in Ditmarsh, from the most influential of the yeomen. There can be but little doubt that this was originally a part of the old mark system.4 Kemble has recorded his conviction that we formerly possessed

a In the translation of Matt. xxvii. 35, and John xix. 24, tan stands for loos. Tan is the medieval Lat. tenus, a twig, the tenis of the Lex Frisonum, Dutch and Swedish teen, Gothic tains, Old Norse teinn, High Germ. zein, zain, zen. The modern Germ. los, Ditmarsh loos, from an extinct verb liessen, A.S. hlectan, præt. hlect, pl. hluton.—Homeyer, on the Germ. Lot, in the Transactions of the Berlin Acad. Dec. 1853. "They let among themselves the twig (tan) decide which of them first should for a supply of food his life give up."—Vercelli Codex, quoted by Kemble, Archeol. xxviii. 332.

b Skot is a Danish word, signifying refugium, jaculum.—Langebek, Scrip. Rer. Dan. Ihre calls Skott, collatio, pensio quod a plurimis in publicum confertur, and with us it was a synonym for a reckoning; but Scotatio, in the Danish laws of the thirteenth century, was the act of admission to an estate by a clod thrown into the hands of witnesses for the purchaser.—See Michelsen's Festuca Notata. In important cases the livery and seisin of land by "turf and twig" is still customary in Schleswic, as in England.

c Dr. Hanus on Sclavonian Runes, 18th No. of the "Archiv" of the Imperial Austrian Academy of Science, p. 39.

d In the year 1854 the writer exhibited to the Society a bronze javelin-head found on this manor. Pre-

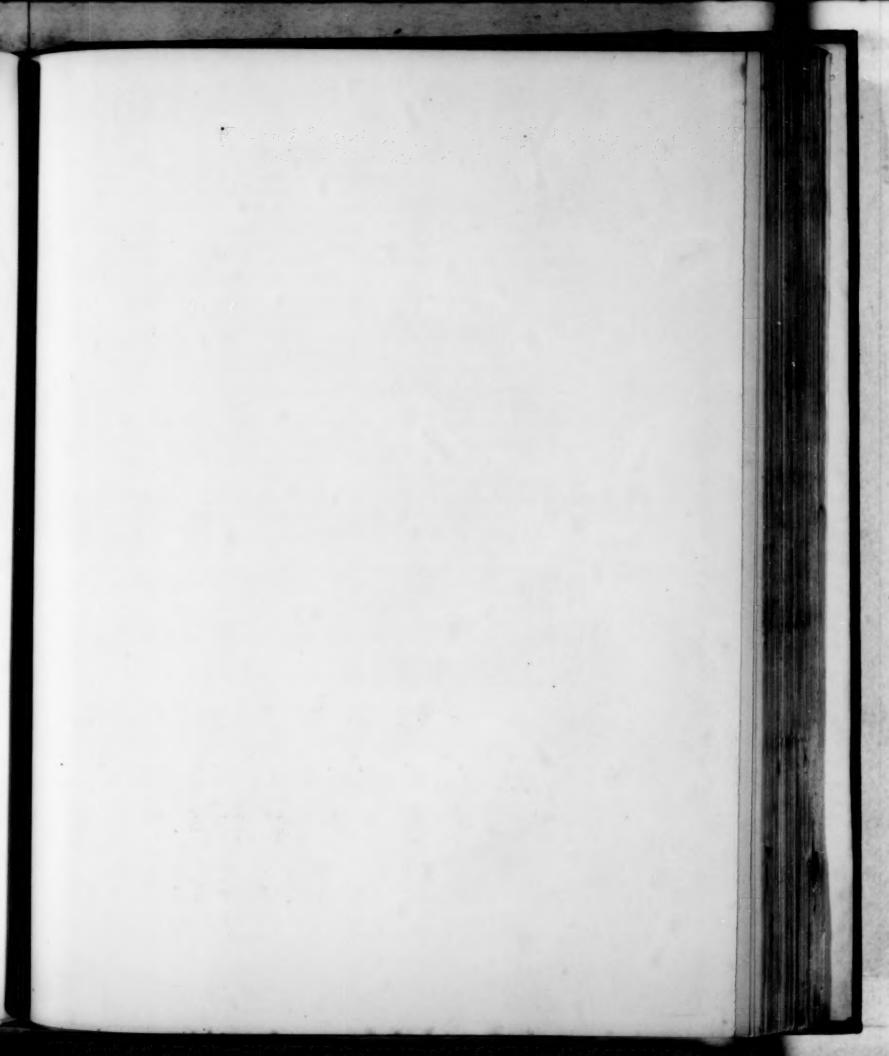
Mark Courts. Thomas Horde, Esq. M.P. for the shire, and lord of the manor, contested the power of the Sixteens in the year 1657, and the case was submitted to that eminent lawyer Sir Orlando Bridgman, who said, "I conceive the custom is good, and the officers lawful officers," a in which opinion Mr. Horde acquiesced, and became himself one of the Sixteens. The custumal of the manor is dated in 1593, and it is expressly declared that the customs existed time out of mind. This circumstance corroborates Kemble's remark, that "the territorial jurisdiction of lords of manors has usurped the place of the old Markmoot, but has not availed entirely to destroy the old mark rights in the various commons." In one respect England has preserved the ancient system longer than Ditmarsh. With us each hide of land elects its separate representative, and there can be but little doubt that the number of sixteen hides was a usual Anglo-Saxon number for a community. The student of the Anglo-Saxon charters will not have failed to remark how generally some multiple of 8 occurs. It is true that after the middle of the fifteenth century the Ditmarshers had their Bauer Nemedes, but originally the distinction of Kerk and Bauer Nemedes was not known. In England, the established courts have deprived the Sixteens of their judicial authority; but their authority in all agricultural matters is, or was very lately, still supreme, and identical with the old Ditmarsh custom. Each country had officers subordinate to the Sixteens, as herdsmen and others, to attend to the gates and hedges, and each had its common bull, &c.

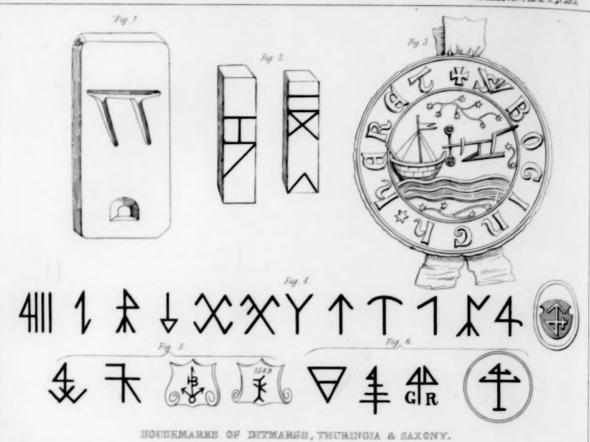
The division of common lands and pastures by lot has fallen into desuctude in Ditmarsh, but it was formerly universal in Germany, and remained in use till the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Homeyer gives examples from the Land Rights of Ruga, Friesland, and Bremen.^b The last known annual apportionment of arable land by lot was on the Rhine. The mode of division by lot in the North of Europe was as follows: Runes were cut on small pieces of wood, each

cisely similar ones were found in Ditmarsh, and are now preserved in the Berlin Museum. They prove the identity of the earlier races. The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Brighthampton is in a hamlet of the same parish. A spiral finger-ring in bronze was found there, similar to those found in Ditmarsh. Florence of Worcester (Appendix) describes the South Angles as reaching to Dorchester-on-the-Thames, and the country-people have the Anglian peculiarities of dialect mentioned by Dr. Donaldson in his Cambridge Essays, as ship for sheep, yate for gate, &c. The Norse or Danish element is also plainly perceptible there. A corner field at Aston is called the hucket; Dan. huk, an angle or corner. It should be borne in mind that this parish is situated on the Thames. The name of Brihtnotus, a celebrated Danish Dux, often occurs in connection with lands in the vicinity.

a Supplement to Dr. Giles's History of Bampton.

b Transactions of the Royal Academy of Berlin, Dec. 1853.







owner of a hide of land choosing his own. (See Plate X. fig. 2.) These were put into an apron, "the lap," or bag, and drawn in succession, and after the drawing a corresponding signum or mark was cut on a small piece of wood about six inches long, and driven into one of the divisions of the ground, symbolising the possession by the hasta. A similar mode was used in England for the common meadows, except that the mark was cut out on the turf itself. (See Archæologia, XXXIII. 269, and XXXV. 470, and Sussex Archæol. Coll. iv. 307.) A sketch of three sets of our marks is appended. (Plate X. figs. 7, 8, 9.)

In Vol. XXXIV. of the Archæologia, page 111, we have distinct proof of the annual re-division of the arable lands in the Orkneys by lot in the thirteenth century. It is remarkable that remnants of this system are to be found in our own country to this day, or at least were so until the last three years; and the very numerous small pieces of land, averaging perhaps a third of an acre, into which the common fields of the vard-lands of Oxfordshire, Somersetshire, and Wiltshire, and no doubt of other counties, are divided, each being now a distinct property, is probably a consequence in part of their former annual distribution, and of the apportionment of newly broken-up ground, when an increased population made it necessary. Homever relates, that at the islet of Hiddensee, off the island of Rugen, whenever there is occasion, small pieces of wood, on which the housemarks are cut, are thrown into a box, and drawn in lot. As might have been expected, marks were known to the Slavonians, in proof of which Dr. Hanus adduces the following quotation from a Pomeranian document of the year 1174: "In quandam quercum cruce signatum quod signum dicitur, Slavice knezegranica." (18th No. "Archiv" Imp. Austrian Acad. Science, p. 43.)

Professor Michelsen traces these marks to a pre-historic period. In Southern Ditmarsh a stone slab of the sepulchral chamber in one of the hunengräbe, or gigantic tumuli of the stone period, has been found, rudely engraved with a mark of a type which is still popular. (Plate X. Example 1 in fig. 4.) Weapons of stone and of metal are also found thus marked. This system—referred to by Virgil, Columella, Tacitus, the Lex Salica, and possibly the Sacred Scriptures—came to North Germany from Scandinavia. Marks have been found on Urgräber,

^a The quotations are to be found in Michelsen's copious treatise, entitled Die Hausemarke, Jena, 1853, p. 14; that from the Lex Salica, x. 2, is remarkable, "Si quis animal in furtum pinxerit," i.e. shall mark, writing being unknown at that period among the Goths. W. Grimm is undecided as to whether the nota impressa on the lot-sticks of Tacitus (De morib. Germ. cap. 10) were marks or runes. In Homer each marks his own lot, generally on a potsherd, and the lots are thrown into a helmet: the first which leapt out was the winning lot. Compare the χάραγμα of Revelations, xiii. 17, with Ezekiel, ix. 4, and with the quotation in Archæol. xxviii. 329.

in the south of Sweden, and the north of Europe. They were in common use in Norway, Sweden, Iceland, and Denmark in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and the Icelandic Gragas, in particular, contain numerous minute regulations as to the adoption and the use of marks for sheep, house-cattle, eider-ducks, harpoons, &c. They are also mentioned in the Old Norse and Swedish Rights. In Iceland all cattle, except horses, were to be marked "when eight weeks of summer were past," under a fine, and the mark was to be cut on the ear of the animal. Marks were not to be taken arbitrarily, but the owner's intention was to be announced before five neighbours, and also at the Spring Thing. Any one falsifying a mark was to be driven away from his land. Cattle not marked might be seized, and so on. The Danish laws made it obligatory upon those who could not write to affix their bomærke (housemark); and the Prussian required a mark or a cross. The probable reason why the cross was always used in the middle ages in the testing of ecclesiastical charters was not only that it was a sacred symbol, that Justinian had decreed it should have the strength of an oath.

In England individual marks were in use from the fourteenth to the middle of the seventeenth centuries, probably much earlier; and when a yeoman affixed his mark to a deed he drew a signum well known to his neighbours, by which his land, his cattle, and sheep, his agricultural implements, and even his ducks were identified. In the twenty-fifth year of Queen Elizabeth a jury at Seaford, in Sussex, presented John Comber "for markying of thre ducks of Edwd Warwickes and two ducks of Symon Brighte with his owne marke, and cutting owt of theire markes." Cows and oxen were marked on the near horn. (Sussex Archæol. Coll. vii. 103.) When cattle in bodies of many hundreds ranged over extensive commons, as was formerly the case, the use of marks for identification was more indispensable than at present. Our swans retain their marks to the present day. In Ditmarsh and Denmark the owner's mark was cut in stone over the principal door of the house; it designated not only his land and cattle, but his stall in the church, and his grave when he was no more. At Witney, Oxon, a woolstapler's mark may be seen so engraved on a house, with the date 1564, and numerous merchants' marks at Norwich and Yarmouth. In Holstein, within the memory of man, the beams of the cottages of the bondservants were incised with the marks of their masters. A pastor, writing from Angeln, says, "The hides had their marks, which served instead of the names of their owners." In the island of Föhr, a little to the north of Ditmarsh, the mark cut on a wooden ticket is always sold with the house, and it is cut in stone over the door, and the same custom is still in use in Schleswig and Holstein. A drawing of the ticket is appended.

fig. 1.) a In the Tyrolese Alps, at the present day, the cattle that are driven out to pasturage are marked on the horn with the mark of their owner's land. Marks for cattle are also used in Switzerland, in the Bavarian Alps, and in some parts of Austria.

These house-marks were connected with merchants' and tradesmen's marks, and also with stonemasons' marks, all of which formed a lower kind of heraldry for those not entitled to the bearings of the noble, for on old houses at Erfurt double shields with the marks of the families of husband and wife are found. Instances are recorded, both in Schleswig and England, of families who became ennobled retaining their hereditary mark with their coat of arms. (See Norfolk Archæol, Soc. vol. iii. p. 180, and Michelsen.) Through the kindness of R. Cole, Esq. F.S.A. I am enabled to give a drawing of a number of English woolstaplers' marks, taken from the notarial protests made for the purchasers at Antwerp, to London merchants, on account of some fault in the goods or short measure. They all date from 1559 to 1564, and they bear a marked resemblance in character to the Marcomannic runes in figures 1 and 2 of plate xv. of Vol. XXVIII. of the Archæologia; and some of them are identical, or nearly so, with the Ditmarsh housemarks. Possibly some of them were brought to England by the Flemings during the persecution under Charles V. Many of the marks found on old pictures are true housemarks, and not alphabetic monograms. A painting by Wouverman or Lingelbach, in the writer's possession, bears the mark known as the crane's foot. (Fig. 7, Ex. 10.) The rise of armorial bearings is highly worthy of study, for Michelsen considers them to have been originally little more than decorated marks, and to have been engrafted as it were upon the system; indeed, he asserts that the arms of Pope Hadrian VI., a Netherlander, were formed from housemarks.^b Some knightly families in Schleswig still retain their housemarks as their coat-of-arms, as, for instance, the Von Gegerns, who bear the second example in fig. 4, Plate X.; the Von Sesserns, in the year 1548, bore the like kettle-hanger or pot-hook, and the same mark occurred on their family tomb, anno 1309. The earliest marks were supposed to represent the most indispensable agricultural implements, as a spade, a plough, a scythe, a sickle, a dung-hook, the tynes of a harrow, also anchors, stars, &c. It should also be remembered that there was often a supposed connection between the figurative name of a house and its owner's mark, which was a representation of the object more or less exact. Michelsen considers that the names and signs of inns are but remnants of the

a Transactions of the Royal Academy of Berlin, Dec. 1853, p. 747.

Michelsen, p. 54. See Lersner's Frankfort Chron. No. 98, the shield of Stephan v. Cronstett; also No. 134.

once universal and necessary custom of giving figurative names to houses, which the modern numbers have superseded. Tradesmen's signs are thus but a pictorial substitute for the housemark. Pauli considers that the names of citizens, if names of animals, originated in the names of their houses, although this opinion seems at least a questionable one. The towns of Lubeck and Jena and the land of Ditmarsh had their marks as well as their arms, and even churches, as Erfurt. (See figs. 5 and 6.) The mark of the latter was doubtless that of the church lands, and was distinct from the mark of the builder of the church. The mark of the land of Ditmarsh was a scythe.

Marks were also used instead of the names of parties as a signature to records, both in Ditmarsh and on the continent, and also on seals; and they are so used in Switzerland to the present day; but, as the establishment of the order of knighthood in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries gave the first blow to the universal use of marks, so the fashion that prevailed in Ditmarsh amongst the free country people and those eligible for the town council in the sixteenth century, of adopting armorial bearings, caused the use of marks to be gradually relinquished, although they were still retained for the land, and were even used with the newer arms.

The earliest marks, according to Michelsen, were runes and rectilinear, and they were consequently more easily cut both on wood and on the ears of the animal. Dr. Hanus, who has well studied all that has been previously written on runes, observes that marks were mere arbitrary signs, objects for remembrance, whilst runes were pictures of objects; yet that "the essential difference there is between marks and runes does not prevent many marks being similar to runic signs, for, as in course of time simple marks arose out of runic configurations (which were originally representations of the figures made by the fortuitous casting of the wooden lot-sticks on a white cloth), so the simple strokes of marks must naturally resemble the simple strokes of runes." The Doctor quotes a monk named Chabr, who wrote anno 982, that, as the Slaves were yet heathens, they had no letters, but they counted by strokes, and they divined by cuts (or, as the Doctor reads, by runes). Dr. Hanus supposes that their marks on graves might have had a mystical import, were possibly holy numbers, protective signs, by which they sought to recommend the ashes of the dead to the care of the tutelar deity. The

^a For examples of yeomen's marks in England in the sixteenth century, see Sussex Archæol. Collections, vol. vii. p. 149. The Inquisitions post mortem, from Henry VII. to Charles II. abound with yeomen's marks as signatures, other than crosses. The writer has a deed of the time of Charles II. with at least twenty of such marks.

sign 4 is the base of the earliest known mark, and occurs on a heathen grave. (See Plate X. fig. 4, Example 1.) Its import is most obscure. It is nearly the resch of the Phœnician alphabet; and its name appears in ruci of the Slavonian alphabet, in reci of the Bulgarian, and in the northern rune reda, raida (wagon). (Hanus, op. cit. p. 96.) Reversed it occurs in company with the arms of the family of Kymble, or Kemble, at Lambourn, Berks, and was probably their mark. It is to be noted that it included the cross.

The similarity of most of our English marks with those of Ditmarsh, and more particularly with the old Welsh Stick Books, is apparent on comparison. It may be permitted to point to the circumstance, that many of our English landmarks, as well as the private marks of our yeomen, are also to be found in the Etruscan, Greek, and some Eastern alphabets. The names given to the English landmarks have been different at different times and in different counties. They evidently expressed the idea that was uppermost in the minds of our

yeomen. For example, the mark formerly called in Oxfordshire the peel, was

latterly called the *frying-pan*; and in Sussex the *doter* (qy. *dochter* of Ditmarsh). In Sussex it is represented by a short stick with a wooden knob. The word *peel*, or *poel*, in Ditmarsh signified the band of gilt leather which adorned a maiden's head; and it should be remembered that the mark of two concentric circles was called the *priest*. This mark is also found on the Staffordshire Clog Almanacks.

The rune is called ethel, and in Slavonian father; and there is a northern

rune, björk, which is the symbol of woman.

On Plate X. are represented-

Fig. 1.—The wooden ticket from the island of Föhr.

Fig. 2.—Early runes cut on small pieces of wood, used for drawing lots for land. (Homeyer.)

Fig. 3.—An ancient seal of the town of Swenborgh, in Funen, with the seven stars of Woden's wain, from Michelsen's Nordfriesland im Mittelalter. HERET is derived from hær exercitus, and od proprietas, and answers to gau, pagus. (Langebek.)

^a All alphabets, remarks J. Grimm (Vienna Yahr-buch for 1828, s. 41), the Hebrew, Greek, Runic, Slavonian, and Irish, borrow, in part, characters and names from one another. "Every original tradition we Anglo-Saxons cherish is but a ray of morning light, flitting though it be, projected from the aurora of our Eastern homes."—Types of Mankind, by Dr. Nott and others, p. 468.

Fig. 4.—Housemarks from Ditmarsh, selected from the examples given by Michelsen on Housemarks, and also from Neocorus.

Fig. 5.—Housemarks from Erfurt: the second, over the main entrance of St. Michael's church; the third and fourth, coats of husband and wife.

Fig. 6.—1. The housemark of the town of Lubeck; 2 and 3. Housemarks from Freiberg, in Saxony; 4. Merchant's seal from Jena.

Fig. 7.—Sixteen marks of hides in the township of Aston and Cote, Oxon. with two examples of the actual lot-marks cut in dog-wood (cornus sanguineus). They are known by the following names:—The one thwart over; the two, three, and four thwart over; the one on right, the two and three on right, the priest, the bow, the crane's foot, the cross, the peel, the reel, the two on right and one at head, the three on right and one at head, and the headless.

Fig. 8.—The marks of fourteen hides at Southease, Sussex: the one score, the two up to seven score, the doter, the dung-hook, the cross, the two C's, the D, and the drinker.

Fig. 9.—Allotment-marks of the commonable land in the Dolmoor, appertaining to the parishes of Congresbury and Puxton, Somerset, called the duck's-nest, the cross, four oxen and a mare, the horn, the pole-axe, the (escallop) shell, the two next unknown,) the oven, the hand-reel, the hare's tail, two pits, and up to seven pits, and three pits "brandy-ways." ^c

a The headless, that is apparently the cross without a head, the well-known rune tŷr, tio, zio, i.e. God, through the form tius in the Sanskrit djaus, and the Greek διος, δευς. Intimately connected with this

sign, and, indeed, only modifications of it, are the marks 1 .- Hanus, op. cit. p. 98.

b It is too remarkable to be overlooked, that the marks called the shell and the hand-reel (Ex. 6 and 10) are both late Glagolical letters; connected with the former is the letter and rune which appears in the woolstaplers' marks.—Hanus, pp. 84 et seq. The marks called the peel, the duck's-nest, and the mare's-tail are Greek letters; the first two are Etruscan also, as well as symbols of the sun and moon; the oven is one of the earliest known pictorial letters, and looks very Celtic. (Recueil d'Alphabets Orientaux Anciens, Plate viii. Paris, chez T. Barrois, 1784; and Ancient Alphabets translated by Joseph Hammer.) In a communication, with which I have been favoured by Dr. Hanus, he remarks that the connection of our marks with runes is, in his opinion, unquestionable. The Doctor adds, that the Glagolical alphabet was introduced amongst the Slavonians by St. Cyril; the alphabet, called falsely Kyrillican, he attributes to some of the young coadjutors of St. Cyril in the conversion of the Slaves, originating with the Bulgarian Bishop Clemens.

^c The Brandy-corner-ham is known in the manor of Aston as the inclosure where the cattle were branded. The marks of this county were cut on apples, and drawn from a tub. The last allotment recorded in

Fig. 10.—English woolstaplers' marks of the years 1549—1555. 1. The mark of Thomas Franchsteer. (N.B. This mark is found sculptured in stone over the door of a house on the Green at Witney, Oxon, and the date 1564.) 2. John Collyar; 3. Gilles Johnes; 4. Anthony Watson; 5. Unknown; 6. Roger Smithe; 7. William Huttchinson; 8. Adam Orcharde; 9. John Sellour; 10. Thomas Clairfield; 11. Walter Graunt; 12. John Gren; 13. John Clarke; 14. Thomas Longe; 15. John Giles (?); 16. John Stoemptis; 17. Richard Taylor; 18. Robert Harford; 19. Nicolas Allwayes; 20. Edward Wilkyns; 21. Richard Flettchere; 22. Richard Tailloure; 23. William Dowes; 24. Hugh Davis or Davys; 25. Ditto; 26. Harry Jones. These are very similar in character to the merchant's marks, published in vols. iii. and iv. of the Norfolk Archæological Society.

Professor Michelsen, in his recent treatise entitled Festuca Notata, has shown that the cultellum, which was given by the Franks, Goths, and Germans in the ninth and tenth centuries, on the transfer of land, with the signum cut on a piece of wood, which was called festuca notata in the middle ages, was originally intended for notching the mark on the wood, in the same manner as the inkstand and pen were lifted up with the chart as symbols of a transfer of land. He has given several examples of transfers, "Per festucam notatam, cultellum, wantonem, et wasonem terræ atque ramum arboris." Amongst the archives of Nôtre Dame at Paris is preserved a pointed pocket-knife of the eleventh century, on the ivory handle of which is engraved the record of a gift of land; and at the same place is also preserved a wooden festuca of the ninth century, six inches long, and one inch square, attached to a diploma, as was then the custom. A similar knife, with an ivory handle, is still preserved, attached to a charter at Trinity College, Cambridge. Sir Henry Ellis has given several other instances in a Paper in Vol. XVII. of the Archæologia, as also instances of seisin per baculum, and per fustem et baculum. In Madox's Formulare Anglicanum, p. x. will be found the grant and release of a church to the Abbot of Thorney, per quandam virgam. G. R. Corner, Esq. F.S.A. has also given several examples of seisin per cultellum

the parish deeds was in 1794. At the allotment there was a revel. The latter-math of four acres was sold to pay the expenses for a sack of malt (to brew half a hogshead of beer), also some bread and cheese, butter, pipes, and tobacco. Two inches of candle were also provided, during the burning of which the grass was sold. If any person attempted to light his pipe at this candle he was fined one shilling. The fine of a tun of Hamburgh beer occurs frequently in the Rights of Lunden, in Ditmarsh, and the price of country-brewed beer was fixed by statute at 12s. the tun.

^a Ueber die Festuca Notata, und die Germanische Traditions-symbolik. Jena, 1856.

in a paper in vol. vii. of the Sussex Archæological Collections, p. 213. The surrender of copyholds by the rod or glove, and occasionally by a straw or rush, (whence the word stipulation, from stipula, straw), is well known in England; and in the manor of Paris Garden, Surrey, an ebony rod is preserved, with a silver head, on which are engraved the royal arms, with E. R. and a crown, and an inscription, purporting that it is kept for the surrender of copyholds of the manor. (Watkins on Copyholds, ii. 544, 566.) The inscribed sticks mentioned in Ezekiel xxxvii. 16, appear to relate to this ancient mode of conveyancing.

A note on the Old Saxon style of the Ditmarsh houses shall close this Paper. They are built with a high, acute, angular, thatched roof, resting on rectangular walls, for the most part not six feet high. The gables are oblique at both ends, and are also thatched with straw; but in the east end an opening is left sufficiently large to admit a loaded cart. Above this are the beams and rafters, which run right through the house, generally inclosing the barn, de grotdel, and the stalls for cattle, de boosum affit, under the same roof. Then, in the back part of the house, towards the south, is the kitchen with the back-door, and the sitting-room with a chamber, and finally the great door, opening in to another sitting-room, called the piesel or pesel, which seldom has any other outlet. The old dwellings, without chimneys or kitchens, with the hearth opposite the great door, have mostly disappeared from the Geest. (Müllenhoff, Preface to Quickborn.) Compare a more detailed account by Dr. Lèo in Roumer's Taschenbuch for 1835.

Believe me, my dear Admiral,

Yours very truly, B. WILLIAMS.

Rear-Admiral W. H. Smyth, F.R.S., F.S.A., &c.



MARK OF ETON COLLEGE, Made in nail-heads on some of the doors, and now used as a Swan-mark. XXIV. Report of Researches in a Cemetery of the Anglo-Saxon Period at Brighthampton, co. Oxford; in a Letter addressed to the Right Hon. the EARL STANHOPE, F.R.S., President, by John Yonge Akerman, F.S.A., Secretary.

Read 19 Nov. 1857.

MY LORD,

WHILE engaged in my recent perambulation of the forest of Wychwood, I paid a visit to Stanlake, near Witney, the scene of Mr. Stone's researches, communicated by that gentleman to the Society in the last session. On that occasion Mr. Stone informed me of the discovery of Anglo-Saxon remains in the adjoining village of Brighthampton. His account is as follows:—

"On the 24th June, 1857, as some workmen were employed on the site of the old

malthouse at Brighthampton, which has been recently removed, they discovered, immediately beneath the floor, a grave containing the remains of a child, lying east and west, the head to the west. There were found with the remains beads of amber and of glass, a small brass-bound bucket, the staves of which, being of wood, had perished, a small knife, a pair of fibulæ of bronze gilt, and some unknown fragments in bronze." The hoops, &c., of the bucket were unfortunately broken up, but have been ingeniously restored by the Rev. J. Slatter, who has made the sketch of it now exhibited.



PIBULA, ACTUAL SIZE.

It will be seen that it very closely resembles the examples discovered in the cemeteries of Fairford, Wilbraham, Linton Heath, and other localities. I have already observed, in opposition to the opinion that they were used simply for wine and other drinks, that they are found in the graves of both sexes. Here is one from the grave of a female child, too young to have joined in the revels of the mead-hall. These vessels appear to have been used for spoon-meats, and are probably examples of the "sop-cup" mentioned in the will of Queen Ælfgyfu in the year 1012.

^a Codex Dipl. Ævi Saxon. vol. iii. p. 360. See also the Will of Wynflæd, about 995, in the same collection, vol. vi. p. 30, where mention is made of "twa treôwanan gesplottude cuppan."

Brighthampton, in old records Brighthelm'eton and Brighthelminton, both genitive forms (i. e. Brighthelmestun, the tunb or homestead of Brighthelm),

a Rotuli Hundr. vol. ii. p. 701.

b The word Tun is so often improperly rendered Town, that a few words on its real signification may not be out of place here. Mr. Thorpe, in the valuable glossary appended to his justly esteemed collection of the "Ancient Laws and Institutes of England," thus defines the meaning of the word as it is found in Anglo-Saxon writings:—

"Tun, Villa: Originally a plot of ground inclosed with a hedge. German, 'zaun.' It came afterwards to signify a dwelling with the land inclosed about it; then many dwellings within the inclosure, till it became what we now denominate a town."

Mr. Kemble, however, (see the Glossary prefixed to the third vol. of the Codex Dipl. Ævi Sax.) observes that the German "zaun," a hedge, is not to be interpreted in the same sense with us, tun signifying "not so much that which surrounds as that which is surrounded; not the hedge, but that which is inclosed by the hedge." Tun is the termination of numerous places in England which have never risen to the dignity of towns. It was in fact the designation of an inclosed space, as Bere-tun, i.e. the Barton or Barley-yard; Sceap-tun, a Sheep-fold, &c. Whenever the word occurs in our earliest authorities, it is desirable to ascertain what description of tun or inclosure is intended, for it has obviously a more limited meaning in some cases than in others. When compounded, as in garstun (A. S. zæpp-cūn), we know it signifies a small inclosure of grass-land, a paddock. The word still exists in a corrupted form in the south and west of England, as garson and gasson. Garsden, with which it is often confounded, I take to mean a portion of meadow-land in a valley. Coney Garston is a rabbit-warren.

That tun in its primitive meaning was not so comprehensive, and did not signify Town, we may infer from many passages in Anglo-Saxon authorities. If we turn to the Holy Gospels in that language we rarely find the Greek $\kappa \omega \mu \eta$ rendered by tun, but instead of it castel, ceastre, burg, or wic. I give the examples:—

Matt.	ix. 35.	burga and ceastra.	Luke	ix. 6.	pære ceastre.
99	x. 11.	burh obbe ceastre.	23	ix. 12.	castelu and on pas tunas
27	xiv. 15.	burga.	22	ix. 52.	a ceastre.
29	xxi. 2.	castel.	**	ix. 56.	castel.
Mark	vi. 6.	castel.	29	x. 38.	sum castel.
29	vi. 36.	tunas.	39	xiii. 22.	ceastra and castelu.
99	vi. 56.	wic obbe on túnas.	20	xvii. 12.	sum castel.
99	viii. 23.	butan wic.	22	xix. 30.	castel.
23	viii. 26.	on tún gá.	"	xxiv. 13.	castel.
99	viii. 27.	pet castel.	,,,	xxiv. 28.	castel.
39	xi. 2.	tham castelle.	John	vii. 42.	ceastre.
Luke	v. 17.	ælcum castellum.	,,,	xi. 1.	ceastre.
99	viii. 1.	ða ceastre.	,,	xi. 30.	ceastre.

The exceptions occur in Mark vi. 36 and 56, and Luke ix. 12. In the first, rúnas is used in a generic form; in the second, in a general sense; and in the third, in the sense in which it occurs in Mark xv. 21, where we find ἐρχόμενον ἀπ' ἀγροῦ, "coming out of the country," rendered cumense of pam tune.

"It is very remarkable," observes Mr. Kemble, "that the largest proportion of the names of places among the Anglo-Saxons should have been formed with this word, while upon the continent of Europe it is never used for such a purpose."

though in the parish of Bampton, is four miles distant from that town, and immediately adjoins the village of Stanlake. The base of an ancient stone cross which stands at the intersection of the road to Stanlake is the only object of interest to the antiquary, but of peril to those who ride or drive on dark nights.

The land in which the remains above-described were found is the property of Saint John's College, Oxford, and further researches were made under my direction, the expenses being defrayed by a subscription promoted by the Reverend the President of Trinity College, at whose request I beg to lay the following particulars before your Lordship and the Society.

This cemetery is just without the village, on the left-hand of the road leading to Bampton, and about a mile east of Old Shifford. It was doubtless in old times grass-land, but farmstead buildings now occupy a portion of the site, the rest having been under the plough beyond the memory of man. The ground has on several occasions been dug for gravel, when skeletons, with knives and other evidences of Anglo-Saxon interment, have been found. In one grave a sword is said to have been discovered.

The recent inclosures have, as usual, obliterated many ancient landmarks, and blocked up some roads in this neighbourhood. One of the latter is especially deserving our notice. It ran from Underdownhill, above Stanlake, and passing through the village of Brighthampton, a little distance south of the high road, traversed the site of this ancient cemetery, and proceeded to Old Shifford. It was called the Lapath (A. S. Hlæp-pæð?), and was, in fact, always looked upon as an ancient lichway or burial-road.

The reliques the discovery of which is narrated in the following pages, have been very liberally presented to the Ashmolean Museum by the subscribers, but I am permitted to exhibit them this evening to our Society. I also lay on the table a plan of the relative positions of the different interments, drawn to scale by Mr. Stone, whose courtesy and attention I take this opportunity of acknowledging.

The number of graves discovered on this occasion amounted to fourteen, two of which are remarkable for their double interments. The following are the details:

No. 1. Skeleton of a woman, measuring about 5 feet 4 inches; the head to the south-west. At the left wrist, a small bead of blue glass. Near the left hand, which lay on the breast, five similar beads, and a set of toilet implements. On the breast, a small dish-shaped fibula, a rude example of a type already well known.

No. 2. Male skeleton, lying in the same direction as the former. On the right of the head, the iron cusp of a spear, the sides unequal; and near it a shallow brass-bound vessel, resembling that found at Harnham, but with what appeared

to be an iron handle. In the lap, the guard of a purse, a pair of brass tweezers, and an iron knife. At the feet, the iron spike with which the spear was shod.

No. 3. Skeleton of a young man, measuring 5 feet 7 inches; the head to the south-west. A small knife in the lap. The right hand on the breast, the left in the lap. On the *left* side of the head, just above the shoulder, the iron heads of two small spears.

On digging about two yards south-west of this grave, the workmen uncovered, at about a foot from the surface, an urn of black pottery, containing calcined human bones, and the fragments of a bone comb. At the bottom of the urn, which had evidently been shattered by the plough, lay a mass of fused metal. I shall have occasion to recur to this interment hereafter.

No. 4. Skeleton of a woman, lying with the head to the south-east. A dish-shaped fibula, resembling an example found at Fairford, on each breast, just below the clavicles; the inner surface gilt. The right hand in the lap; the left by the side. An iron knife on the left side.

No. 5. A skeleton which had probably been dislocated by the plough; the head to the north-west. In the lap, to the right, a small knife; to the left, an iron purse-guard.

No. 6. Skeleton of a young man. A knife in the lap, in which lay the right hand; the left lying by the side. In the lap an iron buckle. Between the left arm and the body, the iron umbo of a shield, which had evidently been reversed by the pressure of the superincumbent earth. Thirteen large stones were placed in a heap over the centre of this grave, at about a foot from the surface.

No. 7. Skeleton of a woman, lying west and east. The knees slightly bent to the right. The only relique observed was an iron buckle at the waist, but among the earth immediately above the body was a small brass coin of Postumus.

About six yards from this grave the labourers came upon a small black urn, shattered by the plough, which had probably scattered its contents.

No. 8. Skeleton of a woman. Length about 5 feet; the head lying north-west. The right hand in the lap, the left by the side. No relique.

At a short distance south-west, another urn of black pottery, and without ornament, was found superficially buried, but shattered to fragments, and the calcined human bones which it had contained scattered and dispersed.

a Archæologia, vol. XXXV. pl. xix. fig. 7.

b Fairford Graves, p. 14. Remains of Pagan Saxondom, pl. xix. fig. 3.

c I have described these objects as steels for striking a light, an error which subsequent discoveries enable me to correct.

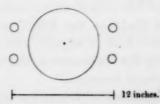
No. 9. The skeletons of two children who had not shed their first molar teeth. The heads lying to the west, and the bodies placed back to back. At the neck of the one which lay on the north side, five small beads of vitrified paste and three coins; one of them of Postumus, the others of Roman emperors of the same age, but with the types nearly obliterated.

No. 10. Skeleton of a woman; the head to the south-west. At the neck thirteen paste beads of different sizes.

No. 11. Adult skeleton; the head to the south-west. No relique. This lay so near the surface, that it had been broken and defaced by the plough.

No. 12. Skeleton of a woman, disturbed by the plough; the head to the southwest. At the neck, beads of amber and paste, a circular fibula, the cavity of which had been filled with some perishable substance, like those found at Fairford and at Broughton Poggs. The head of this skeleton was depressed on the breast, and the right hand placed under the chin; the finger-bones and the right side of the jaw having been stained of a deep green colour by the contact of the fibula.

No. 13. Skeleton of a man, the head lying due east, measuring 6 feet 6 inches. A spear-head above the left shoulder. The right hand in the lap, in which lay a knife. An iron buckle on the breast. The left arm extended by the side, the hand covered by the iron umbo of a shield. On either side the umbo were two iron studs, about an inch in diameter, just six inches distant from the spike of the umbo, and disposed thus:



On raising the umbo, the fingers of the hand were found within it, the three first encircling the iron bar by which the shield was held.

Beneath this skeleton lay another, the head under the legs of the former, below the knees, the legs extending under his head. The hands lay in the lap, near which were nine amber beads of unusually large size, which had probably formed bracelets. Near the head was a hair-pin of bronze, and on the breast a fibula of the same metal.

^a Fairford Graves, pl. xix. fig. 2.

^b Archæologia, vol. XXXVII. p. 146, fig. 4.

^c See my remarks on the significance of the hair-pin in Saxon interments. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. iv. p. 74.

No. 14. Skeleton of a young person, lying with the head to the north-west, but broken and dislocated by the plough. An iron knife in the lap.

The result of these excavations affords a few facts worthy the attentive consideration of the antiquary. The reliques discovered, at least the arms and personal ornaments, do not differ materially in character from those obtained from other cemeteries of the same people, but assimilate very closely to those of the Fairford graves and the objects found at Filkins and at Broughton Poggs. The fibula found in grave No. 1 resembles in style and pattern one found at Harnham, near Salisbury. Other examples have been discovered in the Isle of Wight and in East Kent.

The fibulæ discovered in grave No. 4 bear, as already observed, a pattern very closely resembling that on those found at Fairford, but they are not easts from the same mould.

The coins found with one of the skeletons in grave No. 9 were doubtless the ornaments of a female child, and were, with the beads, suspended from the neck. One of them is of the Emperor Postumus, whose reign in Gaul and Britain extended from A.D. 258 to A.D. 267.

The two examples of cremation discovered in this cemetery are of extreme interest, for instances of this description of sepulture, so far as I can learn, have seldom been remarked in the southern counties of England.

One of the urns is quite plain; but the other is ornamented with a pattern peculiar to the pottery ascribed to the Saxon invaders. The recent remarks of Mr. Kemble have invested this subject with increased interest. His memoir "On Mortuary Urns found at Stade on the Elbe," printed in vol. XXXVI. of the Archæologia, opened a new field of inquiry, and, as he has observed, "we can henceforth use indifferently the discoveries of Englishmen and North Germans for the elucidation of our national treasures."

With regard to the instances of cremation which the researches at Bright-

hampton have brought to light, I believe we must wait patiently the result of further investigations in that direction before we can safely venture to offer any explanation which can satisfy the antiquary. One of the urns, as already observed, is perfectly plain; but the other is ornamented with a pattern which will be immediately recognised as assimilating to that of the mortuary urns discovered in Norfolk, Suffolk, Nottinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, and



DIAMETER 74 INCHES.

^a Archæologia, vol. XXXV. pl. xii. fig. 3. Pagan Saxondom, pl. xxiv. fig. 3.

^b Nenia Britannica, pl. ii. fig. 7.

Derbyshire. The fabric is, however, neater, and the body of the urn is marked with perpendicular lines.

Though satisfied that the bones found in the Brighthampton urn were human, I submitted them to Professor Quekett, who confirms my opinion, and informs me that the fragments he has inspected comprise portions of the skull, the tibia, the radius, and the acetabulum of an adult of small stature. I am also indebted to that gentleman for an analysis of the lump of metal found at the bottom of the urn, which proves to be lead. The presence of this lump may I think be accounted for by the supposition that it had formed a fibula, or some description of personal ornament, which being placed in the urn while its contents were yet glowing from recent combustion, had melted and sunk to the bottom.

I can offer no explanation of the double interment in grave No. 13. If we suppose the skeletons thus discovered to be the remains of persons surprised and slain flagrante delicto, we cannot reconcile it with the fact that they were consigned to the grave with the usual funereal observances; the male with the proper arms and appointments of a free man of the middle rank—the woman with her characteristic feminine personal ornaments. Be this as it may, their deaths appear to have been synchronous;—the bodies rested on each other, the tibiæ of the male skeleton pressing on the skull of the woman. Could this old spearman* have perished in some feud, and had he been voluntarily accompanied to the grave by a devoted wife? The relics discovered with them speak eloquently enough, but there is no voice to tell us of the circumstances of this singular interment.

By the kindness of Professor Quekett, I am enabled to state that the remains of

a Eald æsc-wiga. Beowulf, 4090.

^b The skull of the man, and the lower jaw of the woman, have been submitted to Dr. Thurnam, who has favoured me with the following remarks:—

[&]quot;The skull is that of a man from sixty to seventy years of age. The form is a tolerably regular oval, inclining to the long rather than the short type. The face and jaws are large, the lower jaw in particular unusually long and with a very prominent chin. The lower incisor teeth project considerably in advance of the upper. The crowns of all the teeth are very much worn; the upper incisors down to the very fangs. Two of the upper molars are affected by caries.

[&]quot;The jaw is that of a person of about sixty-five years of age. Notwithstanding the deep base of the jaw, and the large size of the teeth, it is probably that of a female. Compared with the lower jaw of the other skeleton, the chin is seen to be much more rounded, and the ascending processes much smaller, shorter, and more oblique.

[&]quot;The eroded state of the teeth, especially the molars, is very marked. They are much encrusted with tartar."

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wood found adhering to the stude of the shield discovered in grave No. 13 are ash. The fact is worthy of notice, from the circumstance that in the Anglo-Saxon and old high-German poems, the shield is invariably spoken of as formed of the linden or lime tree. Thus in a spell quoted by Kemble, we find:

Stôd under linde under leôhtum scylde ;

i.e. I stood beneath my linden shield beneath my light shield.

And in Hildebrandt's "Lied" the combatants are said to have

Hewan harmlico huitte scilti unti im iro lintum luttilo wurtun;

i.e. Hewed away harmfully their white shields until their linden bucklers became small.

From these passages^b it appears the lime was the wood of which the shields of people of Teutonic race were usually formed, and the finding the remains of a shield formed of a description of wood differing from that for which they had so evident a predilection, leads to the inference that the lime, as naturalists have supposed, was not then known in this island. Ray could not find this tree growing wild in England; and Evelyn states that in his days it was brought, at great expense, from Flanders and Holland.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful Servant,

J. Y. AKERMAN.

To the Earl Stanhope, Pres. S.A.

a The Saxons in England, vol. i. p. 404.

^b Cf. Beowulf, ed. Thorpe, 2151, 3950, 4085.

XXV.—Sépultures Chrétiennes de la période Anglo-Normande trouvées à Bouteilles près Dieppe, en 1857; par L'Abbé Cochet, Hon. F.S.A.

Read 21 and 28 May, 1857, and 28 Jan. 1858.

TROISIÈME EXPLORATION.

La sépulture chrétienne du xi° au xvi° siècle est encore peu connue. Son histoire ne saurait guère être établie qu'à l'aide de documents liturgiques et archéologiques. Déjà l'archéologie sacrée a étudié avec un louable zèle les monuments qui recouvrent le sol; mais ceux que la terre cache dans son sein sont encore inexplorés. Pour un grand nombre de ces documents une difficulté insurmontable se présente. Consacrés par l'usage et par la religion, les asiles qui les recèlent sont inviolables et inaccessibles même pour la science, sauf le cas de travaux publics.

Toutefois les nombreuses sécularisations d'églises et de monastères opérées par la Révolution française, les translations de cimetières si fréquentes de nos jours, pour cause de salubrité publique, ont rendu plus facile l'étude des sépultures chrétiennes. C'est à une suppression d'église opérée par la Révolution, et à une sécularisation de cimetière consommée par la voirie départementale, que je dois l'avantage de connaître Bouteilles, et toutes les ressources qu'il présente à l'archéologie du moyen âge. Cette terre jadis sacrée est à présent affectée à des usages complètement profanes. A la place d'une église et d'un cimetière, c'est une route, une maison, un jardin, et un verger.

Les deux premières explorations que j'y pratiquai en 1855 et en 1856 ont été si heureuses que j'ai cru devoir en tenter une troisième. Mes premières études ayant porté vers le bas de l'église et sur son parvis, j'ai cru cette fois devoir attaquer le chevet et les collatéraux. Ma nouvelle fouille a parfaitement réussi. J'ai trouvé 20 tombeaux entiers ou en morceaux; 5 croix de plomb, toutes écrites; et environ 150 vases chrétiens allant du xiii° au xvi° siècle. Dans le résumé que je présente ici de ma dernière exploration, je commence par le récit journalier de la fouille. Je traiterai ensuite séparément des tombeaux, des croix, et des vases.

§ I. RÉCIT ET PROCÈS-VERBAL.

J'ai commencé ma fouille le 3 Avril, 1857. Les deux premiers jours employés à ouvrir la tranchée, ne nous ont fait voir au milieu d'inhumations récentes que quelques vases chrétiens en terre blanche vernissés de vert. Toutefois nous avons pu, par la présence des mortiers, nous assurer de l'existence d'une muraille circulaire, détruite depuis longtemps. Je résolus de suivre ce vieux mur, que je considerais comme la dernière trace d'une abside.

Le lundi 6, à la profondeur de 1^m 50, et tout à côté d'un contrefort, j'ai trouvé un cercueil de pierre orienté est et ouest, mais dont la tête avait été enlevée pour asseoir les fondations du mur. Ce sarcophage, composé dans son couvercle et dans ses côtés de morceaux de moëllon, n'avait d'autre fond que l'argile naturelle et quelques cailloux placés sous l'aire. La terre végétale, qui avait pénétré dans le cercueil, enveloppait de tous côtés le corps du défunt.

Le mardi 7, dans les hauts terrains, nous avons recueilli les restes de deux vases en terre blanche qui avaient eu des anses, tous deux avaient possédé un vernis vert très luisant. Ils ont dû être forés. En tous cas ils ont contenu du feu, car l'intérieur était noirci par la fumée, et ils etaient tout enveloppés de charbon de bois. Au dessous de ces vases, nous avons rencontré deux cercueils de pierre, dont un contenait une croix de plomb.

Le premier de ces cercueils, placé a la profondeur de 1^m 90°, était dans le cimetière à côté d'un contrefort, et le long du mur circulaire déjà mentionné. Orienté est et ouest, et assis sur l'argile, il s'était trouvé effondré par un long tassement et rempli de terre végétale. L'auge qui le composait était faite avec trois morceaux de moëllon placés à champ sur chaque côté; un quatrième était au bout et deux au sommet, mis l'un sur l'autre pour former la place de la tête. Le couvercle, en pierres plates, comptait 5 ou 6 morceaux. Le tout était légèrement soudé avec du mortier.

Voici les proportions du sarcophage, lesquelles pourront servir pour tous les autres. L'épaisseur des moëllons, à peine dégrossis, était de 6 à 8°. La longueur totale de l'auge prise au dehors était de 2^m, la largeur intérieure était de 23° aux pieds, de 34 à la ceinture, et de 46 aux épaules; celle de la tête, mesurée au dehors, avait 20°; quant à l'entaille circulaire, elle n'offrait guères que la place du chef enveloppé de son suaire. Cette entaille était pratiquée dans deux pièces posées horizontalement l'une sur l'autre, la pièce inférieure fortement creusée, la pièce supérieure formant couvercle.

Quant au défunt, qui n'avait pas bougé, c'était un sujet grand et jeune, couché

sur le dos, les mains pieusement croisées sur la poitrine : la tête, sortie de l'entaille, était descendue sur les épaules.

Le deuxième cercueil était aussi le long du mur circulaire et épais dont j'ai parlé, mais à l'intérieur de l'édifice. Assis sur le sol à la profondeur de 1^m 50^e, il était orienté est et ouest, et composé comme le précédent de pièces de moëllon. Il offrait comme eux une entaille circulaire assez fortement relevée sur le plan du sarcophage. Quoique les pièces eussent été liées avec du mortier, le couvercle s'était effondré, et un peu de terre mêlée de charbon avait pénétré dans l'intérieur. Une couche de chaux recouvrait le fond argileux du cercueil. Cette couche présentait une couleur verdâtre semblable à de l'oxide de cuivre, et les ossements eux-mêmes offraient à divers endroits une teinte violacée. Le mort, qui n'avait pas bougé, paraissait avoir été d'une force extrême : les ossements étaient très gros, quoique la tête fût petite et délicate. La stature était haute, et l'âge ne paraissait pas dépasser 50 ans. Il était couché sur le dos, face au ciel, la tête dans l'entaille, les mains croisées sur la poitrine, et pressant sous ses avant-bras une croix de plomb contenant une formule d'absolution. Nous verrons dans la suite que ce chrétien s'appelait Bérenger.

Le 8 Avril nous trouvons dans les tranchées des ossements sans ordre, ainsi que des fragments de vases, jadis remplis de charbon, car plusieurs sont forés et noircis par la fumée. J'examinerai plus tard ces débris que je recueille soigneusement. Je constate seulement qu'il y avait bien les restes de 18 à 20 vases.

Ce jour là nous avons trouvé deux cercueils de pierre, l'un à 1^m 40 du sol, l'autre à 2^m 29 au moins, tous deux à l'intérieur de l'édifice.

Le premier, qui est celui d'un enfant, mesuré au dehors n'a que 1^m 10^e de long, 60 de large, et 29 de haut. Orienté est et ouest, il est composé comme les autres de moëllons plats, épais de 10^e. Le couvercle est en 3 morceaux, et le fond est à bain de mortier avec un léger blocage. Dans la terre d'infiltration je remarquai quelques charbons de bois. Le corps de l'enfant était entier, couché sur le dos, les mains croisées sur la poitrine. Je n'ai pas observé s'il y avait une entaille pour la tête. Le crâne et les os du bassin, examinés par le Docteur Delatre, ont été attribués par lui à un sujet de 10 à 12 ans.

Le deuxième cercueil, à la profondeur de 2^m 29^e, était grand et beau. Long de 2^m, il était large aux épaules de près de 50^e; la longueur de la pièce destinée à l'entaille de la tête avait 40^e. Composé dans son couvercle et dans les côtés de dalles de moëllon brutes et épaisses de 12^e, il avait été soudé avec du mortier. L'orientation allait de l'est à l'ouest, et le fond avait été posé sur l'argile jaune où l'on distinguait pourtant quelques charbons. Comme la terre n'y avait pas penétré,

nous avons pu remarquer sur les portions proéminentes des ossements une teinte violette déjà observée dans des sarcophages anciens notamment à Paris, en 1807.

Le sujet qui reposait ici devait être grand et fort quoique jeune, car nous ne pensons pas que son âge doive dépasser 25 ans. Il avait été inhumé sur le dos, face au ciel, et les mains pieusement croisées sur la poitrine. La tête était un peu descendue de son entaille circulaire, laquelle était pourtant fortement creusée dans deux morceaux de moëllon.

Au milieu des déblais les plus profonds nous avons rencontré une défense de sanglier; c'est la troisième trouvée dans nos fouilles de Bouteilles; ceci prouverait peut-être que les sangliers si communs aux époques Gauloise, Romaine, et Franque, n'avaient pas encore disparu de nos forêts à la période Normande.

Le 9, après avoir rencontré dans les terrains supérieurs des restes de 5 ou 6 vases en terre blanche vernissée de vert, nous avons ouvert deux cercueils dont un était en pierre et l'autre en maçonnerie, tous deux toutefois à l'intérieur de l'édifice.

Le cercueil de pierre était incomplet: il n'en restait guères qu'une moitié, celle de la tête. Ce sarcophage séparé du précédent par un longue pierre fichée en terre à une grande profondeur, avait été coupé dans sa partie inférieure afin d'asseoir la muraille de l'église; il était comme son voisin à une profondeur de 2^m 29°, orienté est et ouest, et formé de grossières dalles de moëllon soudées avec du mortier. Les os des jambes avaient été relevés lors de la destruction du cercueil et placés dans la partie haute. Le bassin s'est rencontré sur la poitrine, et malgré ce bouleversement les os avaient conservé à la surface une teinte violette que je ferai analyser. La tête, posée face au ciel, était restée dans son entaille circulaire, et les mains avaient été croisées sur la poitrine. Il est probable que les avant-bras pressèrent autrefois la croix de plomb que nous avons recueillie sous la mâchoire inferieure. Le sujet ici inhumé pouvait avoir cinquante ans. Au milieu de la terre végétale qui était descendue dans l'auge j'ai remarqué des charbons de bois.

Le second cercueil était assis sur l'argile à 1^m 60, toujours à l'intérieur de l'édifice.

a "Lorsque l'on démolit l'antique église de Ste Geneviève de Paris on ouvrit les tombeaux de cette basilique, et deux savants illustres, MM. Fourcroy et Vauquelin, virent avec étonnement deux squelettes dont les os étaient teints depuis les côtes jusqu'-à la moitié du tibia d'un beau violet très foncé. Ils jugèrent, contre divers avis opposés, que la matière colorante qui s'etait épanchée sur les ossements n'etait qu'un simple résultat de la décomposition des corps eux-mêmes." Langlois, Notice sur des tombeaux Gallo-Romains trouvés à Rouens, &c. dans les Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm. t. iv. p. 242.

b L'analyse pratiquée à Dieppe, par M. le Docteur Delatre, a démontré qu'à Bouteilles, comme à Paris, la couleur violette des os etait due à une matière animale.

Celui-là n'était pas en moëllon, mais en maçonnerie grossière. C'était une masse énorme qui ne resemblait pas mal à une fondation antique. Les côtés et les bouts du cercueil étaient faits avec de gros silex à peine taillés, et soudés à l'aide de mortier. Le couvercle se composait de lourdes dalles de brêche posées sans art et simplement liées avec du mortier. Le fond était une argile rougeâtre fortement verdie comme par une décoction de cuivre, dont pourtant nous n'avons trouvé nulle trace. L'orientation était est et ouest, comme partout. Le squelette avait été inhumé face au ciel, les avant-bras croisés sur la poitrine. Il avait possédé autrefois une croix de plomb, mais comme le métal était de mauvaise qualité, elle est tombée en morceaux par suite d'oxidation. Dans la terre d'interposition, j'ai remarqué, comme toujours, des traces de charbon.

Au dessus de ce cercueil était placé un corps qui fut peut-être enfermé dans un cercueil de bois, car nous avons recueilli autour de lui de 10 à 12 clous à deux têtes. Au dessous, au contraire, à la profondeur de près de deux mètres, nous avons rencontré dans l'argile un autre corps, tout enveloppé de matières noires, comme ceux que nous avons vus à Envermeu et à Londinières.

Le 10 nous n'avons recueilli qu'une défense de sanglier, des fragments de 8 à 10 vases au milieu de charbons. Un de ces vases était en terre noire assez fine.

Le 11 j'ai recueilli des débris de 12 à 19 vases de toute forme et de toute couleur. Quelques-uns de ces vases sont noirs, d'autres rouges, mais le plus grand nombre est blanc vernissé de vert. Plusieurs sont forés et noircis, parceque toujours le charbon les accompagne.

Le 14 a été le jour le plus heureux de la campagne, car outre les fragments de 5 vases chrétiens j'ai rencontré 2 cercueils de pierre et 2 croix de plomb. Ces sarcophages étaient dans le cimetière le long du mur méridional de l'église, et non loin d'un contrefort; tous deux étaient orientés est et ouest.

Le premier avait eu son couvercle enlevé vers les pieds et les côtés entamés, mais la partie supérieure n'en était pas moins complète. Entre chaque dalle de moëllon on remarquait une couche de mortier. Le fond du cercueil était recouvert d'une légère couche de chaux. Le corps, qui n'avait pas bougé, paraissait appartenir à un sujet encore jeune et vigoureux. Il était placé sur le dos, et les mains croisées sur la poitrine. La tête était restée dans son entaille circulaire composée de deux morceaux. Une croix de plomb était placée entre le cou et les mains à-peu-près à la hauteur du sternum. Le côté écrit était tourné vers le ciel, et le haut de la formule regardait la tête.

Le deuxième cercueil était placé à côté du premier, mais vers la vallée, et se rapprochant de la tête. Il dut avoir la même longueur, mais il était en partie VOL. XXXVII. 4 G

détruit vers le bas. Depuis les pieds jusqu'au bassin le couvercle avait complètement disparu. Au sommet était une entaille circulaire pour la tête. Le corps toutefois était resté en place, il paraissait être celui d'un homme dans la force de l'âge.

Un peu au dessous des mains croisées, et presque vers le bassin, j'ai recueilli une forte croix en plomb, dont le côté écrit faisait face au ciel. Cette fois le haut de l'écriture était tourné vers les pieds. Cette croix avait probablement quitté sa place naturelle. Dans la terre d'interposition des deux cercueils nous avons remarqué des charbons et des moules.

Le 19, tout à côté du dernier cercueil visité hier, j'ai rencontré encore en place l'entaille circulaire d'un cercueil d'enfant dont l'auge avait complètement disparu. Cet enfant, dont nous avons retrouvé les ossements dans le sol, pouvait avoir de 7 à 8 ans. A ce propos nous rappellerons un fait que nous a certifié notre confrère M. Feret, c'est qu'en 1842, lors de la découverte des premières croix de plomb à Bouteilles, on en recueillit une sur un tout petit enfant.^a

Au nord de ce cercueil d'enfant, en remontant un peu vers l'ouest, était une autre entaille circulaire renfermant encore le crâne de son ancien propriétaire. Toutefois l'auge et le corps avaient disparu depuis longtemps.

Dans les terrains supérieurs des tranchées nous trouvons les restes de 7 ou 8 vases, qui ont possedé des anses et des trous faits après la cuisson. Presque tous ont conservé des traces de feu et des charbons. Il s'est trouvé aussi quelques clous courts et à deux têtes. Autour du crâne je remarque deux vases pleins de charbon et à-peu-près entiers; ils sont en terre blanche et fortement vernissés de vert. J'en donnerai la forme, que j'attribue au xiv^e siècle.

Le 16 on n'a recueilli dans la coupe des terrains que les fragments de 6 ou 7 vases en terre blanche, vernissés de vert, et noircis par la flamme ou le charbon.

Le 17 nous avons recueilli les restes de 4 ou 5 vases, et un entier. Ce vase entier était en terre blanche recouvert au dehors d'une couche épaisse de vernis verdâtre. Il avait une anse, et affectait la forme d'une chaudière. Il était couché sur le flanc, à côté d'une tête, et encore rempli de charbon de bois. Parmi les fragments de cette journée, j'ai remarqué un vase rouge, dont la panse était munie d'un rang de trous percés dans la terre molle avant la cuisson.

Après avoir constaté les restes de deux cercueils en moëllon, dont un avait

a P. J. Feret, Notes sur les Observations de M. Fallue concernant les Sépultures de la Vallée de l'Eaulne,
 p. 3. Rouen, Péron, 1851. Revue de Rouen, année 1851, p. 313.

conservé son entaille circulaire, nous avons déblayé, depuis le sol jusqu'à 75° de profondeur, une grossière maçonnerie de silex. Cette masse recouvrait ou plutôt écrasait une auge en moëllon dont voici les proportions :—longueur totale : dehors, 1^m 90 : dedans 1^m 70 : profondeur intérieure, 0 22° : largeur aux épaules, 0 40° ; aux pieds 27°. La tête, longue de 0 45°, était d'une seule pièce. Son entaille n'était pas ronde comme les autres, ni entièrement carrée, mais, plus large au fond qu'à l'entrée, elle affectait la forme d'un entonnoir.

Le squelette qui remplissait ce sarcophage appartenait à un sujet d'environ 50 ans, possédant une jolie tête parfaitement conservée. Il avait été mis sur le dos, face au ciel, les mains jointes sur la poitrine.

Toutes les dalles en moëllon étaient soudées ensemble à l'aide de mortier, tandis qu'une légère couche de chaux couvrait le fond du cercueil.

En dépit de toutes ces précautions, et malgré la masse énorme de maçonnerie qui protégeait cette auge, la terre y avait pénetré, et en la dégageant nous y avons reconnu du charbon et des valves de moules.

Il ne faut pas perdre de vue que cette sépulture était dans le cimetière, le long et au dehors de l'église. La maçonnerie me paraît indiquer l'antique présence d'un monument extérieur, cénotaphe, pierre tombale ou autre. Il s'en suivrait donc qu'au xii° siècle, époque à laquelle nous devons reporter cette sépulture, il y avait dans nos cimetières des monuments extérieurs et apparents. Ce fait est assez peu connu pour les cimetières chretiens, qui au moyen âge paraissent avoir été de véritables pis-aller.

Toutefois nous n'avons pas été sans en rencontrer des exemples dans nos courses archéologiques en Normandie. J'ai vu des pierres tombales du xiiie et du xive siècle dans les cimetières d'Etretat, de Canouville (canton de Cany), et de Fontaine-le-Dun (arrondissement d'Yvetot). En 1856 j'en ai surtout rencontré deux fort rémarquables dans le cimetière de Biville-la-Martel, commune d'Ypreville, canton de Valmont. Ces deux tombes prismatiques, placées côte-à-côte, sont du xive siècle; mais j'ignore si elles reposent sur de la maçonnerie.

Revenant à nos sépultures de Bouteilles, nous dirons qu'à 33° au dessous de le précédente nous en avons trouvé une autre assez singulière. Elle se composait de 6 dalles en moëllon épaisses de 19° posées tout simplement sur une fosse creusée dans l'argile jaune. Cet encaissement d'argile s'était assez bien maintenu pendant 6 à 7 siècles. Il n'y avait pénétré qu'un peu de terre végétale dans laquelle nous avons observé du charbon de bois et quelques valves de moules. Le corps qui y

fut déposé était celui d'un jeune homme, dont la position ressemblait à celle de tous les autres.

Le 18, à 75° du sol, j'ai visité un cercueil en moëllon, dont la tête avait disparu, enlevée probablement lors de la construction des murs. Le côté nord du cercueil manquait également, mais le côté sud et le couvercle étaient restés intacts, encore soudés avec une legère couche de mortier. Le couvercle, composé de 5 dalles, s'était effondré, et avait laissé pénétrer de la terre végétale, dans laquelle on voyait quelques traces de charbon et des coquilles de moules. Au fond s'étendait une couche de mortier, verdie dans toute sa longueur comme par une décoction de cuivre ou de bronze.

Le corps du défunt, placé sur le dos et face au ciel, était entier jusqu' à la tête, qui avait été soigneusement descendue sur les épaules. Ce qui prouve que cette opération avait eu lieu peu après l'interrement, c'est que la mâchoire inférieure adhérait encore à la mâchoire supérieure.

Les constructeurs de ce mur devaient étre de braves chrétiens bien respectueux envers les morts, car nous n'avons pas observé partout la même précaution.

Le crâne était fort épais et les fémurs très gros.

Nous concluons que le défunt placé ici devait être un vieillard. Les mains avaient été croisées sur la poitrine selon l'usage général, et les avant-bras pressaient une petite croix de plomb sur laquelle on lit un *Confiteor* et un *Misereatur*. Cette croix, qui était réglée, presentait le côté écrit vers le ciel, le sommet de l'écriture était dirigé vers la tête.

Au côté sud de ce cercueil, et à une fort petite distance, les ouvriers ont trouvé trois ou quatre vases en terre blanche, munis d'anses et vernissés de vert au dehors. Quelques uns percés de trous pratiqués après la cuisson, contenaient encore du charbon et du noir de fumée.

Le 20 j'ai trouvé deux cercueils coupés à la hauteur du bassin et privés de leur partie supérieure, ordinairement la plus intéressante. L'un était en moëllon comme presque tous les précédents. Son encaissement était si incomplet qu'il ne restait plus que le couvercle et le côté nord. Tous les os étaient bouleversés. L'autre se composait d'une couche de maçonnerie épaisse de 40°, au dessous de laquelle étaient des ossements bien alignés dans une terre noire et charbonnée. Tous ces cercueils étaient orientés est et ouest, et suivaient la direction de l'église.

J'employai les journées des 21, 22, et 23 à faire un sondage au bout de l'abside circulaire que je crois être celle du chœur; je le poussai jusqu' à l'argile naturelle à 3^m de profondeur. Il ne me ramena que des débris de vases chrétiens en grande quantité et de toutes les formes. Je n'estime pas à moins de 150, le nombre des

fragments que nous avons recueillis. Je traiterai plus loin le chapitre de ces vases qui se présentent ici comme pour une nouvelle résurrection générale. Nous avons aussi constaté la présence d'un contrefort et de l'épaisse muraille d'une abside romane à present disparue.

Une fouille supplémentaire, pratiquée dans le courant du mois de mai, me révéla autour de l'abside 2 cercueils en moëllon semblables aux précédents, et environ 20 vases en terre blanche, tous forés et vernissés de vert.

§ II. DESCRIPTION ET EXAMEN.

Nous ferons porter ce chapitre d'examen et de discussion critique, sur trois points principaux, les tombeaux, les croix, et les vases.

Commençons par les cercueils.

1°. Les tombeaux.—Il y en avait de trois sortes, en pierre, en maçonnerie, et en bois. Parlons d'abord de ceux de pierre.

Je ne répéterai pas ici la description minutieuse que j'en ai donnée dans mon procès-verbal. Je me contenterai de faire quelques rapprochements, les rapprochements étant l'âme de l'archéologie, qui du reste, comme toutes les sciences, vit d'expériences et de faits bien constatés.

Dans mes deux précédents mémoires de 1855 ° et de 1856, ° j'ai déjà cité un grand nombre de faits propres à prouver que les cercueils de pierre formés de plusieurs pièces ont été grandement en usage dans les cimetières chrétiens du xi° au xii° siècle. Depuis j'ai encore recueilli quelques faits nouveaux que je m'empresse de faire connaître à ceux qui veulent bien me suivre dans mes explorations souterraines et presque géologiques.

Autour de l'église de Sigy (arrondissement de Neufchâtel), et le long des murs de cette vieille collégiale fondée en 1040 par Hugues de Gournay, et rebâtie avec magnificence vers la fin du 12° siècle, on a trouvé en 1855 un cercueil en pierre du pays composé de plusieurs pièces soudées ensemble au moyen de mortier. Ce sarcophage renfermait un squelette dont les mains étaient croisées sur la poitrine, et un vase de terre rempli de charbon et foré de plusieurs trous. Ce vase, qui m'a

^a Sepult. Chrét. de la période Anglo-Normande, etc. en 1855, apud Archæologia, Vol. XXXVI. Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiq. of London, vol. iii. p. 206-12. Sépultures Gaul. Rom. Franq. et Norm. pp. 319—30. Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm., t. xxii. pp. 11—21.

b Note sur les Sépultures Anglo-Normandes, etc. 1856, apud Archæologia, vol. XXXVII. Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiq. of London, vol. iii. pp. 290—94. Sépult. Gaul. Rom. Franq. et Norm., pp. 331—38. Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm. t. xxii. pp. 129—37.

⁶ Sépult. Gaul. Rom, Franq. et Norm. p. 370.

été communiqué par M. le curé de Sigy, remonte au moins au 13° siecle. Il ressemble entièrement, pour la terre et pour la forme, aux vases trouvés à Leure en 1856 dans la sépulture de Pierre Bérenguier (1270—90).

Nous avons déjà parlé du tombeau de Nicolas Gellant évêque d'Angers, b mort en 1290, et dont le cercueil avait été composé de plusieurs pièces de tuf. Il paraît bien que ce mode de sépulture dura longtemps dans l'Anjou, car en Fevrier 1857 on trouva dans le chœur de l'église de St. Serge, à Angers, le tombeau de l'abbé François d'Orignai, mort en 1483. Le sarcophage qui le contenait était fait avec des tuffeaux joints à la hâte.

Tous les jours de nouveaux faits de ce genre viennent s'inscrire sur les tablettes de l'archéologie.

Mais voici une découverte qui se rapproche encore plus des nôtres par sa forme et les circonstances de son invention. Il s'agit de deux cercueils de pierre trouvés le 7 Mai, 1856, autour de la cathédrale de Worcester. Ils étaient placés près d'un contrefort du transept méridional de l'église, et contenaient chacun un corps bien conservé. L'un d'eux était d'une seule pierre, mais l'autre était fait de plusieurs morceaux. Tous deux du reste étaient beaucoup plus étroits aux pieds qu'aux épaules, et tous deux possédaient une entaille pour la tête. Cette entaille n'était ni circulaire ni carrée, mais en forme d'entonnoir comme celle que nous avons trouvée à Bouteilles le 17 Avril, 1857, et aussi comme plusieurs autres découvertes dans le même cimetière en 1855.4

La ressemblance des cercueils de Worcester avec ceux de Bouteilles est on ne peut plus frappante. On peut en juger par les détails et le dessin qu'en a donnés l'*Illustrated London News.*° Aussi je ne saurais mieux faire que de les reporter comme les nôtres à la période Anglo-Normande qui là, comme chez nous, va de Guillaume-le-Conquérant à Richard-Cœur-de-Lion. Je suis convaincu que nos voisins les archéologues anglais, si versés dans l'étude de leurs antiquités nationales, ne démentiront pas cette attribution.

La seconde espèce de cercueil dont il me faut parler, et dont il a été trouvé deux spécimens dans la dernière fouille de Bouteilles, est le cercueil fait en maconnerie.

^a Revue de l'art chrét. année 1857. Bullet. Monumental, t. xxii. p. 660.

^b Sépult. Gaul. Rom. Franq. et Norm. p. 336.

Godard Faultrier. Note sur un tombeau découvert à S^t. Serges, en 8° de 4 pages et 1 planche, Angers, Crosnier, et Lachère, 1857. Revue de l'Anjou et du Maine, année 1857. Bullet. Mon. t. xxiii. p. 79. Revue de l'art chrétien, de 1857, p. 130.

Sépultures Gaul. Rom. Franq. et Normandes, p. 322—23. The Illustrated London News. du 21 Juin, 1856, p. 691.

En regard de la description que j'en ai donnée je placerai celui de Constance, femme d'Alain Fergent, duc de Bretagne, et fille de notre Guillaume-le-Conquérant. Cette princesse, décédée en 1091, fut probablement inhumée comme nos habitans de Bouteilles, le long des murs extérieurs de l'église de St. Mélaine, de Rennes. Voici en effet ce que nous lisons dans une note qui a été communiquée par notre confrère M. Ramé, du comité de la langue, de l'histoire, et des arts de la France.

"Le 9 Juin, 1672, des ouvriers employés à creuser les fondations de la tour occidentale de l'église de St. Mélaine, de Rennes, rencontrèrent un cercueil en maçonnerie se retrécissant vers les pieds et recouvert de grandes pierres plates; il contenait outre un étui en cuir qui avait servi à enfermer le corps, un crâne, des débris de chévelure, des ossements, une étoffe de laine d'un tissu gros et mal serré, de couleur brune, qui paraît naturelle, estant teinture, et à la place ou devait être l'estomac, une croix de plomb de 19 pouces de haut." a

Cette croix publiée par Hevin, avocat au Parlement de Bretagne, contenait les noms et titres de l'illustre défunte, ainsi que la date de son décés. Pour la forme, elle ressemblait à une église à transepts, ou plutôt elle reproduisait on ne peut mieux les deux croix anglaises éditées par M. Wylie dans l'Archæologia, et trouvées l'une à Lincoln sur le prêtre Siford, l'autre à Chichester sur l'evêque Godefroi. Cette dernière a cela de remarquable qu'elle etait sur un evêque Anglo-Normand, compatriote et contemporain de Constance de Bretagne.

Mais il est un troisième genre de cercueil dont nous avons déjà dit un mot, et sur lequel il nous faut revenir.

Dans la fouille de 1856 nous avons à deux reprises differentes signalé dans le sol, et tout auprès des cercueils de pierre, la présence de clous gros et courts, ayant à un bout une forte tête, et à l'autre un gros rivet. Le 8 Mars, 1856, nous avons trouvé autour du corps, et de la croix de Guillaume, de Bouteilles, une vingtaine de ces mêmes clous, tout saturés de bois oxydé. Nous en avons conclu à la présence d'un cercueil de bois dont les planches devaient avoir une certaine épaisseur.

Nous avons conservé quelques uns de ces clous, qui seraient peut-être plus justement appelés des écroux. Nous avons mesuré la distance qui sépare les deux têtes; elle est de 3°. On peut en conclure avec certitude l'épaisseur des planches de la bière.

^a Extrait de la Notice rédigée par l'avocat Hevin, au xvii^e siècle, et dont il n'existe que deux exemplaires.

^b M. Wylie, Observations on certain sepulchral usages of early times, apud Archaeologia, vol. XXXV. pp. 298—304.

Cette année nous avons encore rencontré, à différentes reprises, de ces mêmes clous, dont les têtes étaient devenues énormes par l'oxyde. Le corps du clou, encore saturé de bois, n'a presque plus d'angle, tellement qu'on pourrait le considérer comme rond. Cependant quelques uns ont conservé leur forme quadrangulaire. Nous les avons mesurés tous, et tous nous ont donné 3° de distance d'une tête à l'autre; ce qui suppose des planches de cette épaisseur.

Il me paraît à-peu-près certain qu'autrefois ces planches de bois (tabulæ), comme disait Grégoire de Tours, n'étaient pas même accordées à tout le monde. Cette opinion, qui a besoin d'être contrôlée, pourrait s'étayer de l'autorité d'une miniature qui se voit dans le missel du célébre Jean Talbot, au chapître de l'office des morts. On y remarque deux fossoyeurs prèts à descendre dans la fosse un corps qui paraît simplement enveloppé dans un étui d'étoffe ou de cuir. Mais, je le repète, cette question ici est plutôt indiquée que traitée, car les preuves me manquent pour une démonstration complète aussi bien que pour une conviction absolue. Toutefois un plus grand nombre d'observations élucideront cette matière pour les temps du moyen âge.

2°. Les Croix.—Apropos des croix, nous avons deux sortes d'observations a soumettre au lecteur : les unes générales, les autres particulières. Commençons par les caractères qui sont spéciaux à chacune d'elles; nous arriverons ensuite à ce qui est commun à toutes.

Pour decrire nos croix suivons l'ordre dans lequel elles se sont présentées. La première recueillie le 7 Avril est la plus legère, la plus délicate, et aussi la mieux conservée au point de vue épigraphique. Haute de 12° et large de 7, elle pèse 50 grammes, et a moins d'un millim. d'épaisseur. L'écriture belle et lisible s'aligne très bien sur un fond rayé à l'avance. Cette croix etait placée sur la poitrine du mort. Le haut de l'inscription dirigé vers la tête, et le côté écrit tourné vers le ciel, elle contenait la formule suivante.

"Dominus Jehesus Christus, qui dixit discipulis suis, quodcunque ligaueritis super terram erit ligatum et in celis, et quodcunque solueritis super terram erit solutum et in celis, de quorum numero, licet indignos, nos esse uoluit, ipse te absolvat, Berrengarine, per ministerium nostrum, ab omnibus criminibus tuis, quecumque cogitatione, locutione et operatione negligenter egisti, atque nexibus absolutum perducere dignetur ad regna celorum, qui uiuit et regnat pater et filius et spiritus sanctus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen."

^a Ce missel, retrouvé vers 1856, par M. Alfred Ramé, de Rennes, chez un brocanteur de Bretagne, est attribué par lui à l'an 1420, ou environ.

Cette formule déjà trouvée en 1842, 1855 et 1856, est exactement la même que celle qui se lit dans les manuels et les rituels de l'Église de Rouen. La seule particularité qu'on y remarque, c'est que la défunt se nommait Bérenger, appellation très commune en Normandie dès le 11°, le 12°, et le 13° siècle. Sans nous occuper à recueillir dans les chartes, dans les monuments géographiques, et jusque dans l'histoire, des exemples qui abondent, nous ne pouvons nous empêcher de faire remarque une coïncidence assez singulière, c'est qu'en même temps que nous exhumions à Bouteilles, pays de salines, le nom de Bérenger, on trouvait à Leure, près le Hâvre, autre terre de sauniers et de maraîchins, la dalle tumulaire de Pierre Bérenguier, qui dut être un marin du 13° siècle, comme ses homonymes de Leure, Bertin et Adam Bérengier, maîtres de nefs en 1295 et en 1340.

La seconde croix, trouvée le 9 Avril, sur la partie haute de la poitrine d'un défunt, est d'une forme plus soignée et plus élégante que les autres. Toutefois la pareille, comme type, à été recueillie à Bouteilles en 1842.

Le plomb étant d'une qualité inférieure, l'inscription s'est fort mal conservée; elle était tracée à la pointe, mais par une main novice ou inhabile. Le fond d'ailleurs n'ayant pas été rayé, la main du scribe avait divagué. De l'inscription qui recouvrait la presque totalité de la surface, M. Léopold Delisle n'a pu déchiffrer que ces quelques mots: "In nomine Patris qui dixit discipulis nos esse voluit ipse te absoluat" Ces quelques membres de phrases suffisent pour indiquer une formule d'absolution qui, à l'exception de l'invocation de la Sainte Trinité, devait rentrer dans la catégorie ordinaire et commune.

La troisième croix, trouvée le 14 Avril, était sur la poitrine, le haut de l'inscription dirigé vers la tête, et le côté de l'écriture tourné vers le ciel. Longue de 14° et large de 10, elle est épaisse d'un millim. et pèse 120 grammes. Elle n'a pas de cran et de ses 4 croisillons un seul est écrit, et encore il ne possède que trois lignes seulement. Ces trois lignes, tracées sur un fond non rayé, quoique parfaitement accusées, ne sont pas très lisibles, à cause de l'oxyde provenant de la mauvaise qualité de plomb. Cependant il a été facile de s'assurer, par ce qui reste de caractères, que l'inscription placée ici n'était qu'une des trois oraisons que recite le prêtre sur le corps du défunt lorsqu'il l'a deposé dans la fosse, et qu'il a jété trois fois de la terre sur le cercueil. Cette oraison, la première des trois suprêmes, est aussi une espèce d'absolution. Nous la reproduisons en entier, plaçant entre

Bulletin du Comité de la Langue, de l'Hist. et des Arts de la France, t. iii. pp. 313—16. Archæologia, vol. XXXVI. pp. 266—70. Sépult. Gaul. Rom. Franq. et Norm. pp. 305—9, 326, 337.

parenthèse les lacunes de la croix : "Absolue Domine animam famuli tui B. ab omni uinculo delictorum, (ut in resurrectionis) glorià (inter sanctos et electos tuos resuscitatus respiret)."

Déjà une fois à Bouteilles, dans notre fouille de 1855, nous avions trouvé sur une croix l'oraison "Absolve," mais cette fois elle était sur une femme, tandis que celle de 1857 était certainement sur un homme, dont le nom commençait par un "B." En 1855, l'oraison se trouvait comme par surabondance ajoutée à la fin d'une absolution, tandis qu'en 1857 elle se trouve seule sur la croix, et sans aucun accompagnement. De ceci il faut conclure que dans la coutume qui nous occupe, et dont nous rassemblons les éléments afin d'en reconstituer l'histoire, il y avait bien des variantes se rattachant toutes à l'absolution chrétienne, dont nous verrons encore de nouveaux exemples.

La quatrième, la plus grande et la plus lourde de toutes, a été trouvée aussi le 14 Avril, descendue sur les os du bassin. Longue de 16° elle est large de 10, épaisse de 2 millim. et pèse 270 grammes.

Le fond de cette croix n'a pas été rayé, aussi l'écriture, œuvre d'un scribe inhabile, est-elle démesurément longue et semée sur le fond d'une façon très inégale. Si les premières lignes sont droites, les dernières sont tellement anguleuses qu'elles ressemblent à un chevron brisé. La moitié de la croix est couverte d'écriture qui, bien que mal tracée, se laisse lire assez aisément, grâce à l'excellente qualité du plomb. Elle contient la formule d'absolution qui suit : "Dominus Jehesus Christus, qui dixit discipulis suis, quodcunque ligaueritis super terram erit ligatum et in celis, et quodcunque solueritis super terram erit solutum et in celo, de quorum numero, licet indignos, nos esse uoluit, ipse te absoluat per ministerium nostrum ab omnibus peccatis tuis, quæcunque locutione, cogitatione negligenter egesti ipse te absoluat."

Le lecteur reconnaîtra ici une variante de la formule habituelle. Jusqu'aux trois quarts le libellé de la prière est le même, la fin seule a été tronquée par un scribe pressé d'arriver au terme par le plus court chemin. Cette abréviation insolite nous prive des seuls renseignements personnels que contiennent ces sortes de monuments, le nom et le sexe du défunt.

La cinquième est veritablement la plus originale et la plus remarquable sous tous les rapports. Car ici ce n'est plus seulement une formule d'absolution ou d'oraison quelconque. C'est aussi une formule de confession à laquelle vient s'ajouter une prière absolutoire.

^a Archæologia, vol. XXXVI. p. 271. Sépult. Gaul. Rom. Franq. et Norm. p. 327.

Decrivons d'abord cette croix trouvée le 18 Avril sur la poitrine d'un mort. Elle est petite, mais d'une forme gracieuse. Longue de 10° sur 8 de large, elle est épaisse de 2 millim. et pèse 125 grammes.

L'écriture fine, distinguée comme celle d'une charte, est tracée d'une façon très droite sur un fond qui n'a pas été rayé. Ici le scribe était évidemment habile et expérimenté. L'écriture ne recouvre que deux branches de la croix, celle du haut et celle du bas, et encore elle ne les recouvre pas complètement.

Comme nous l'avons déjà dit, cette croix contient un confiteor, dont voici la formule parfaitement déchiffrée par M. Leopold Delisle.

"Confiteor deo et omnibus sanctis ejus et tibi pater, quia peccaui nimis in legem dei, quecumque feci, cogitando, loquendo, operando, in pollutione, in meditatione, in opere, in consensu et in omnibus uitiis meis malis, ideo precor, pater, ut ores pro me ad dominum deum nostrum."

Le misereatur qui suit le confiteor ne s'est pas laissé lire aussi complètement; cependant, à l'aide d'anciens documents liturgiques, il nous a été aisé de suppléer ce qui fait défaut à la lecture. Voici donc ce que l'on a pu déchiffrer; les parenthèses indiquent les suppléments: "Misereatur tui omnipotens deus et demittat tibi peccata tua preterita, presentia et futura, liberet (te ab omni malo, conservet) et confir(met in omni opere bono, et ad vitam) perdu(cat æternam.)"

Je ferai remarquer que sur une des croix de 1842 un misereatur à-peu-près pareil à celui-ci s'est rencontré au bas de la croix de Maseline. Il était accompagné d'un absolutionem qui ici fait défaut. On observera à propos de ces variantes dans le confiteor et le misereatur que les formules étaient loin d'être fixées au temps de nos sépultures. D'abord les formules d'alors n'étaient pas les mêmes qu'aujourd'hui, ensuite ces mêmes formules différaient entre elles non seulement selon les pays mais encore dans la même localité.

Maintenant arrivons aux observations générales à toutes nos croix.

a Au mois d'Avril, 1857, j'adressai mes 5 croix de plomb à M. Vallet de Viriville, professeur à l'école des chartes de Paris, afin d'obtenir une bonne version de ces 5 chartes souterraines. Le savant professeur présenta mes croix à la Societé Imperiale des Antiquaires de France, qui les confia à l'examen de M. Léopold Delisle. Ce dernier fit son rapport à la Compagnie le 20 Mai suivant, et conclut, en terminant les lectures que nous avons transcrites, que les 5 croix etaient du 12°. siècle. Cette autorité, confirmée par le suffrage de la Compagnie, est la plus grande que nous puissions chercher.

b Missale secundum usum famosæ ac notatissimæ totius Ducatus Normannie metropolis ecclesiæ Rothomagensis, edit. de 1516. Breviaire de Salisbury, édit. de 1516, folio B. subt. 7, et édit. de 1531. Coll. o. 5, 12. Missel de Salisbury, édit. de 1555.

^o Bullet. de Comité de la Langue, de l'Hist. et des Arts de la France, t. iii. p. 314. Sépult. Gauloises, Rom. Franq. et Normand. p. 305.

Toutes sont en plomb et découpées, à l'aide de ciseaux, à même une feuille de ce métal. Il est evident qu'une main inexercée a souvent présidé à leur confection, car presque toutes présentent des hachures et des entailles, résultat provenant du tâtonnement de l'outil employé à les découper. Toutes ont le type général d'une croix de Malte. Toutefois aucune ne se ressemble complètement, pour la forme comme pour la grandeur, ce qui prouve que ces sortes de croix n'étaient point astreintes à une coupe regulière ni à un type sacramentel, mais que chacun était libre de les tailler à sa fantaisie, en s'astreignant seulement au mode crucifère, qui alors était celui de la croix Grecque.

Cette forme de la croix Grecque, comme nous l'avons déjà dit, était celle des croix de consécration, des croix d'église, et des croix de cimetières de cette époque. Nous la retrouvons également sur toutes les monnaies du moyen âge, sur les vitraux et les peintures de manuscrits. Mais nous ne saurions nous dispenser de la montrer à Bouteilles même, sur une croix de chemin, que le peuple nomme la croix de la moinerie. Ce vieux calvaire encore placé sur la route de Dieppe à Arques, près des ruines du prieuré de Bernesault, est en pierre meulière, et ne saurait être postérieur au 12° siècle. Evidemment la croix de pierre et les croix de plomb sont contemporaines et inspirées à la même source. Toutes les inscriptions sont gravées à l'aide d'un instrument aigu qui dut ressembler au style antique.

Aux preuves déjà données de la persistance du style métallique à travers le moyen âge, je citerai les tablettes enduites de cire (tabulæ cerâ illitæ), sur lesquelles fut écrite la dépense des voyages de Philippe-le-Bel en 1301,° et les plaques de "taules" usitées à Lille en 1323 et 1381 pour "escrire l'assise du vin et la frine des boulangiers."

J'ajouterai encore les témoignages de deux paléographes eminents, MM. Henri Bordier et Léopold Delisle. Le premier, dans un article publié par le Moniteur du 19 Mai, 1837, après avoir rappelé que les anciens se servaient de tablettes de bois ou d'ivoire enduites de cire, ajoute "que cet usage s'est continué pendant tout le cours du moyen âge, et qu'au 18° siècle les comptables employaient encore les tablettes pour leurs écritures." Il affirme de plus, que les Archives de l'Empire possèdent un registre composé de 14 tablettes de bois de platane, qui ne sont rien moins que les comptes de la maison de St. Louis pour les années 1256

^b Bulletin du Comité de la Langue, de l'Hist. et des Arts de la France, t. iii. p. 627.

a Archives des missions scientifiques et litteraires, t. v. p. 407. L'Abbé Lebœuf, Mémoires de l'Acad. des. Inscript. et Belles-lettres, t. xx. pp. 267, 277, 292. Récueil des Hist. de la France, t. iii. Préface.

et 1257. De son côté, la Bibliothèque Impériale possède aussi 55 registres de ce genre provenant de sources diverses, particulièrement du couvent des Carmes de Paris, de l'Abbaye de St. Victor, et de celle de St. Germain des Prés.*

Enfin M. Delisle m'écrivait le 21 Mai, 1857, à propos de mes croix de Bouteilles: "Vous avez raison de penser que l'on employait encore le style au 12° siècle. L'usage d'écrire sur des tablettes a persisté pendant tout le moyen âge, et vous savez qu'il se retrouve encore de nos jours à la poissonnerie de Rouen. Les inscriptions de vos croix ont aussi pu être tracées avec un instrument que possédaient tous les copistes du 11° et du 12° siècle, le poinçon dont ils se servaient pour régler le parchemin. Au reste, le poinçon et le style ne devaient guère différer l'un de l'autre."

Maintenant il me reste à exposer les differentes circonstances dans lesquelles j'ai reconnu l'usage de la croix sur les morts aux siècles si justement appelés chrétiens.

Dans la vie de St. Ansbert évêque de Rouen (689-95 ou 707) on lit que ceux qui ouvrirent son tombeau "invenerunt in brachiis ejus signum dominicæ crucis similitudinem gerens."

Il est clair que tous les chrétiens de Bouteilles, de Paris, de Périgueux, de Lincoln, de Chichester, et d'Edmund's-Bury voulaient marquer ainsi leur espérance et leur foi en la croix du Rédempteur.

En 1856 on trouva une croix de plomb, qui parait fort ancienne, dans le cimetière de l'église supprimée de St. Martin, de Louviers. Cette croix, qui n'a pas d'inscription, a la forme d'une croix latine, et rappelle assez bien celles d'Edmund's-Bury, où l'on trouve "Crux Christi pellit hostem+Crux Christi triumphat."

Voici maintenant un fait assez curieux dans l'ordre d'idées qui nous occupe. En 1856 M. Alfred Ramé, antiquaire distingué de Rennes, ecrivit au comité historique de Paris, dont il est le correspondant, qu'il venait d'acheter chez un brocanteur de Bretagne un livre d'heures du 15° siècle enrichi de plusieurs miniatures. Ce manuscrit n'était autre que le missel du célèbre Jehan Talbot, l'adversaire de la Pucelle d'Orléans, "1° Comte de Shrewsbury et de Westford, Baron de Talbot, Strange, Blackmer, Furnival, et Vardon, gouverneur d'Anjou et du Maine, Grand-maître d'Angleterre et Maréchal de France, tué en 1439 à la bataille de Castillon à l'âge de 80 ans." Comme ce livre est orné des armes de Marguerite de Beauchamp fille du Comte de Warwick et de celles de Talbot, il s'ensuit qu'il aura été exécuté vers 1418, époque du second mariage de l'illustre guerrier.

Sur ce missel on voit à l'office des morts une miniature représentant la

a Le Moniteur Universel du 19 Mai, 1857, p. 551.

^b Bolland. Acta Sanctorum, Vit. Sancti Ansberti.

déposition d'un défunt dans son cercueil de bois, cérémonie qui a lieu au cimetière même, sur le bord de la fosse. Sur le linceul qui enveloppe le défunt l'artiste a représenté une croix pattée assez semblable à nos croix de Bouteilles. Cette croix, de couleur jaune, parait être en métal doré, en étoffe, ou simplement en peinture, car elle laisse apercevoir la couture du linceul.

Nous sommes loin de dire qu'il s'agit ici d'une croix d'absolution, mais nous pensons que cette image ou représentation peut aider à nous faire comprendre le rôle que nos croix ont joué dans les inhumations du moyen âge.

Aussi M. Alfred Darcel, de Rouen, qui a vu beaucoup de manuscrits, a bien voulu nous dire que "dans les miniatures qui représentent la mise en terre d'un mort on voit celui-ci consu dans son suaire avec une petite croix sur la poitrine, et quelquefois une grande croix allant de la tête aux pieds et de l'une à l'autre épaule. Si la grande croix n'est que peinte sur le drap du linceul ou rapportée en étoffe d'une autre couleur, la petite peut être la représentation des croix d'absolution trouvées dans les cimetières du 11° et du 12° siècle." a

A ces documents, tirés de la peinture et des livres, ajoutons ceux que nous donnent les monuments eux-mêmes.

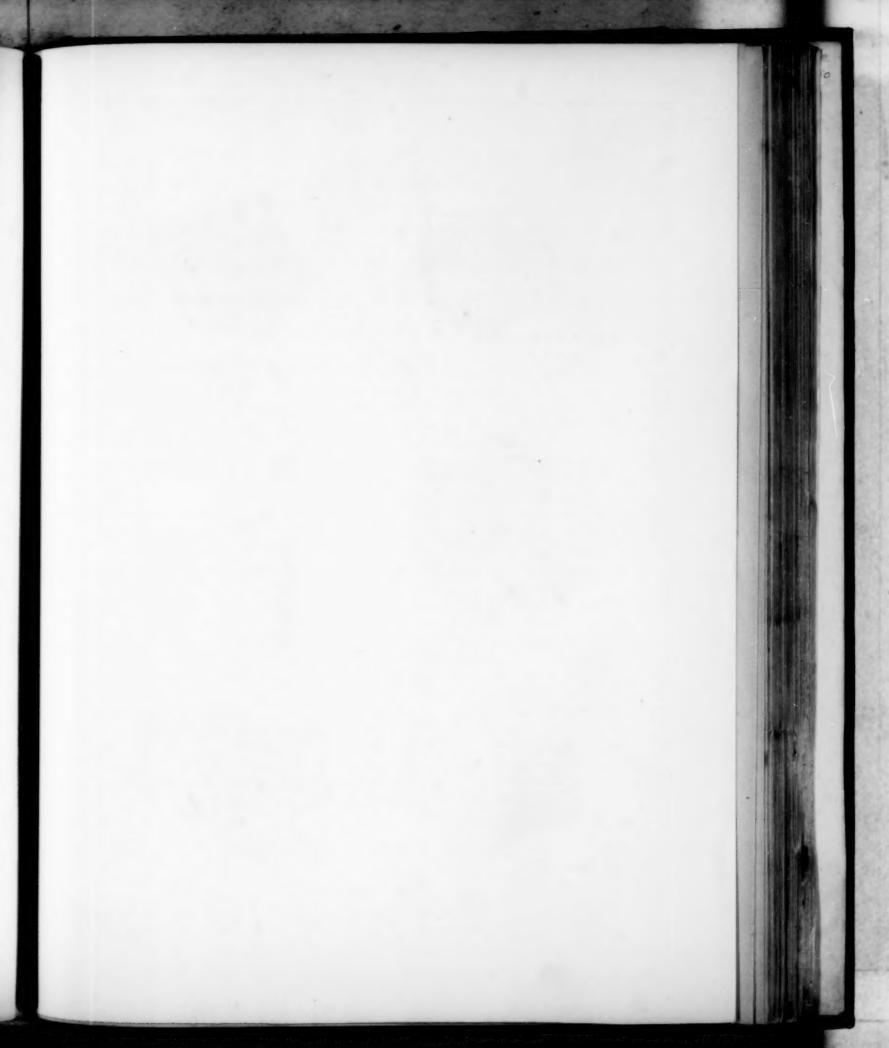
Le 3 Décembre, 1850, ou a trouvé dans la cathédrale d'Angers, tout près du maitre-autel, le cercueil de plomb de Marie de Bretagne epouse de Louis, 1^{er} duc d'Anjou, et grand'mère du roi René, décedée en 1404. Ce cercueil étant ouvert, on aperçut "une croix dont le pédoncule etait en bois et la traverse en cuir. Elle reposait sur la poitrine et s'élevait jusqu'au milieu du visage. Cette croix, longue de 36° sur 20 de large, avait cinq taches rouges, l'une à ses bras, les autres à son sommet, sur son milieu et aux pieds." b

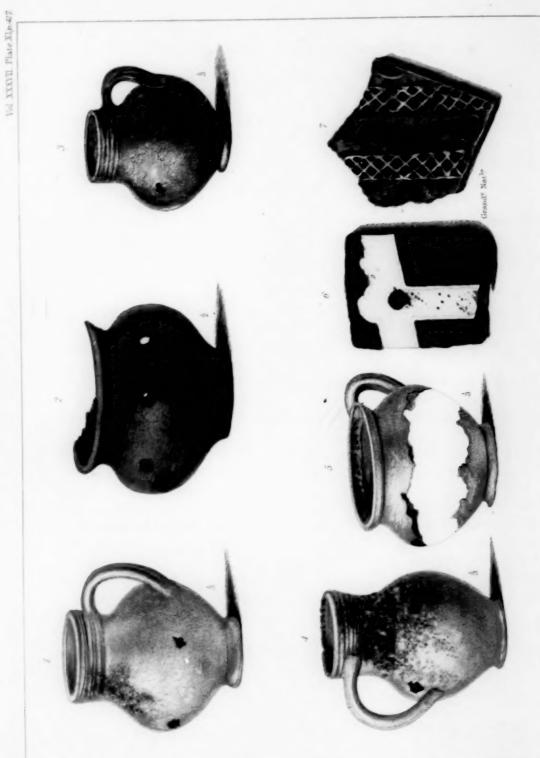
3° Les Vases.—La céramique chrétienne du moyen-âge étant encore peu connue, je me trouve forcé d'entrer dans des détails que je pourrais négliger à une époque plus avancée de la science. Cette même nouveauté de la matière sera cause aussi d'une foule d'hésitations et de tâtonnements dans l'attribution des objets; mais je m'estimerai heureux si, marchant dans une voie nouvelle et àpeu-près inconnue, je ne tombe pas dans des erreurs trop grossières ni trop nombreuses.

J'ai déjà dit que ma dernière fouille m'avait donné un grand nombre de fragments de vases. L'abondance en effet a été telle que je ne porte pas le chiffre

a Journal de Rouen, du 6 Juin, 1857.

b M. Godard-Faultrier, Rapport sur la pierre tumulaire placée dans le chœur de la cathédrale d'Angers en mémoire des ducs et duchesses d'Anjou-Sicile, p. 8—13; et dans les Mém. de la Societé d'Agric. Sciences, et Arts, 2° série, 2° vol.





VASES FUNDABIUS DES XII,XIII & XIV SPCLES TROUVÉS DANS LE CIMETIÈRE CHRÈTIEN DE BOUTELLES PRÈS DIEPPE, EN AVRIL 1867.

des morceaux à moins de 400. Toutefois deux pièces seulement ont été tirées entières du sein de la terre. La patience ensuite a réussi à restituer la forme des autres.

Désirant me rendre compte du nombre approximatif des vases qui m'étaient tombés sous la main, j'ai pris le parti de compter les fonds et j'en ai trouvé au moins un cent; mais il est sûr que le nombre de vases dont il existe des fragments doit dépasser 140.

La reconnaissance des différentes espèces ne me présenta pas moins de difficultés. Toutefois j'ai tenté de m'en rendre compte. Au premier coup d'œil j'ai reconnu environ 20 espèces ou variétés parfaitement appréciables; mais dans toutes ces catégories, si incomplètement représentées, j'ai surtout distingué quatre espèces que je puis appeler entières et que je vais essayer de définir.

La première catégorie, qui ne m'a donné que trois individus, se compose de vases en terre rougeâtre d'une couleur et d'une argile analogues à celles de nos briques modernes. Ce vase (Pl. XI. fig. 2), épais de trois millimètres, est haut de 8° et large de 10 à la panse. Sa capacité présumée est d'environ trois décilitres. Il n'a ni anse, ni pieds, ni bec, ni goulot. Sa forme assez gracieuse est celle d'une petite urne Romaine. Je citerai comme analogue assez frappant pour la forme un vase Romain trouvé à Etretat en 1855.

Notre vase de Bouteilles a été destiné d'avance à contenir du charbon allumé; car la panse est munie d'un rang de trous circulaires percés dans la terre molle et avant toute cuisson. Nous ne saurions assigner d'époque à ce vase, parceque nous ne lui connaissons pas d'analogue; mais nous croyons qu'il n'est pas posterieur au 13° siècle.

La deuxième catégorie, comprenant six individus seulement, se compose de vases noirs dont la terre cendrée a reçu une légère couverte ardoisée au moyen de la mine de plomb. Ces vases sont tournés avec goût et leur pâte est fine et légère. (Pl. XI. fig. 3.) Tous sont munis d'anses, et portent des cous qui représentent le tiers de la hauteur de la pièce. Ce col est recouvert de raies horizontales. En général on peut dire que la forme de ces vases est celle de la 4^{eme} catégorie avec une capacité moindre et un faire de meilleur goût.

La trace du feu n'est pas apparente sur les fragments, mais ils étaient mêlés à des charbons de bois. On ne saurait d'ailleurs douter de leur destination comme cassolettes, car la panse présente cette particularité que primitivement elle fut munie de trous pratiqués dans la terre molle avec un poinçon circulaire, puis au moment du service ces trous ayant été reconnus insuffisans pour l'évaporation, ils furent violemment agrandis avec un outil de fer.

L'époque de ces vases me paraît fort difficile à fixer même approximativement. Si la pâte noire, la couverte ardoisée et le façonnage léger les rapprochent de la période Franque, leur forme, leur forage, et le milieu dans lequel ils se trouvent, les font descendre jusqu'au 13° et au 14° siècle.

La troisieme catégorie, qui compte 10 specimens, est entièrement semblable au vase que nous avons trouvé en 1855, et qui a été reproduit par la Société des Antiquaires de Londres, dans les belles planches de son Archæologia, par M. de Caumont, dans son Bulletin Monumental, et par nous-même dans nos Sépultures Gauloises, Romaines, Franques et Normandes. C'est un genre de vase dont la terre est blanche, fine, et bien choisie, le façonnage léger et la forme gracieuse. Ils possèdent une anse et un col court mais évasé; l'interieur présente un vernis jaunâtre jaspé de vert, mais seulement au fond et sur les bords. (Pl. XI. fig. 5.) Ce vernis que l'on rencontre en Italie au 14° siècle an a dû guère se répandre en France avant le 13°. Cependant M. Brongniart a cru en trouver un exemple dès le 12°, mais ses preuves ne me paraissent pas concluantes. Un vase semblable aux nôtres a été trouvé vers 1852 à Neufchâtel-en-Bray, dans la chapelle de St. Thomas-le-Martyr, dont l'érection remonte à la fin du 12° siècle.

La capacité moyenne de nos 10 vases de 1857 est de cinq décilitres chacun, leur hauteur est de 10°, leur ouverture également de 10°, et leur plus grande circonférence de 38.

Plusieurs échantillons m'ayant présenté un rang de trous forés à la panse après la cuisson, j'ai tout lieu de croire que tous en ont possédé. D'ailleurs, le vase de 1855 était percé de la sorte ainsi que celui de Neufchâtel. Tous les vases de cette catégorie paraissent neufs, et semblent n'avoir jamais servi à usage domestique. C'est à peine si l'on surprendrait sur leurs parois intérieures quelques traces du feu qui y brula le jour des funérailles.

La quatrième espèce de vases était véritablement dominante, et dans des proportions telles qu'elle nous a donné 300 morceaux sur 400. Ces vases sont de ceux qu'on appelle en Normandie pintes, chopines, ou pichets. Leur forme arrondie par

⁸ Archæologia, vol. XXXVI. p. 266, pl. xxi. fig. 6.

^b Bullet. Monumental, t. xxii. p. 358.

Sepult. Gaul. Rom. Franq. et Norm. p. 354 et 371.

⁴ Brongniart et Riocreux, Descript, meth. du Musée Céramique de la manuf. Roy. de porcelaine de Sèvres, p. 139, pl. xxix. fig. 3.

e Brongniart, Traité des Arts Céramiques ou Poteries, t. ii. p. 33.

Sépult. Gaul. Rom. Franq. et Norm. pp. 387, 388. Bullet. Monument. t. xxii. p. 438.

le bas s'allonge ensuite en un collet qui occupe bien le tiers du vase. Généralement ils offrent en moyenne 15° de hauteur, 8 de largeur à l'ouverture, et 12 à la panse. Leur capacité ordinaire est de 8 décilitres. La couleur de la terre et du vernis varie beaucoup. Toutefois, si l'on en trouve en terre rougeâtre et en terre jaune, on peut affirmer que la terre blanche domine. Le vernis plombifère répandu à l'extérieur est tantôt olivâtre et jaspé de vert, tantôt d'un vert foncé, mais le plus souvent d'un vert tendre et clair. Quelques-uns sont lourds et épais, mais le plus grand nombre est fin et léger; ces derniers sont tournés avec assez d'élégance. Le col de quelques-uns est couvert de raies circulaires, tandis que celui des autres est uni. Ces vases qui ont tous une anse, n'ont ni bec ni goulot. (Pl. XI. fig. 1 et 4.)

La plus grande partie de ces vases a contenu du charbon, quelques-uns en étaient encore remplis. Tous présentent à l'intérieur des marques de feu ou de fumée. Presque tous sont percés à la panse d'un rang de trous pratiqués après la cuisson. Il est évident que la raison pour laquelle ils sont ici vient du rôle qu'ils ont joué dans les funérailles des chrétiens.

Mais de quel siècle étaient les chrétiens qui s'en servirent? Ici notre embarras est d'autant plus grand que de pareils vases ne nous ont jamais été signalés ailleurs. Toutefois leur terre, leur forme, et leur vernis nous font penser qu'ils peuvent appartenir au 14° et au 15° siècle. Mais nous doutons qu'ils soient postérieurs à cette époque. Ce qui nous fait pencher pour le 14° siècle, c'est que sur une miniature de cette époque reproduisant l'office des morts, on voit rangés autour du corps des vases allumés, entièrement semblables aux nôtres.

Je m'arrête ici dans mon œuvre de description, et afin de confirmer de plus en plus par des exemples la destination funéraire de nos vases de Bouteilles, je vais citer quelques faits analogues recueillis çà et là sur le sol de la France.

Je ne répéterai point ce que j'ai longuement établi dans ma dissertation Sur la coutume de placer des vases dans la sépulture de l'homme, et spécialement dans les sépultures chrétiennes du 11° au 17° siècle. Seulement j'ajouterai quelques preuves nouvelles qui se sont fait jour depuis la publication de mon Mémoire.

Les grands travaux qui labourent dans tous les sens le sol du vieux Paris, font surgir à chaque instant du sein de cette grande ville, des cimetières et des sépultures chrétiennes toujours accompagnées de vases. Je citerai de ce nombre des vases extraits en 1852 de l'ancien cimetière de St. Magloire. Le sont

^a Bullet. Monument. t. xxii. pp. 329-63, 429-46. Sepult. Gaul. Franq. et Norm. p. 339-96.

^b Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Norm. t. xxii. p. 37.

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des pots à anse d'une terre jaunâtre recouverts de raies rouges verticales et percés sur la panse de cinq trous faits à la pointe. Ces vases, placés dans des cercueils de pierre ou de plâtre, se trouvaient uniformément deux à la tête et un aux pieds. Plusieurs ont été recueillis par M. Arthur Forgeais, de Paris, qui en a donné un au Musée de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. Ces pots contenaient pour la plupart der parcelles de charbon ou des résidus de plantes aromatiques. M. Forgeais a reconnu dans la rue de la Tixeranderie une ancienne fabrique de ces vases rayés avec de la sanguine.

Le 16 Janvier, 1857, dans la rue des Ecoles, entre la rue du Cloître St. Benoit et la rue St. Jacques, des ouvriers ont rencontré au fond de cercueils de pierre des vases en terre jaune, percés de trous et sillonnés de raies rouges. Ces lignes sont disposées par faisceaux de cinq, selon l'usage, dit M. Dusommerard, le zélé conservateur de Cluny, qui a recueilli ces vases dans son musée. Le même archéologue, dont le nom appartient aux illustrations de la science, a bien voulu nous dire qu'à chaque moment on rencontre dans Paris des vases semblables. Lui-même en a recueilli a diverses reprises, notamment dans les fouilles des Halles centrales et du Boulevard de Sébastopol.

Il y a déjà longtemps que de semblables découvertes se font à Paris, car le savant Millin nous apprend, dans son *Magasin encyclopédique*, qu'en 1810 on trouva un vase chrétien en terre cuite dans l'enceinte de l'Archevêché de Paris.⁴

Au mois de Février 1857, on rencontra dans le chœur de St. Serges d'Angers le tombeau de l'Abbé François d'Orignai, décédé en 1483. Dans le caveau, et au côté gauche du cercueil de bois qui contenait le corps, on a trouvé deux vases de terre, dont un entier et l'autre en morceaux. Le vase entier était foré et contenait des restes de charbon. D'après le dessin qu'en a donné M. Godard-Faultrier, il ressemblerait assez pour la forme aux vases de Bouteilles que j'ai classés dans la troisième catégorie.

^a M. Charma, Procès-verbaux de la Soc. des Antiq. de Normandie, 3 Novembre, 1854.

b Le Siècle, du 17 Janvier, 1857.

^c Lettres de M. Dusommerard des 14 et 18 Fevrier, 1857.

^d Magasin encyclopédique d'Août, 1810. Lettre adressée par M. Pouyard, prêtre, à M. A. L. Millin sur un vase chrétien en terre cuite trouvé à Paris dans le palais de l'Archevêché, et brochure, en 8°, Paris, 1810.

^e M. Godard-Faultrier, Note sur un tombeau découvert à St Serges, en 8° de 4 pages, avec planche. Extrait de la Revue de l'Anjou et du Maine de 1857. Revue de l'Art Chrétien année 1857, p. 130. Bull. Monum. t. xxiii. p. 76. Journal des Villes et des Campagnes du 2 Mars, 1857.

M. de Caumont, dont le zèle archéologique est aussi grand que la France, et qui chaque année parcourt une partie de l'Europe afin de faire avancer la science à laquelle il a voué sa vie, M. de Caumont, dis-je, raconte dans un de ses excellents rapports verbaux, qu'en 1856, visitant le musée de Niort, il y trouva une montre vitrée contenant des vases et autres objets recueillis dans des tombeaux chrétiens. "La collection des vases à charbon, ou à eau bénite, trouvés dans les tombes des différents siècles, est vraiment très riche et très variée de forme, et je pourrai," dit-il, "en faire dessiner une partie, car il y a des types qu'on ne trouve pas dans le nord. Quelques-uns de ces vases entre autres sont couvert d'aspérités comme de grosses pommes de pin; plusieurs sont entièrement recouverts d'un léger vernis de plomb."

Les rédacteurs du Catalogue du musée de Nantes, MM. Guéraud et Parenteau, indiquent dans cette collection bretonne la présence de grands vases "percés renfermant du charbon, et de plus petits destinés à contenir de l'eau bénite." Ces pièces ont été trouvées dans les églises de Nantes et des environs.^b

Dans notre Normandie, que je cite toujours de préférence, non seulement parce qu'elle est ma patrie, mais encore parceque ce pays, qui fut toujours grand dans le monde, possède des vestiges de toutes les civilisations, les vases funéraires des chrétiens se sont montrés, plustôt ou ont été mieux étudiés qu'ailleurs.

La métropole de Normandie nous a donné aussi son contingent de preuves. "En 1828," dit M. Delaquerrière, "lorsque l'on fouillait devant la porte latérale sud du grand portail de la cathédrale de Rouen, on trouva un certain nombre de petits pots de terre fort commune contenant encore des charbons; ils étaient percés de plusieurs trous, à l'effet d'accélérer la combustion." •

Mais la meilleure découverte faite depuis un an est celle qui a eu lieu au Hâvre, section de Leure, le 18 Novembre, 1856; en démolissant la vieille église de St. Nicolas, afin de la faire sortir de ses ruines, on a trouvé sous la pierre tombale de Pierre Bérenguier, mort vers la fin du 13° siècle (1270-90), six vases de terre remplis de charbons et rangés autour de la tête du défunt.⁴ Ces vases, dont quelques fragments seulement nous ont été communiqués, étaient percés de trous, et encore noircis par le feu ou la fumée. La terre qui les compose est fine et légère, de couleur blanche et de belle qualité; ils n'ont ni anse ni goulot, mais

^a Bul. Mon. t. xxii. pp. 6, 7 et 608.

De Catal. et descrip. des. objets d'Art du Musée Arch. de Nantes, pp. 57-58, en 8°, Nantes, Guéraud, 1856.

[°] E. Delaquerrière, Descript. Hist. des Maisons de Rouen, t. ii. p. 130. Journal de Rouen, du 6 Octobre, 1828.

^d Bullet, Monum. t. xxii. p. 660. Revue de l'Art chrétien, année 1857, Nº 1er.

seulement un collet un peu rabattu. Le corps du vase est recouvert de raies creuses et circulaires, et le fond en est bombé. Des vases pareils ont été trouvés abondamment dans le cimetière chrétien de St. Denis-de-Lillebonne. Le vase du Catillon était bombé par le fond comme ceux de Lillebonne et de Leure.

Nous ne terminerons pas ce travail tout archéologique sans ajouter un fait moderne et contemporain, qui malgré son actualité à tout l'intérêt d'une antiquité bien conservée. Le lecteur croirait-il, si nous ne le lui attestions, que la coutume de placer des vases dans la fosse des morts subsiste encore au sein de notre France? C'est pourtant ce que nous sommes en mesure de prouver pièces en main.

Dans mon mémoire Sur la coutume de placer des vases dans la sépulture de l'homme je disais au début: "Cet usage, qui remonte au berceau de l'humanité, a traversé les siècles avec la grande famille humaine, et il y à 200 ans à peine qu'il a quitté le sol de la France. Peut-être même y existe t-il encore caché en quelque endroit obscur, et nous ne serions nullement surpris d'apprendre qu'au fond d'une de nos provinces, au sein d'une paroisse reculée, vit et prospère la contume des vases funèbres, aussi chère aux premiers chrétiens qu'a ceux du moyen-âge."

Cela était écrit à la fin de 1856, et le 7 Mars, 1857, je recevais de M. J. Chevrier, de Châlon-sur-Saône, la lettre suivante :

"Je suis heureux, monsieur, de vous fournir l'occasion de justifier un pressentiment que vous exprimez dans le Bulletin Monumental de 1856, relatif à l'usage des vases funéraires. En effet notre Bresse et notre Morvan continuent encore aujourd'hui l'usage de placer dans le cercueil ou dans la fosse un vase ayant servi au defunt." Puis dans son mémoire sur les fouilles faites à St. Jean-des-Vignes près Châlon en 1855 et en 1856 le même archéologue s'exprime ainsi : "Dans le Morvan et notamment à Anost les paysans continuent encore de nos jours l'usage des vases funéraires ; ils jettent sur le cercueil, au fond de la fosse, une écuelle ou un vase de terre ayant servi ordinairement au défunt, et dans certaine partie de la Bresse on jette dans la fosse le vase à eau bénite qui fut placé aux pieds du défunt avant la cérémonie de l'inhumation." b

Et maintenant qu'on me dise si quelque chose périt sous le soleil! Tout se transforme et se modifie; mais en vérité rien ne meurt, et si l'on regardait bien autour de soi on verrait que le présent n'est que la copie et l'écho du passé, comme l'avenir lui-même n'en sera que la reproduction et l'image.

^a Bullet. Monument. t. xxii. p. 329. Sepult. Gaul. Rom. Franq. et Norm. p. 339.

b Fouilles de St. Jean des Vignes, près Châlon-sur-Saône, en 1855 et 1856, p. 22; et Mém. de la Soc. d'Hist. et d'Archéol. de Châlon-sur-Saône, t. iii.

Conclusion.—Dans notre conviction les hommes dont nous retrouvons ici les corps sont d'anciens sauniers, ou saletants, comme on disait à Dieppe; de vieux paludiers ou maraichins, comme on les appelait à Harfleur et à Leure. En d'autres termes, ces hommes ce sont des propriétaires de salines, des marchands ou fabricants de sel, dont les magasins et les grèves recouvraient jadis les bords de la Dieppe, transformée alors en un lac salé, ou en une rivière à marée. En un mot, ces hommes ce sont des commerçants et des industriels du 12° siècle, époque de la grande prospérité saunière de Bouteilles.

L'ABBÉ COCHET.

Dieppe, le 1er Juin, 1857.

XXVI.—A View of the Ancient Limits of the Forest of Wychwood. By John Yonge Akerman, Secretary S.A.

Read 14th January, 1858.

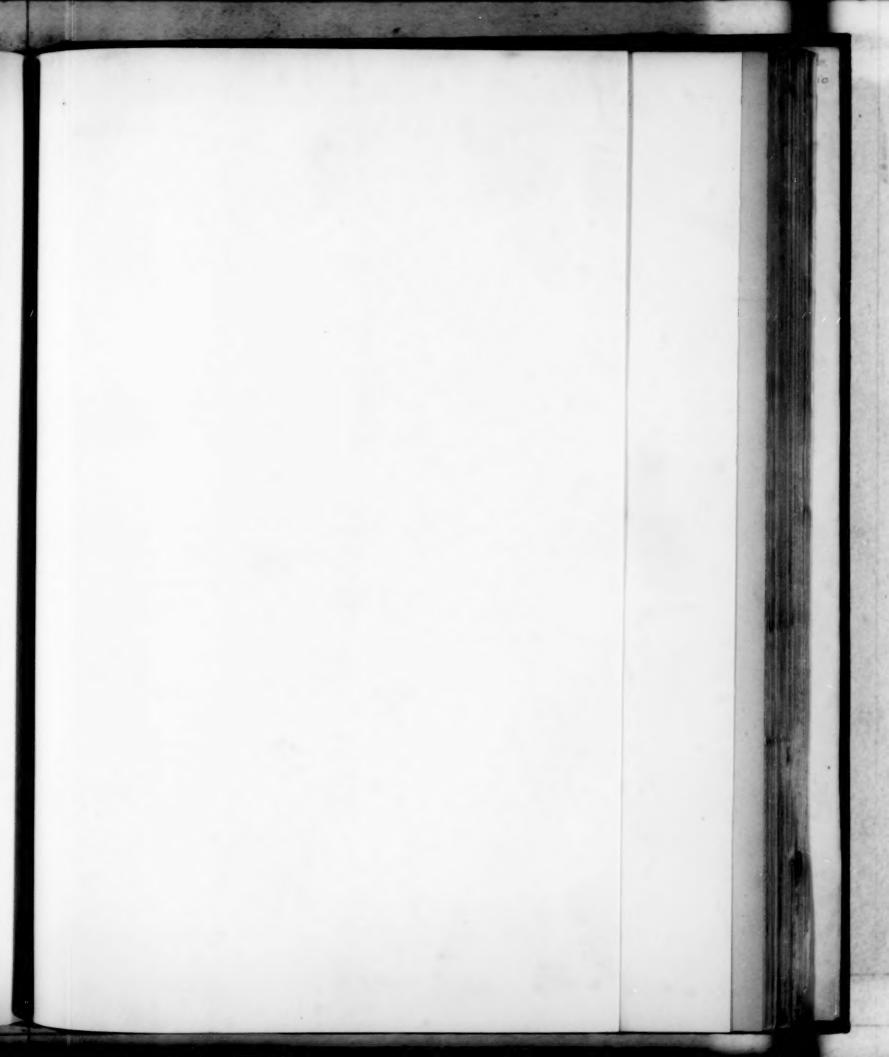
The attention of the Council of the Society of Antiquaries having been directed to the recent Act of Parliament of the disafforesting of the royal forest of Wychwood, it was deemed right that some account of its ancient and recently existing state should be placed on record: I accordingly proceeded in the autumn of the past year to make a personal survey of this well-known yet but little explored district,—a district which in old times extended, north and south, from the woody upland of Charlbury and Ditchley to the green meadows of Witney and Cogges; and east and west, from the stream known as the Glyme, near Woodstock, to the borders of Gloucestershire.

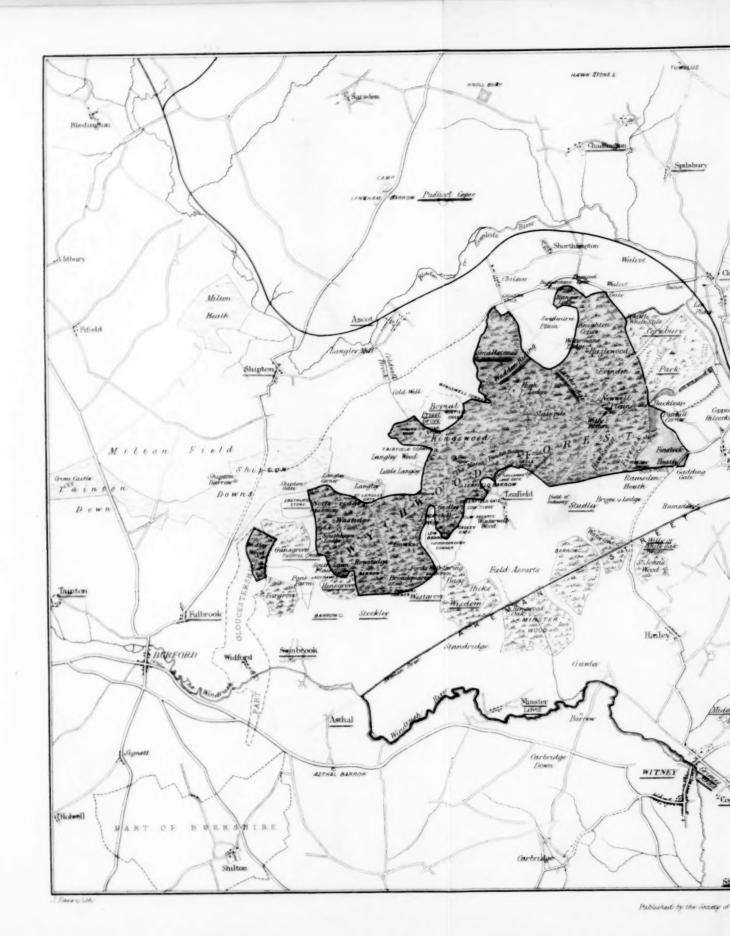
It appears by a Perambulation made in the 28th year of Edward the First b (A.D. 1300), that the bounds of the forest of Wychwood commenced at Bladen Bridge, proceeding by the stream of the Evenlode, then called the Bladen, as far as Eynsham Mill, and thence by a certain sikett called "Caverswell Brook," running due west of the larger stream, to the Long Ford. Thence by the same sikett to the meadow called Cavershill. These localities are not now known by their ancient designations. The boundary then extends between the Frith and the wood called Mousley to the house of one Walter the vintner, in the village of Hanborough. The limits are then said to extend to Blowend, "on the east side of the sheepfold and croft of the Abbot of Osney." Thence, by the middle of Roweleye "to the spring where Leyhambrok begins," and so descending by Leyhambrook to Colnham, and thence "to where Colnham falls into the water of Bladen." Thence by the water of Bladen to Stuntesford. Thence, following the valley of Nettleden, as it extends between Stokley and the field of Stuntesfield, to Gerneleswode; then to Rotherwell, and thence straight between the wood called Erleswode of Bloxham, and the Forsakenho. Thence, following the Mere way of

a 17th Victoria.

b See original in Appendix, No. 1.

º It is called the Bladen in a charter of Æthelred, A.D. 1005—"andlang bróces innon Bladene; andlang Bladene intó Temese."—Cod. Dipl. vol. iii. p. 342.





the same wood, to Dustelsfeld, a locality now known as "Dustfield Farm." Thence, by the middle of Dustelsfeld, to Grimesdich; and thence, between the woods of Bloxham and Spelesbury. Then from Grimesdich, by the corner of the wood of Bloxham, near the wood of Spelesbury, to Dichelehegg; and straight from Dichelege, as the hedge extends between the lands of Henry de Dichelege and Agnes de Bloxham, to the before-named Grimesditch, following the boundaries between the wood of Bloxham and that of Ennestan, called Le Boxe. Then to Felleyeshegg, following the little stream, or sikett, as it extends between the woods of Aymeric de Sancto Amando and Cudinton (Kiddington), in Boxden, to the Frith; thence between the wood of the said Aymeric to Benteleye. Thence straight between the Frith and the wood of Wotton to Paddeleye, and thence straight by the highway to the house of John de Slape in Wodestokeweye (the situation of which is at this day indicated by "Slape's Bridge," and "Slape's Bottom"), and thence straight between the field of Wotton, called Eldefeld, and Gunnildegrove to the wall of Wodestoke Park; then by the wall of the park to the river Glyme, following its course until it meets the Bladen or Evenlode, and terminating at the place first named, viz., Bladen Bridge, above the village of Long Hanborough.

A reference to the map now exhibited (Pl. XII.) will show the district comprised in this the first portion, for there are three portions described in the Perambulation. The river Evenlode or Bladen, as it was then called, as far as the modern paper-mill above Ensham, formed its eastern limit. It then for a short distance was bounded by the small stream running west, and thence extending to the western end of Long Hanborough. The locality now known as "the Thrift," is probably that anciently designated "the Frith." From this point the limits seem difficult of identification, owing probably to their having merged in the princely domain of Blenheim."

Of the great antiquity of our royal forests there can be no doubt. Many of them appear to have existed long previous to the Norman Conquest. That the district here described was a very ancient hunting-ground appears from a writ of quo warranto in the 13th year of Edward the First, calling on Oliver Bishop of Lincoln to show his right to free warren in Hanborough. The bishop

^a Ross tells us that Richard the Third disafforested a large portion of Wychwood around Woodstock which had been annexed by Edward the Fourth.—" Rex tunc a Londiniis removens usque per Oxoniam et usque Wodstoke clamore populi deforestavit magnum circuitum patriæ quem Rex Edwardus quartus frater suus contra conscientiam ad nocumentum patriæ annexerat et forestæ de Whichwood incorporaverat sub lege forestæ." J. Rossi Hist. Reg. Ang. ed. T. Hearne. 8vo. 1745, p. 216.

answered, by his attorney, that he and his predecessors, beyond the memory of man, had enjoyed that privilege."

The bounds of the second portion of the forest are stated to commence at the margin of the Bladen, above Fawler's Bridge; thence by the Stoneway to Finstock, and through the middle of that village to Gatesden Head. Thence "between the New Frith and the Hulwerk" to the Wysok and the Mereway; then to Dockesladehead (now known as Dogslade), to Stodley, and "the east end of the ville called Felde," now known as Leafield, but in the language of this district "Field Town." The line then runs between Hawe and Ewardesfeld, and thence to Loveburyhurn, which extended to the Hulwerk. Thence, following the Mereway to the Elderstub, to Sewkeden, and by Sewkeden to Sewkeford and Losnegrave. Thence to Westgrove and Stokleye, the Mereway, and Hengrove. Then, following the Mereway, to Tudevin, Poreshull and Fretheleston, to Quernhale and Pochwell. Thence to Cutteshach and the Forsakenho, and so to the Crossway at Priestgrove's End. Then to the Launde of Priestgrove, to Boynhale, between the corner of Brestenhale and Boynhale, and so to the lowest head of Brestenhale, and the west end of Hevedwey, to the head of Smallstoneswey. Thence to the west head of Scheteresho, to Waddon and Cokshuteshull, between the wood of the king and that formerly of John the son of Nigel. Then to Rowvershull and Hodleye, and so to Longeruggeyate, between the wood of the king and that of Thomas Golafre, to the upper head of Bykersden. Thence between the wood and field to the New Cross and Lutlewadesyate, by the wood to the pinfold of Cornbury, and so to Nunnechurch and to the water of Bladen.

The third portion of the forest commenced at "Grimeshevedesden," on the south side of the town of Witney. The spot is at this day known as "Grimes Mead." The line ran hence to Wodestokesweye, or the road from Witney to Woodstock, as far as Madlebrok and Madlewell, to the middle of the village of North Leigh; thence by a certain hedge to Lullesley; thence to the Forsakenhok, a locality still indicated in the name of a farmstead called "Shakenoak Farm." Thence to Sigardesthorne, Nethergate, Mirabelescroft, and the house of Walter Alfred, localities no longer identifiable. Then to Sawrode and Sharpesterte, and descending Bischopesden, to Tremaunemere and the Akeman-street. From this well-known road the line extended to Colneyshatch and Sponden, and thence, by the stream of the Windrush, again to Grimeshevedesden, between the town of Witney and the village of Coggs.

^a Placita de Quo Warranto, Oxon. p. 664.

The jurors further state that the manor of Eynesham, with the hamlets, etc., adjoining, and the manor of Norhtleye, the manor of Staunton Harcourt, the manor of Cogges, the hamlet of Wyvelcote (Wilcote), the manor of Ministr' (Minster Lovel), the manor of Asthall, and the hamlet of Swinebrok, with the woods, etc., were afforested after the coronation of the lord the king Henry, greatgrandfather of the present king, so that no profit has been received of the wood since then. Also that the manor of Folebrok, and woods adjoining, was afforested in the like manner; of which woods those of Losnegrove, Purveaunce, Westgrove, and Whitele, are in the king's hands on account of waste, and the other part of the same woods in the hands of the bishop. Also that the manor of Teynton, the manor of Schipton, the wood of the rector of Schipton, the manor of Estcote, the manor of Podelicote, the manor of Certeden, the manor of Chadelington, the manor of Spelesbury, and the wood of the Abbot of Wynchcombe, called "the Boxe," and that part of the hamlet of Clivele on the west of the river Glyme, and the hamlets of Asterle and Over Cudynton, and the wood belonging to the manor of the Abbot of Oseney, at Cudlington (Kidlington), and the wood belonging to the manor of Glymton, and the wood called the Frith in Glymton, were afforested as above to the like injury. Also that the wood called Prestegrove, formerly belonging to the rector of Schipton, was afforested as above, and is now in the king's hands on account of waste done in the time of the king Henry, father of the present king, and the like with regard to the wood of Stokheye, which was James le Blund's of Fauelore.

The latter part of this report affords a vivid picture of the evils existing under the forest laws, and of the absolute power of our early English monarchs over the land of their subjects, and even that of the church itself. But our business at present is with the district included in the bounds describing the third portion of the Forest of Wychwood. On the south-west side, this division is defined by the stream of the Windrush, which separates the town of Witney into two portions, known as the upper and the lower town, the latter being included in the forest. There were formerly annual contests on the night of the 5th of November between the boys of the upper and the lower town, the buildings in which in old maps are shown to be at some distance apart. This seems to be verified by the existence of "Church Green" at the southern extremity of the town, and "Wood Green" at its northern end, the Plega-stow, or Locus Ludorum, of the inhabitants of each district.

In the year 1044 Eadweard the Confessor gave to Bishop Ælfwin thirty mansas in the place called Wittannige. The land limits are thus recited:—

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Ærest andlang öses streámes ou öone mædham öe hýrnö into Scylftúne; and fram Scylftúne andlang stréames öset it cymö tó öám mylewere öe hýrnö into duceling dúne; of ösem wære ofær öone wegean mór into hocslew; öanon on öa niwan díc; of ösére dic on horninga mære of horninga mæra andlang öses gemæres tó hlæwan slæde; of ösem slæde into dufan doppe and swá andlang gemæres into Léofstánes bricge; of Léofestánes bricge into kytelaceras; of kytelaceras innon öa wudestrét; andlang ösere stréte into hafoces hlæwe; of hafoces hlæwe innon wænríc; of wænríc to swondæne; æfter swondæne tó ösere háran apeldran; of ösere apeldran andlang gemæres innan swonlége; of swonleáge úpp tó öám heáfdam; of ösem heáfdan andlang súrode innan huntenan wey; andlang huntenan weye into Wíchám; of Wíchám á be ösere wyrtruman öset hit cymö on sceapa wey; of sceapa weye andlang rihtes gemæres innan æcenes [sic MS.] felda andlang rihtes gemæres on kicgestán; of kicgestáne intó æceres felda; of æcenes [sic MS.] felda ösér öa cnihtas licgað and fram hám ös öa cnihtas licgað on mætseg; andlang metseg intó wénric.^a

Of course the greater portion of the landmarks here enumerated cannot now be identified, but there are some which appear to be yet recognizable, and in this belief they find a place here. Scylfton is not the village near Burford now called Shilton, but the name is still traceable in "Shilton Meadow," below Witney. The boundary then extends to Ducklington, and the New Ditch. This is, probably, the ancient dike called Ems Ditch. Tradition assigns this work to Emma, the mother of Edweard the Confessor, and the date ascribed to it may be correct, although it may not be the new ditch mentioned in the charter of Eadweard; but the connecting of the queen's name with it apparently rests on no better authority than the supposition that Ems is a contraction of Emma's. A far less fanciful etymology may be found in the Ham's Ditch, or drain of the hams or water-meadows, which almost surround the town.

The limits here described are curious from the mention of "Wudestret," the "hunting-way," and "Wicham." The two first appear to refer to localities within the verge of the forest, and, if so, are at once evidence that Wychwood was a Royal hunting-ground prior to the Norman Conquest. No village or homestead is now known in this neighbourhood as Wicham, and, if the foregoing conjectures are admissible, it must be sought for in the spot at this day occupied by what is termed the lower town of Witney.

By an Inquisition taken at Burford in the 17th year of Charles the First,⁴ the bounds of Wychwood Forest were found to be the same as those of the 20th of James the First, beginning at a place commonly called Wittall, in the south corner

a Codex Diplomat. Ævi Saxonici, tom. iv. p. 92.

b "Shilton Ham" appears on the map of Oxfordshire in Gough's Camden, but it is not noticed in the Ordnance Survey.

^c See the curious and valuable Glossary prefixed to the third volume of the Codex Dipl. Ævi Saxonici, v. Ham, pp. xxviii. xxviii.

d See original in Appendix, No. 2.

of a field called Walcot Field, near the wall of Cornbury Park, and proceeding thence by the said wall to a place called Patchill-gate-corner, and so by the said wall to a coppice called Padise Coppice, and so by the hedge and ditch called Padise Hedge to the field called Lurden Field; thence to Eight Acres, Rode-gate, Bene Hedge, otherwise Bennet's Hedge, and Gaddingate. Thence by the King's way to Ramsden Heath, otherwise Hulwerk, leading from the town of Woodstock towards Burford to the lake called Duckpool; and so by the way to the place called Five Oak or the Wyseoke, to Dock Slad, Bynett, or Dock Slad end; and so by the way to the entrance of the village of Field, commonly called Studye or Stodlye. Thence to Little Sarte, to King's Sarte, Grasseclosse, and Hatchinglane Gate; and so by the ditch to Hollow Oak Close as far as Hasill Stile. Thence to Holland Lane, Field Green Gate, Cow Close Corner, to the Hore Stone in Gadley. Thence to Cleysart Corner, and so by the boundary and ditch called Cleysart Hedge to Gadley Gate; and so by the ditch to Watcham Sarte Hedge to Loborow or Loneburie Corner. Thence by the road between the wood of the king and the copse called Loborow or Loneburie to Lillies Cross.c Thence to Fordwell Bottom, or Duckpool Bottom, or Sukedene, by the ancient boundary stones. Then by the way leading to Burford, to Puntus, or Punbas Corner; and so by the way called the Mere way, between the wood of the king and Westgrove Coppice to Rowstidge Corner. Thence by the way called Rowstidge way, between the wood of the king and Rowstidge Coppice, and the wood called Hengrove to the Elder Stump and Ladyham Corner^d in Hengrove. Then to the cross in South Lawn called Tudvin, or Tudhill Cross, and so between the woods called Tainton Woods and the wood of the king, including the house called Burford Launde

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marks this spot.

4 K 2

^a Leafield, or, as it is called in the language of the distict, "Field Town," is a large primitive village in the very heart of the forest. The inhabitants have always been noted for their uncouth dialect, which induced me to pay Leafield several visits. I found, however, after diligent inquiry, that it does not essentially differ, except in tone, from that of the other parts of the county. The old relative pronouns, thick (thilk) and thuck (thulk), so common in the adjoining counties of Gloucester and Berks, and in North Wilts, are not used by the denizens of Field Town. The village had once an ancient church, which has long since been demolished. The base of a stone-cross is still to be seen on the green. The shaft of this structure was a short time ago overthrown by mischievous hands, and it now protects the angle of a smithy from the shock of passing vehicles.

b Assart.

A cross cut on the top of a boundary stone.

A low, flat boundary stone resembling the head-stone of a grave, and inscribed-

Lodge. Thence in a direct line to the stone called Frethelestone, and so far as the gate called Frethelestone Hatch, or Shippen Gate. Thence to the angle commonly called Langley Corner by the wall called Langley Wall, as far as the place called Langley Pound. Thence to Langley Gate, Furfield Corner, to Shakenhoe, or Forsakenhook, or Cutchatch Gate. Thence to Priestgrove's Corner and Priestgrove's End to Ball's Acre, excluding all the bounds and metes last mentioned on the left hand. Thence between the wood of the king called Shakenhoe, and the copse called Priestgrove, to the Hore Stone, and so to Woofield Green, otherwise Priestgrove Lawn, between the wood of the king called Bunstock and another wood of the king called Kingswood, and a wood called Boynall, to Kingswood Stile; and so as far as the place called Braswell, or Brastenhall Point, or Corner; and so between the wood of the king and the field of the village of Ascot as far as Braswell Gate to Smallstone Corner and Smallstone Stile. Thence to Hawkewell Bottom, and so by the hedge and ditch of the field of Chilston to Waddon Green; and so between the wood of the king and Kington Coppice. Thence to Cockshoot Hill, to the angle called Cockshoot Hill Corner; then by the hedge to Nighton Coppice; thence by the way called the Mere way, between the wood of the king and the said coppie called Nighton Coppie to Biggersden Gate, New Cross Gate, or Dampoole Gate, Littlewade's Gate, or Walcot Gate; and so by the hedge and ditch to the place first named, namely Wittall Stile.

The limits here recited agree with those of the time of the disafforestation, and are shown in the portion of the map now exhibited coloured green, the places mentioned in the Perambulation of the 28th Edward the First being marked green.

Having thus traced the ancient and modern limits of the forest of Wychwood, I shall proceed to notice some of the more remarkable remains of antiquity which lie within, or adjacent to, its precincts. I confine my remarks to those of the earlier periods, leaving its mediæval antiquities to more competent hands. Its interesting churches are described in the publications of the Oxford Society for promoting the study of Gothic architecture.

^a This ancient boundary stone (Frithwaldes stan?) is mentioned in the Perambulation of the 28th Edward I. On my search for it I was shown the spot where, until the disafforesting, it had long lain prostrate. It has been lately broken up to make the newly-formed roads in this district! The "Hore stone," near this spot, is cracked in several places, and is doubtless doomed to perish in the same manner. Hundreds of our ancient land-marks have in this way disappeared within the memory of man!

b i. e. the Forsaken oak of the older Perambulation.

And first of the village near Woodstock called Bladen. This, as already shown, was, up to the end of the thirteenth century, the name given to the stream now known as the Evenlode; and the fact that it was also the earliest name by which Malmsbury, as well as the stream by which that town was watered, were designated, seems to furnish strong presumptive evidence that the now obscure village of Bladen was once a British town. The camp called "Round castle," on the hill, a little more than half a mile south-east of the village, may have been connected with it,—a place of refuge in time of danger.

"The Devil's Quoits" at Stanton Harcourt. In a field about half a mile N.W. of the village of Stanton Harcourt are three large stones, set upright in the ground. Their dimensions, proceeding from south to north, are as follows:—

No.	Height.	Width at Base,	Width at Top.	Thickness.
1.	8.6	6.10	5.9	1.9
2.	7.6	4. 6	2.5	1.8
3.	5.4	5. 6	5.0	1.6

There is a tradition in the neighbourhood that the northernmost stone, No. 3, was once removed by an occupier of the land, and laid across a water-course, where it served as a bridge over which waggons and carts for some time passed, and that it was restored to its old locality at the request of one of the Harcourt family. A groove in this stone, eight inches from the top, seven inches in width, and about three inches deep, is believed to have been caused by the wheels of the vehicles when it lay prostrate. The situation of this group is indicated in Speed's map of Oxfordshire, on which six stones are depicted, but they are called the Rollright Stones, and are apparently confounded with the well-known circle bearing that name, situated a short distance north of the town of Chipping Norton.

An examination of the ground on which these remains stand, might probably enable us to form an opinion as to the object of their erection. From the relative position of the stones they appear to have once formed a circle of nearly nine hundred yards diameter. That such was their form appears also from the name of the village (A. S. Stán-Tún, i. e. the Stone Inclosure) near which they stand.

Accounts of the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon antiquities, recently discovered at Stanlake and at Brighthampton, have been read to the Society in the present session.

^a These stones also gave the name to the village of Stanlake, the modern orthography being obviously corrupt. The name is spelt without the d in the Rot. Hundr. temp. Ed. I.

Tumulus near Crawley. About half-way between the high road from Witney to Burford, and the village of Crawley, on the west side of the lane leading into the village, are the remains of what was once a barrow of considerable dimensions. It is one of the class termed by antiquaries Long Barrows. A considerable portion (nearly one-half) was removed some years ago, when several skeletons were laid bare, but no relics of any kind were discovered. On measuring the remaining portion, it was found to be 107 feet long, by 82 feet wide. By permission of Mr. Stratton, the tenant of the land, I employed two labourers here for one day only, with a view to ascertain, if possible, the period at which this tumulus was formed, reserving its more complete examination for some future opportunity.

We commenced by an opening on the east side which had already been recently broken into for the purpose of obtaining stone, on which occasion several skeletons, I was informed, had been discovered lying just below the surface. After clearing a vast number of stones, which had been dislodged by the excavations in question, we discovered, what did not appear from the general aspect of the mound, that the tumulus stood upon a rock, and was, in fact, much shallower than was suspected, being formed almost entirely of stone. The excavations were accordingly continued towards the centre, when three skeletons were found lying east and west, two of them of individuals in the prime of life, and the third apparently that of a woman who had attained a considerable age, the molar teeth being absent, and the alveolar processes being completely closed. These skeletons were lying nearly in contact with each other. They were well protected by some of the largest stones, placed over them with great care, so that the frames of the pelvis were not crushed, the pubic bones being entire. At the waist of one of them was a small bronze buckle, less than an inch in diameter, to which some decayed substance, resembling leather, still adhered. It was probably the fastening of a girdle." Not a vestige of any other relic was observed, nor could I learn that anything had been found previously.

I am disposed to ascribe this and similar barrows to the later Romano-British period. A careful examination of the portion which remains may possibly test the soundness of this conjecture. The interments assimilate to many others which have come under my notice in the south of England.

Astall Barrow. The situation of this tumulus is shown on the map. It is

a This object is now in the Ashmolean Museum.

planted with a thick clump of trees, the roots of which have doubtless by this time destroyed the remains it was designed to protect.*

Shipton Barrow is another large tumulus on the downs above the village of that name. Like that at Astall it is planted with trees.

Leafield Barrow, in the village of Leafield, is likewise planted with trees, which form a conspicuous object for miles around. It bears evident marks of having been assailed by treasure seekers.

There are other barrows within the forest, which, it is to be hoped, may be explored in the course of the next summer by some person accustomed to such researches. That on Lychale Plain has been assailed. The situation of the rest are indicated on the map, with the exception of a large stone-chambered tumulus at Slate Pits. This last, however, was plundered by one of the keepers, a few years since.

The Hoar Stone, near Enstone. This interesting monument, which gives the name to two villages in its neighbourhood, is a ruined cromlech. It stands near the three-mile stone north of the town of Charlbury, and is now protected by a stone fence from further injury. The antiquary will require no proofs of its remote age, of which the designation Hoar Stone is the best voucher. The frequent mention of hoar stones in land-limits prior to the Norman Conquest shows that our Saxon ancestors respected these monuments and adopted them as land-marks; and it favours the supposition that they found these ancient sepulchres already desecrated and ruined on their arrival in this country.

Roman remains have been discovered at Wilcote, at Fawler, and at Ditchley.^o But the most remarkable evidence of the Roman occupation of this district is the Roman villa near North Leigh. An account of this discovery, which was first made in the year 1713, is given by Hearne in the preface to the eighth volume of Leland's Collectanea. The floors are said to have been found covered with

^a This pernicious practice of planting ancient tumuli with trees has destroyed their characteristic appearance in many places in England. The far-famed cromlech known as Wayland Smith's Cave (Archæologia, vol. xxxii. pl. xvii.) has long since been shrouded from view by a belt of firs; and the stone circle called Rollright is filled with a plantation of the same trees, which, as their roots expand, will infallibly dislocate the group.

b Vide Codex Dipl. Ævi Saxon. passim.

^e Mr. William Taylor, of Charlbury, possesses a fragment of a cup of Samian ware, with the Potter's mark TAVRICI, and several coins of the later Roman emperors, dug up at Fawler. At Ditchley, Roman remains are frequently turned up by the plough.

charred wood and corn. In 1780 further discoveries were made on this site, when drawings and plans were taken of the remains by Mr. Lewington, of Woodstock. These have long been preserved among the Society's topographical collections.

The following is Gough's account in his additions to Camden's Britannia:

"At Stunsfield, a small village two miles from Woodstock, was found, in 1713, a large and entire Roman pavement, 35 feet by 20, not above two feet under ground, covered with burnt wood and corn, in part of a field called Chesthill Acre, a rising ground half a furlong from the Ikeneild way. In the middle of one of the compartments was, in a circle, the figure of Apollo or Bacchus, holding a thyrsus in his left, and elevating a flaggon in his right hand, and bestriding a tiger or dragon. The other compartment was square, inclosing an ornamented circle of wreath-work, a border of which went round the whole within another border of lattice-work. It has been since destroyed, except some of the borders under the Apollo, and part of the corners. In 1780 was discovered, adjoining to the middle of one of its longest sides, another room, 19 feet 10 inches by 19 feet 11. At the same time was opened here a room 12½ feet square, and on the opposite side of the larger room, another, 12 feet square. Above this last was an hypocaust of brick, and just at one corner thereof, a bath 6 feet 4 inches by 5 feet 4, 3 feet deep, with leaden pipes in the sides, which were 18 inches thick, covered with plaster painted red. All the rooms except the hypocaust and bath have beautiful pavements of wreathed and other work. Roman coins, from Vespasian to the Lower Empire, were found here, with fragments of earthen vessels, burnt bones of men and animals, melted lead and iron, and various masses of calcined matter. Part of the hypocaust had been seen at the first discovery in 1713."

Many confused accounts, besides that here quoted, have been given of these remains. In the first place they are given to Stuntesfield; but they lie in fact about midway between that town and the village of North Leigh, a short distance from the south bank of the Evenlode. Their being ascribed to Stuntesfield is, probably, owing to a discovery of a Roman pavement at a short distance east of the town, of which no particulars are recorded. On my visit to Stuntesfield I learnt that it had been totally destroyed. A reference to the map will show that the site of the pavements at North Leigh is not accurately described by Gough, who appears to have relied on the descriptions of others.

The very elaborate drawings now exhibited leave us in no doubt as to the identity of the figure on the principal pavement. It is plainly that of Bacchus,

holding the cantharus and the thyrsus, and seated sideways on a panther, not "bestriding" it.

In the years 1813—1816, further researches were made at North Leigh, the result of which will be found in a notice by Mr. Henry Hakewill, inserted in Skelton's Illustrations of the Antiquities of Oxfordshire.

J. Y. AKERMAN.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

Among the Records deposited in the General Record Office, London, to wit, Miscellaneous Roll
No. 113, Memb. 8, it is thus contained:—

Oxoñ.

Rex Omnib; ad quos ac. Sciatis qd cum comunitas Regni nri nobis concesserit quintamdecimã őim bonoz suoz mobilium zc. ut sup" usq. ibi Perambulacio Forestaz Com Oxon fca cora dñis Rogo le Brabazun Rado de Hengham ? Wittmo Inge Justic dñi Regis ad dcam pambulaccem faciend assignat in psencia Forestarios e viridarios forestas pdcars die Dñica in vigilia beati Petri in Cathedra anno regni Regis Edwardi vicesimo octavo p sacrm Johis filij Guidon Fulcon de Rucote Thom de Parco Wiffi de Sharebrok' Henrici de Bruylly Gilberti de Gay Riĉi de Caune Johis de la Hide Hugonis de Barton Stephi de Abendoñ Johis de Haddoñ Robti de Stok' Robti de Romeny junioris Riĉi de Cornewell Radi de Sutton Henr le Espicer de Cheping Norton Walfi Hosel de Lillingeston Robti Neel de Wode Pyrie Nichi Brown Junioris Radi de la Hide Wiffi Bernard Johis de Honyngton de Chadelyngton Ade de Dounhalle t Robti de Astcote: Qui dicût super sacrm suu qd Foresta de Wycchelwode incipit ad ponte qui vocatr Bladenebrugg ad capud ville de Hanebergh e sic descendendo per aquá de Bladeñ usq. ad inclusam stagni molendini quod vocat. Molend de Eynesham includendo Forestam ex parte dext" p omnes bundas r metas subscriptas r excludendo ext" Forestam ex parte sinistra totu residuu. Et sic inde p quendă sikettu qui vocatur Cavereswellebrok usq ad longu vadů. Et inde per eundë sikettů usq ad p"tum quod vocat" Kavereshuff. Et sic inde inter le Frith v boscu qui vocatur Mouslee usq ad domu Walteri le Vineter in pdca villa de Hanebergh ex parte occidentali domus pdce. Et sic a dca domo usq grangiam Robti le Eyr ex parte oriental. Et sic usq. Blowend ex pte orientali bercarie 7 crofti Abbatis de Osneye. Et sic p mediu Roweleye usq fontem ubi Leyhambrok incipit a sic descendendo p Leyhambrok usq ad Colneham. Et sic inde ubi Colneham descendit in aqua de Bladen. Et inde p eande aqua de Bladen usq Stuntesford. Et inde semper sicut vallis de Netleden se extendit int Stokhey : campu de Stuntesfeld usq. Gerneleswode ? sic usq. Rotherewett ? sic inde directe in? boscu qui vocat^r Erleswode de Bloxham t le Forsakenho. Et inde semp p le Merewey ej⁹de bosci usq. Dustlesfeld. Et so p mediù Dustlesfeld usq Grimesdich a sic directe p dem Grimesdich in boscum de Bloxham a bosců de Spelesbury. Et sic de Grimesdiche p corneriú bosci de Blox-

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ham juxta bosců de Spelesbury usq. Dichelehegg v sic directe de Dicheleye sicut haya extendit inter Pram Henr de Dicheleye ? Pram Agnetis de Bloxham usq. pdcm Grimesdich in Dicheleye semper sicut divise extendût in? boscû de Bloxham ? boscû de Ennestan qui vocat' le Boxe. Et sic usq. Felleyeshegg semp sicut siketî extendit int boscû Almarici de Sco Amando a boscû de Cudinton in Boxden usq le Frithe. Et sic int le Frith 7 bosců dči Almar usq Benteleye 7 sic directe in? le Frith 7 bosců de Wotton usq. Poddeleye 7 sic directe p Regia viam sicut extendit usa domă Johis de Slape în Wodestokeweye z sic directe în campă de Wotton qui vocatur Eldefeld ? Gunnildegrove usq, ad murů parci de Wodestok'. Et sie p murů dčí parci usq, ad agam que vocate Glyme. Et sic descendendo p eandem aqua usq agam de Bladene. Et sic p pdcam aqua de Bladene usq pdcm pontem qui vocatur Bladenebrigg. Et sic inde in alia particula Foreste pdce que incipit videlicet ad Ripam de Bladene sup Faueloresbrugg includendo Foresta ex parte dext" p omes bundas e metas subscriptas e excludendo ext" Forestam ex parte sinistra totu residuu. Et sic p le Stoniweye usq Finestok' 7 sic p med ville de Finestok' p eandem viam usq. Gatesdene Heved. Et inde int le Newefrith e le Hulwerk'. Et sic usq. le Wysok'. Et inde usq. le Mereweye. Et sic inde usq. Dockeslade Heved. Et inde usq. Stodleye tusq, capud orientale ville que vocatur Felde. Et sic inde in? Hawe t Ewardesfeld. Et inde usq. Loveburyhurñ que extendit usq. Hulwerk'. Et inde semper p le Merewey usq. le Ellervestobbe. Et inde usg Sewkeden. Et sic p Sewkedene usg Sewkeford. Et sic usg Losnegrave. Et inde usq. Westgrove. Et inde usq. Stokleye. Et inde usq. Mereweye. Et sic inde usq, Hemegrove. Et inde semper p le Mereweye usq, Tudevin. Et inde usq, Poreshuff. Et inde usq. Frethelston. Et inde usq. Quernhale. Et inde usq. Pochwele. Et inde usq. Cutteshacch. Et inde usq le Forsakenho. Et sie usq le Croswey ad capud de Prestesgrovesende. Et sic usq la Launde de Prestesgrove. Et inde usq Boynhale int corneriu de Brestenhale 7 Boynhale. Et sic ad capud infimu de Brestenhale 7 ad capud occidentale del Hevedweye usq. capud de Smalstoneswey. Et inde ad capud occidentale de Scheresho. Et inde usq. Waddon. Et inde usq. Cokschuteshuff in boscu dni Regis + boscu quondam dni Johis filij Nigelli. Et se usq. Rouwereshuft. Et inde usq. Hodleye. Et sie usq. Longeruggeyate int bosců dřii Regis v bosců Thome Golafre. Et inde usa Asperlevehurň. Et inde semper p le Merweye int boscum dñi Regis a boscum Thome Golafre. Et sic usq. Bykeresdeñ ad capud supius. Et sic semper int boscu 7 campu usq. novā crucē. Et inde usq. Lutleswadesyate. Et sic semper per boscum usq le Puntfold de Cornbury. Et sic usq Nunnechirche. Et inde usq ad pdcam aqua que vocatur Bladene. Et sic inde in alia particula Foreste pdce que vocatur Wytteneye que incipit videlicet apud Grimeshevedesden. Et sic inde usq, ad domu Wiffi le Peskour includendo Forestam ex parte dextra p omes bundas i metas subscriptas i excludendo extra Forestam pdcam ex parte sinistra totu residuu e sic p divisas int tram de Cogges e campu de Wytteneye. Et sic p divisas directe usq ad viam que vocate Wodestokesweye. Et inde usq ad Madlebrok'. Et inde usq, ad fontem de Madlewelle. Et sic p mediù ville de Northleye. Et sie inde p qandam hayam usq. Sullesleye. Et inde usq. le Forsakenhok'. Et inde usq. Sigardesthorñ. Et sic usq. Nethergate. Et inde usq. Mirabelescroft. Et sic usq. ad domu Walteri Alfred. Et inde usq Sawrode. Et sic usq Scharpesterte. Et sic inde descendendo p Bisschopesden usq. Tremaunemere. Et sie usq. Alkemannestrete. Et inde usq. Colneyshacch. Et sic usq. Spondeñ. Et sic usq ad aquă de Wenrysh. Et sic descendendo p eandé aquă usq.

Grimesmede. Et sic inde usq. Wytteneye. Item juratores dicut qd Maneriu de Eynesham cu Hamelettis boscis 7 omb5 aliis adjacentib5 qod est Abbis de Eynesham. Et Maneriu de Norhtleve quod est Abbis de Natele cu menbris a boscis adjacentibs. Et Maneriu de Staunton Harecourt cum menbris ? boscis adjacentib; quod est Johis de Harecourt ? Johis de la Wade. Et Maneriu de Cogges cu menbris e boscis adjacentibs quod dna Isabella de Grev tenet in dote. Et Hamelettum de Wyvelecote cu bosco adjac quod est Robti le Botiller. Et Mañoiu de Ministr cu boscis adjacent quod est Johis Lovel. Et Maner de Asthaft cu menbr : bosc adjac quod est Edmundi filij Riĉi de Cornub. Et Hameleti de Swinebrok' cu bosc adjacent quod tenet Comes Gloucestr noie Custod heredis Aveline de Lega Jacobus de Crawele Cancellarius Saz noïe prebende sue Ecctie Saz ? heres Witti de Hoo quilibet p rata porcois sue fuerut afforestat post coronac dñi H. R. pavi dñi Regis nuc ad tale dampnu videlicet qd nec ipi nec eox antecessores seu pdecessores post tempo podem usq, nuc nich de boscis pdeis capere potuut nisi p liberaccem Forestarios e ad ecade Forest voluntate nec aliud pficuu de eisde boscis recipe sicut prius here 2 facere consueverūt ante tempus coronacois dñi H. Regis pdci absq. attachiamento 7 impedimeto forestarios pacos. Item dicut qu Maner de Folebrok' cu menbris 7 bosc adjač qod est Epi Coventren v Lich fuit afforest ut sup" ad dampnu ut prius. De quibs boscis bosci de Losnegrove Purveaunce Westgrove v Whitele sût in manu dñi Regis nûc pp? vastû fêm in tempore Regis H. pris Reg nuc. Et alia pars dcoz boscoz est in manu pdci epi. Item dicut qu Maner de Teynton cu bosc adjacent quod est Prioris de Derehurst. Et Maner de Schipton cũ menbĩ 7 bosc adjac quod est Com Gloucestr. Et boscus Rectoris Ecctie de Schipton. Et Maner de Astcote quod est Rogi Duylly cu bosc adjac. Et Maner de Podelicote cu menbris : bosc adjac quod est Robti de Hoo. Et Maner de Certeden quod est Thome Golafre cu boscis adjacent. Et Maner de Chadelington quod est in parte dne Isabelle que fuit uxor dni Johis filij Nigelli cû bosc adjac simt cû Man'io Rici Douvytt in eade. Et Maner de Spelesbury cû menbr 7 boscis adjač quod Comitissa Warr tenet in dotē. Et Maner de Cherlebyry cu menbr 7 boscis adjac put bunde * mete supius testant in Incepcoe scde particule Foreste sup dece videlicet ubi fit mentio de Finestok' qod est Abbis de Eynesham. Et boscus Abbis de Wynchecombe qui vocatur le Boxe ptines ad Man'iŭ de Enestan simil cu Hamelett qui vocat. Net Enestan rilla pte Hamletti de Clivele que est ex parte occidentali rivuli qui vocat' Glyme. Et Hamelett de Asterle ? Ove Cudyntoñ cu boscis adjacent qui sut Henr de Willamescote. Et boscus ptines ad Man iŭ Abbis de Oseneve de Cudlington. Et boscus ptinens ad Man iŭ de Glymtoñ qui est Johis de Sco Johe. Et boscus qui vocate le Frith ptines ad Man'iu Magri Thome de Abberbury in Glympton fuerūt afforesī ut sup" ad dampnū ut sup". Item dicūt qā boscus qui vocat' Prestegrove qui quondă fuit Rectoris ecctie de Schipton fuit afforest ut sup ad dampnu ut sup". Et modo est in manu dñi Reg nuc pp? vastu fcm tepe dñi H. Reg pris Regis nuc. Itë dicut qd boscus de Stokheye qui fuit Jacobi le Blund de Fauelore fuit afforest ut s" ad dāpnū ut sup". Et modo est in manu dñi Regis ppt vastū fcm tempore Regis H. pdci. Et dicut pdči Jur omes pdcos boscos esse afforest post coronacoem dni H. Regis pavi dni Reg nuc put intellexerut e intelligut ex relatu antecessos suos e alios phos hoim e p coem fama patrie e p omes villatas pdce Foreste ppinquius adjacentes.

No. 2.

FORESTA DE WHICHWOOD IN COM OXON.8

Inquisico indentar capr apud Burford duodecimo die Octobris anno Regni Dñi nri Caroli Dei grac Anglie Scotie Franc et Hibonie Regis Fidei Defens rc. decimo septimo coram Thoma Comite Berk' Wifto Vicecomite Say 2 Seale Wifto Lenthall ar ploqutore Domus Comm Parliamenti Jacobo Fyennes ar Thoma Penyston milit a baroner Johi Curson mit Roboto Dormer mit Thoma Hourd mit Thoma Coghill mit Francisco Norris mit Bulstrode Whittlock Johe Doyley Antho Hungerford Johe Whistler Henrico Jones Adreano Scroope et Johe Osbaston armigeris Comissionar dei Dni Regis p Leas Patentes ejusdem Dni Regis sub Magno Sigillo suo Anglie sigillař gereñ dař apud Westm tricesimo die Augusti anno Regni dči Dňi Regis decimo septimo sup"dco Comissionar sup"dcis et alijs Comissionar ejusdem Dni Regis direct et huic Inquisiconi annex ad inquirend et inveniend p Inquisiconem phos et legaliù hoïum sup sacrum suum et p sacrum testium pducend et p ocs alios modos legittimos ocs et singulos terminos metas bundas et limites Foreste dči Dñi Regis in Com Oxon pd qui fuer vulgariter cognit fuisse termini mete bunde et limites dict Forest Anno Regni Dñi Jacobi nup Regis Anglie rc. vicesimo juxta tenorem cujusdam actus in psenti Parliament apud Westm in Com Midd modo assemblat edit et pvis intitular An Act for the Haynetie of Forests and of the meets meares limits and boundes of the Forests, et ad oïa alia a singula faciend et pimplend in et circa Inquisiconem pd capiend et retornand ejusdem faciendque juxta tenorem dci Actus faciend fuit faciend et pimplend assignat in psencia Henrici Comitis Danby locu tenen Foreste de Whichewood pd Johis Lacy mit et Johis Fetiplace ar Veredarioz ejusdem Foreste With Lenthall Senescalli Foreste pd Acton Drake ar Rangiatoris dee Foreste Johis Wells Johis Sparrowe Thome Reive Stephi Reive Stephi Brice Jacobi Clarke et Humfrid Smyth Custod dee Foreste et Johis Moore gen With Whiteinge gen Nichi Clarke Riči Harris Witti Lardner sen Thome Marten Edri Rawlins 7 Riči Gyles Regardator Foreste pd et alio3 officio3 Foreste pd execut ejusdem Comissionis assisten et attendend reliquis officiar ejusdem Foreste ad hoc prius pmonitis sed execucioni inde mie assisteñ sive attendeñ p sacrum Wiffi Sheppard ar Johis Denton ar Johis Fitzherbert ar Johis Parsons gen Woodhal Streete gen Johis Greene gener Humfri Wickam ar Edri Taylor ar Thome Chamberlaine ar Georgij Greenwood gen Henrici Cornish gen Thome Turner gen Rici Sawyer geñ Francisci Turner geñ et Johis Godwell juñ geñ pbos et legaliù homiù com pd qui quidem jur jurati et on ati ad inquirend et inveniend qui fuer termini mete bunde et limites Foreste de Whichwood pd qui fuer vulgariter cognit fuisse termini mete bunde et limites ejusdem Foreste Anno Regni dči Dňi Jacobi nup Regis Anglie rc. vicesimo sup dco divsis testibus fide dignis juraï et at evidenc pduci dicunt sup sacrum suum quod termini bunde mete et limites ejusdem Foreste qui fuer vulgariter cognit fuisse termini mete bunde et limites ejusdem Foreste anno vicesimo sup" deo incipiunt apud locum coîter vocat Wittall Stile in australi angulo Anglicè the South Corner campi vocat Wallcott Feild px adjacen muro parci vocat Cornburie Parke

a From the original in the Petty Bag Office.

et sic p murum ejusdem parci usq locum vocař Patchill Gate Corner e sic p murum ibm usq. copiciam vocat Padise Coppice. Et sic p haiam et fossam vocat Padise Hedge usq. campum vocat Lurden Feild et sic p haiam et fossam ejusdem campi usq, ctm vocat Eight Acres 7 sic p haiam et fossam ejusdem cti usq. januam vocaf Rode Gate et sic p haiam 7 fossam cti vocaf Bene Hedge ats Bennetts Hedge usq. januam vocat Gaddinge Gate ats Gatesdene hend excludent offes metas pd ex pte sinistra extra Forestam pd et sic p coem Regiam viam in Ramsden Heath ats Hulwerk duceñ a burgo de Woodstock vsus villam de Burford ad stagnu vocat Duckpoole e sic p viam pd usq locum vocat Five Oake ats le Wyseoke et sic p viam illam ad caput loci vocat Dock Slad Bynett ats Dock Slad End et sic per viam illam usq, ad januam ville de le Feild coïter vocat Studlye ats Stodlye includend metas pd ult menconat ex pte dextra infra Forestam pd et sic p haiam a fossam cti vocat Little Sarte et sic p haiam et fossam cti vocat Kinges Sarte a sic p haiam et fossam c'ii vocat Grasse Closse ? sic usq. januam vocat Hatching Lane Gate ? sic p haiam i fossam chi vocat Hollow Oake Close usq. Hasill Stile i sic usq. finem venelle vocat Holland Lane ? sic usq. januam vocat le Feild Greene Gate ? sic usq. angulum chi vocat Cow Close Corner 1 sic p haiam 1 fossam cti vocat Cow Close Hedge usq. lapidem vocat Hore Stone in loco vocat Gadley ? sic usq. locum vocat Cleysart Corner ? sic p haiam ? fossam vocat Cleysart Hedge usq januam vocat Gadley Gate 7 sic p haiam ? fossam vocat Watcham Sarte Hedge usq. locum vocat Lowborow ats Loueburie Corner excludend metas ult menconat a Foresta pdca ex pte sinistra et sic p viam inter boscum Dñi Regis et copitiam vocat Lowborow ats Loueburie Coppice uso, locum vocař Lillies Crosse z sic p locum vocař Fordwell Bottome ats Duckpoole Bottome ats Sukedene p lapides metas antiquas includent pdcas metas in Forestam pd ex pte dextra et in via inter boscum Dñi Regis et dcam copiciam vocal Lowborow ats Loueburie Coppice usq. Fordwell Poole ats Duckpoole ats Sewkeford et sic p. Regiam viam duceñ vsus villam de Burford pd p locum vocat Puntus ats Pumbas Corner v sic p viam vocat le Meere Way inter boscum Dñi Regis et boscum vocat Westgrove ats Westgrove Coppice usq, locum vocat Rowstidge Corner et sic p viam vocař Rowstidge Way inter boscum Dñi Regis vocař Rowstidge Coppice et boscum vocat Hengrove ats Hemegrove usq. locum vocat Elderne Stumpe v sic inter locum vocat Ladyham et boscum Dñi Regis usq. locum vocat Ladyham Corner in Hengrove ats Hemegrove pd 7 sic p boscum vocat Hengrove Coppice ats Hemegrove Coppice usq. locum vocat Hengrove Coppice Corner 7 sic usq. crucem in South Lawne vocat Tudvin ats Tudhill Crosse 7 sic inter boscos vocař Tainton Woods v boscum Dñi Regis includent domů vocař Burford Launde Lodge infra Forestam på ex pte dextra 7 oïes metas p linea recta usq. lapidem vocai Frethelstone et sic usq. januam vocař Frethelstone Hatch als Shippengate et sic usq. angulum coîter vocař Langley Corner p murum vocař Langley Wall usq. locum vocař Langley Pound + sic usq. januam vocař Little Langley Gate 2 sic usq. angulum vocat Furfield Corner et sic usq. locum vocat Shakenhoe ats Forsakenhook ats Cutchatch Gate et sic p murum ibm usq, locum coîter vocat Priestgrove Corner ats Priestgroves End px adjaceñ loco vocar Balls Acre excludend omnes metas ult menconar ex pte sinistra a Foresta pd et sic in medio vallis inter boscum Dñi Regis vocat Shakenhoo ats Forsakenhoe et copiciam vocat Priest Grove usq lapidem vocat Horestone et sic p locum vocaî Woofeild Greene als Priestgrove Lawne inter boscum Dñi Regis vocaî Bunstock et aliũ boscum Dñi Regis vocat Kinges Wood ? boscum vocat Boynall usq locum coïter vocat Kinges Wood Stile et sic usq. locum vocaï Braswell ats Brastenhall Pointe ats Braswell ats Brastenhall

Corner i sic inter boscum Dñi Regis i campum ville de Ascott uşq, januā vocat Braswell ats Brastenhall Gate i sic usq, angulum vocat Small Stone Corner i sic usq, locum vocat Smallstone Stile i sic usq, locum vocat Hawkewell Bottome i sic p haiam i fossam campi ville de Chilston usq. Waddon Greene i sic inter boscum Dñi Regis i copiciam vocat Kington Coppice unde occidentalis ps inde fuit boscu quondam Dñi Johis filij Nigelli et orientalis ps inde fuit boscu Thome Golafre usq, Cockshoote Hill i sic usq, angulum vocat Cockshoote Hill Corner i sic p haias i fossas copic pd vocat Knighten Coppice excludend a Foresta pdca ex pte sinistra ocs metas ult menconat i sic p viam vocat le Meere Way inter boscum Dñi Regis et pd copiciam vocat Knighton Coppice usq, Biggersden Corner i sic usq, januam vocat Biggersden Gate i sic usq, januam vocat Biggersden Gate i sic usq, januam vocat Little Wades Gate ats Walcott Gate i sic p haiam i fossam campi vocat Walcott Feild Hedge usq, pdcum locum vocat Wittall Stile ubi mete i bunde Foreste pd incipiunt excludend a Foresta pdca ocs metas ult menconat ac includend infra Forestam pd totum ex pte dextra excludend extra Forestam pd totum ex pte sinistra. In cujus rei testimoniu tam pfat Comissionat qm pfat Jur sigilla sua pntib; apposuer die i anno sup dcis.

THOMAS PENYSTON (L.S.) JOHN WHISTLER (L.S.) JOHN OSBASTON (L.S.)
FRA. NORREYS (L.S.) HENRY JONES (L.S.)

WILLIAM SHEPPARD
JOHN DENTON
JOHN FITZHERBERT
THO. CHAMBERLAYNE
HUMPHRY WYCHAM
WOODHOLL STREETE
EDWARD TAYLOR

HENRY CORNISH
GEORGE GREENWOOD
FRAUNCIS TURNER
RICHARD SAYER
JOHN PARSONS
JOHN DODWELL
JOHN GREENE
THO. TURNER.

XXVII.—The Temple of Serapis at Pozzuoli. By SIR EDMUND HEAD, Bart. Communicated to the President through Professor Babbage, F.R.S.

Read 10 Dec. 1857.

There are three questions of an antiquarian character connected with the socalled Temple of Serapis at Pozzuoli, which may be important in discussions relating to the geological phenomena exhibited by that celebrated building. These are:—

1st. Was it a temple of Serapis?

2nd. Its probable age?

3rd. Can any light be thrown upon its history, or on the dates of the various changes of level?

The existence of a temple of Serapis at Pozzuoli is probable in itself. It matters not whether Serapis was a deity originally Egyptian, or whether he was a strange god from Sinope thrust into the place of Osiris by Ptolemy Soter. His worship became the prevailing one at Alexandria, and spread from that commercial city to all the countries with which it was connected. When Pausanias wrote, the deity was established in almost every part of Greece. We find him at Rome in the time of Catullus, and we should certainly look for a temple to him at Puteoli, the regular port for which the fleets of Alexandria steered.

The direct evidence that such a building existed is of several kinds. In the first place, there is the celebrated inscription—the "Lex parieti faciundo"—which speaks expressly of such a temple, and contains in fact the specifications of a contract for some work to be done in the neighbourhood of it. This inscription is on marble;

^{*} See Tacitus, Hist. iv. 82.

b If Hadrian's Letter, quoted by Vopiscus in his life of Saturninus (Historiæ Aug. Scriptores), is to be trusted this worship had contaminated even Christianity and Judaism. Compare Gibbon, c. xxviii. n. 42.

Pausanias's work occupied many years. He flourished in the reign of Hadrian, but his 8th Book was written after A.D. 176. (See Clinton, Fasti Rom., years 125-176.) Cf. Pausanias, i. 18. 4; ii. 4. 6; II. 38. 10; iii. 14. 5. (νεώτατον τοῦτο Σπαρτιάταιε ἰερόν). iii. 25. 10; iv. 32. 6; vii. 21. 13; ix. 24. 1.

d Catullus, x. 26.

e Strabo (xvii. I.) speaking of the exports of Alexandria exceeding the imports, says, γνοίη δ' ἄν τις ἔν τε τῆ 'Αλεξανδρεία καὶ ἐν τῆ Δικαιαρχία γενόμενος ὁρῶν τὰς ὁλκάδας. Compare Seneca, Epist. Ixxvii. Suetonius, Octav. 98. Acts of Apostles, xxviii. 11—14.

it was published by Gruter (207), and is at present in the Museo Borbonico at Naples. Its genuineness has been attacked by Maffei, and has been successfully defended by Cognolato, in his preface to Facciolati, by Marquez, by Guarini, and by Zannoni. I have not seen the defence of Marquez or Guarini, nor that referred to by Orelli as successfully made by Zaciaria. It may be sufficient, however, to say, that both the reasoning and the authorities appear to me to preponderate greatly in favour of the genuine character of this marble. The fact which it establishes, if it be genuine, is simply that in the year of the city 649, (105 B. c.) a temple of Serapis actually existed at Puteoli.

There is next the fact that a statue of Serapis, now in the Museo Borbonico, is said to have been found in the very building of which we are speaking, and that a head, probably of the same deity, has more recently been found in the neighbourhood. This latter relic was exhibited by Sir Charles Lyell, at the Royal Institution, when he delivered his lecture on the Temple of Serapis in March 1856. The statue, however, it appears, was not discovered in the place which the presiding deity of the temple might be supposed to occupy, but was mixed up with a number of antique figures and fragments scattered in various parts of the building. The Canon Iorio conjectured that, after the Temple ceased to be used for worship, it had become a sort of receptacle for statuary lumber of various kinds.

No very conclusive inference could therefore be drawn from these two sculptural objects alone as to the identity of the building with the Temple of Serapis, though they very strongly confirm the fact that such a Temple existed at Puteoli.

The construction of the building itself is the strongest argument in support of its being dedicated to Serapis. In the two books of ecclesiastical history written by Rufinus as a continuation of Eusebius, we have a description of the Temple of Serapis near Alexandria, which may be supposed to have served as a type for edifices, on a smaller scale, dedicated to the same god elsewhere. The passage is as follows: "—" Serapis apud Alexandriam templum auditum quidem omnibus puto: plerisque vero etiam notum: locus est non naturâ, sed manu et constructione per centum aut eo amplius gradus in sublime suspensus, quadratis et

a English Ed. Præf. p. 14.

b L'Antico marmo scritto appartenente alla Colonia di Pozzuoli. Firenze, 1826.

e Orelli, Inscript. Collectio, vol. ii. p. 154, No. 3697.

d The year before Marius's triumph over the Cimbri.

e Rufinus, II. 23. Rufinus visited Alexandria about 371 a.p. The Serapeum was destroyed in 390.

ingentibus spatiis omni ex parte distentus. Cuncta vero quo ad summum pavimentorum evadatur opere forniceo constructa, quæ immensis desuper luminaribus et occultis aditibus invicem in semet distinctis, usum diversis ministeriis et clandestinis officiis exhibebant. Jam vero in superioribus extrema totius ambitûs spatia occupant exedræ et pastophoria, domusque in excelsum porrectæ, in quibus vel æditui, vel hi quos appellabant ἀγνεύοντας, i.e. qui se castificant, commanere soliti erant. Porticus quoque post hæc omnem ambitum quadratis ordinibus distinctæ intrinsecus circumibant. In medio totius spatii ædes erat pretiosis edita columnis et marmoris saxo extrinsecus amplè magnificèque constructa. In hâc simulachrum Serapis ita erat vastum ut dextrâ unum parietem, alterum lævå perstringeret."

Ammianus Marcellinus b speaks of the same edifice as "atriis columnariis amplissimis exornatum," and places it next to the capitol in dignity. In fact it served as a fortress when Olympius retreated to it as the stronghold of paganism, during those tumults which led to the destruction of the Temple itself under Theodosius.

I take the small chambers of the Temple of Pozzuoli, with their entrances, alternately external and internal, to represent the "exedra" or "pastophoria" of Rufinus. According to the Canon Iorio there are traces of bolts on the thresholds of some of the internal ones, but none on those which face outwards. The inside chambers too have been decorated with marble panelling, of which no trace is visible in the others. Some of these chambers may have been used as ordinary bath rooms, whilst a portion of those on the inside may have served as sleeping rooms for votaries who passed the night in the temple, in order to obtain a revelation respecting their own health or that of their friends.⁴

At Pozzuoli a building of some sort occupied the centre of the area. Whether,

4 M

A There is difficulty in ascertaining the precise meaning of these words. Exedra occurs in a passage of Ulpian, Dig. ix. tit. 3. l. 5. "Ex cujus cubiculo vel exedrâ dejectum est." Gothofriedus interprets it "cella, qualis sunt cellæ monachorum." It seems to mean a sitting-room, as opposed to "cubiculum." The kindred word "exhedrium" appears to have the same application in Cicero's Letters (ad Famil. vii. 23). "Pastophorion" may be the apartment of a "pastophorus," or priest who wore the παστόν, the sacred robe, or a chamber veiled with a curtain closing the entrance. These chambers, and the subterranean arrangements connected with them, afforded the means of carrying on such impostures as that practised on Paulina in the emple of Isis. See Josephus, xviii. e. 4. Compare Gibbon, ch. xxviii.

^b xxii. 16.

⁶ See Gibbon, c. xxvii. Sozomen, vii. 15.

⁴ See Strabo, B. xvii. c. i. ωστε τοὺς ἐλλογιμωτάτους ἄνδρας πιστεύειν καὶ ἐγκοιμασθαι αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐαντῶν ἢ ἐτέρων. He afterwards describes the utter abandonment of all restraint on the crowds who flocked from Alexandria to Canopus to this temple of Serapis—ανέδην μετὰ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀκολασίας.

as in Egypt, the image of the god was placed there, or behind the four columns to which the ruin owes its modern celebrity, may be uncertain. The lowness of situation must have deprived our temple of subterranean passages, and the underground arrangements so elaborately provided in the Egyptian model. The possession, however, of a natural hot spring just behind the temple must have made up for many disadvantages. No appendage could be more appropriate for the temple of a god who among his many attributes usurped those of Æsculapius.

This warm spring, however, suggests another curious question with reference to a passage in Pausanias. After mentioning several cases of fresh springs in the sea, and the hot springs in the channel of the Mæander, Pausanias proceeds as follows: "Before Dicæarchia of the Tyrseni (Pozzuoli) there is water boiling up in the sea, and for the sake of it an island made with hands, so that not even this water is wasted, but serves people for warm baths."

May not this spring be the very one now existing behind the Temple of Serapis?

Had the hot spring of Pausanias originally discharged itself into the sea, it does not seem likely that it would have been used at all; but if its virtues had been long known to the inhabitants of Pozzuoli, and a gradual encroachment of the sea, or rather a depression of the land, deprived them of the benefit of the baths to which they had become accustomed, what could be more natural than that a small mound or island should be made by hand in the shallow water, in order that the baths might be again available?

Pausanias does not indeed say that these baths were connected with a temple of Scrapis, but this is immaterial.

On this theory a number of curious questions present themselves.

Which is the pavement of the building existing at the time of Pausanias? What, relatively to the floor as now seen, was the level-of the original building submerged in the sea? Is it represented by the mosaic pavement found five feet below the floor of the temple? If so, it would be important to examine the soil between the two pavements, and to ascertain whether it appears to warrant the supposition that it was a part of a mound constructed artificially.

The intervention of the hand of man in filling up or raising this spot of ground, may complicate most materially the solution of the several changes of level.

a Tacitus, Hist. iv. 84.

Pausanias, viii. 7. 3. Πρό Δικαιαρχίαι δὲ τῆι Τυρσηνῶν ὕδωρ τε ἐν θαλάσση ἐέον, καὶ νῆσοι δι' αὐτό εστι χειροποιήτοι, ὡς μηδὲ τοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ ἀργὸν εἶναι, ἀλλά σφισι λουτρὰ θερμά.

It should be stated that, according to the general notion, mosaic pavements were not in common use at Rome before the time of Sylla—that is, about eighty years before Christ; but it does not follow that a mosaic pavement may not have been added after that date to a building existing before it: so that the mosaic pavement in question may have been part of the Temple of Serapis mentioned in the "Lex Parieti faciundo." Pausanias lived in the time of Hadrian, as has been already stated, and, according to this view, the submergence of the first baths or temple must have taken place between the time of Sylla and that date. We cannot, I presume, suppose that a mosaic pavement would be originally laid under water.

The level below the water of the Mediterranean of the old mosaic pavement must correspond pretty accurately with that of the base of the columns of the submerged "Temple of the Nymphs" in the neighbouring bay. Did this submergence take place at the time of the great eruption of Vesuvius which overwhelmed Pompeii and Herculaneum, A.D. 79?

Statius was born A.D. 61, and was therefore about nineteen at the time of the eruption of 79. As a native of Naples he may be presumed to have been conversant with all the phenomena which then took place. His lines on the subject of the destruction of the cities are very striking.

"Hæc ego Chalcidicis ad te, Marcelle, sonabam
Littoribus, fractas ubi Vesvius egerit iras,
Æmula Trinacriis volvens incendia flammis.
Mira fides! credetne virûm ventura propago,
Cum segetes iterum, et jam hæc deserta virebunt,
Infra urbes, populosque premi? proavitaque toto
Rura abiisse mari? necdum letale minari
Cessat apex——"

The latter part of this passage seems to me to mean "lands tilled by our ancestors (proavita) have disappeared in the body of the sea" (toto mari). The commentator in the Variorum edition (Lugd. Bat. 1671) appears to understand the word "proavita" as referring to the restoration of these districts hereafter "proavita dicit respectu futuræ posteritatis"—which seems to me absurd. How

^a Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxxvi. § 64, "Lithostrota cœptavêre (acceptavêre) jam sub Sulla."

^b See above, note c, p. 441.

^c Baehr, Gesch. der Röm. Lit. 1. 3. 155.

d Sylvæ, iv. § 4, 78.

were posterity to get the lands out of the sea again? Such is not the use of the word when applied to Hector:—

"Pugnantem pro se, proavitaque regna tuentem."

Ovid. Metamorph. xiii. 416.

I infer from the expressions of Statius that considerable tracts of land had been sunk in the sea by some sudden depression of the ground.

May not this have been the time when the Temple of the Nymphs, and the first baths or temple of Serapis, were covered with shallow water? Is it not possible that between this convulsion and the time when Pausanias wrote the inhabitants of Pozzuoli may have made the island in the sea $(\chi^{eipoπoίητον})$, and have erected on it a second temple—the one of which the ruins still puzzle the geologist?

It may be worth while adding, that there exist three fragments of Latin verse, by a certain Regianus (or Regilianus), whose age does not appear to be known. One of these is entitled "de Baiis," another is "de Thermis." The latter contains this line—

"In regnis, Neptune, tuis Vulcanus anhelat."

Considering the proximity of Baiæ to Puteoli, it is not improbable that this last verse may refer to the baths described by Pausanias.

^a Anthol. Lat. Meyer, No 536.

XXVIII.—Specimens of Marks used by the early Manufacturers of Paper, as exhibited in Documents in the Public Archives of England. Communicated by Joseph Hunter, an Assistant-Keeper of the Public Records, and a Vice-President of this Society.

Read February 18, 1858.

The title which has just been read to you will shew that it is not my intention to enter into the inquiry which has been so learnedly conducted by others, into the various substances which have been used for the purposes of writing, and the times when one substance became superseded by another which was found more suitable to the purpose.

I go back no farther than to the time when a material was formed of linen or cotton or of the two intermixed, which is the radical distinction of our modern paper from other substances (such as the papyri, the palm-leaves, the fabric supposed to be formed from fibrous matter found in the mummies of Egypt,) which were in ordinary use in Europe: and even here I do not pretend to investigate the difficult if not unresolvable question in what countries of Europe it was first brought into use, or to what nation we owe the person who first perceived how a material so well adapted to its great purpose could be constructed out of substances so abundant and so easily obtained. These are inquiries which the antiquaries of the continent are so much more favourably situated than we are to conduct, that we may be content to leave to them the researches which are required, and to receive from them the results at which they arrive.

I treat it as a subject purely English, just as I treated the subject not long ago of the manufacture of gunpowder, drawing my proofs from our own documents as far as they will enable me to go, and leaving it to others to shew what the French, the Italian, or the German antiquaries have written on the same theme.

^{*} It is possible that the following early notice of paper-marks, to which my attention has been drawn by a learned member of this Society, may have escaped the observation of those who have devoted themselves to this inquiry in all its departments; nor is it quite certain that it relates to paper manufactured from linen

Nor is it my intention to give any account of the successive changes which have been made in the art; improvements I ought rather to say, for the earlier specimens are something very different from the fine fabrics now in use, or that which was employed by the printers of the earliest age. The paper first seen in England and used for the purpose of writing was exceedingly thick, more approaching to what we call paste-board, yet capable of receiving and retaining in a perfectly legible state whatever was committed to it, even when through exposure to moisture it had undergone a partial decomposition. The successive improvements in the art, I may observe, do not constitute an English question: the paper found in England of any early date being all of foreign manufacture, and when in the reign of Elizabeth a paper-mill was set up at Dartford, it is said to have been by a German.

Mine is a much narrower subject; and even this I do not pretend to exhaust, as I shall not travel beyond the specimens laid upon the table, which have been all taken from originals in the depositaries of the Exchequer. Bagford speaks of a letter from the King of Spain to King Edward the First, which is on what he calls "a species of paper," and is of an earlier date by twenty years than any paper that has fallen under my own notice; and I should not be at all surprised if additions of value may be made to what I here bring before the Society.

This is not the first time that this Society has received a communication on the subject of these marks. In the year 1795, Mr. Denne, a greatly respected name in the regions of archæology and an honoured Fellow of the Society, brought several specimens, and his remarks upon them were thought worthy of being printed in

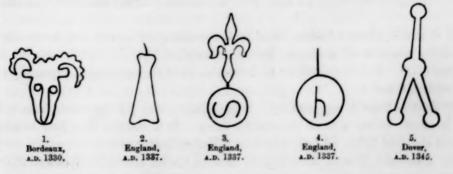
or cotton material. The author is Bartholus, who wrote in the middle of the 14th century, and the treatise of his in which the passage is to be found was entitled by Bisshe, who published it in 1654 in the supplementary matter to his edition of Upton, "Tractatus de Insigniis et Armis." It occurs at p. 10, and we learn from it two important facts, (1) that there was a celebrated manufactory of paper, "chartas de papyro," in the Marches of Ancona; and (2) that the manufacturers were accustomed to use certain marks, to which a value was attached, and that these marks were subjects of conveyance with the places where they were used. The words of the author, writing perhaps about 1360, are these:—"Et hic advertendum, quandoque sunt signa quadam artificii, in quibus principaliter operatur qualitas loci. Exemplum, in Marchia Anchonitana est quoddam nobile castrum, cujus nomen Fabrianum, ubi artificium faciendi chartas de papyro principaliter viget, ibique sunt edificia multa ad hoc, et ex quibusdam artificiis meliores chartæ veniunt, licet etiam ibi faciat multum bonitas operantis, et ut videamus hic quodlibet folium chartæ habet suum signum, per quod significatur cujus edificii est charta. Dic ergo quod isto casu apud illum remanebit signum, apud quem remanebit ædificium ipsum, in quo fit, ut sive jure proprietatis, sive jure conductionis, sive in mala fide remaneat toto tempore, quo realibus."

a The woodcuts in the following pages represent these marks reduced from these drawings to 3-scale, linear.

the Archæologia (vol. XII. p. 114—131): but his specimens, which were taken from papers in an old room at Rochester, were none of them of an earlier date than the year 1473. Those which are found on the paper of the Paston Letters carry us back to about 1440, thirty years earlier: of these there are engravings in Sir John Fenn's publication, and Mr. Denne's specimens are engraved in the Archæologia.

It would appear from the evidence of documents which have fallen under my notice, that there was a period in the history of the manufacture of paper before the use of the marks. For the earliest specimen of paper I have seen, is a MS. account-book of the year 1302, the paper of which has no mark at all; and in the paper books in series from that date to 1330, there are no indications of the use of any such marks. These are all books of account rendered to the English Exchequer by officers employed in the administration of the affairs of Aquitaine, and prepared, according to all probability, at Bordeaux.

Wehrs, a German writer on this subject, had seen no specimen of linen or cotton paper of an earlier date than 1308, and, as the book above spoken of is six years antecedent to that date, it may be not unacceptable if I describe the book to which this early date belongs. It is of 14 leaves, of the half-folio form, 18 inches in height and 54 in breadth. The writing is in a small and clear hand. The title is express as to date—"xx die Januarii anno domini M.ccc. secundo: Exitus Custume posite et taxate ad septem solidos et sex denarios, et est cum Yssaco ad xi. solidos et iii. denarios: Burdegalia." That is, A custom-account of wines at Bordeaux rendered on the 20th of January 1302, including the custom known by the name of Yssacum, a rare word, for which reference may be made to Charpentier's Supplement to Du Cange, where is given a quotation from a document of King Henry V. in which it occurs.



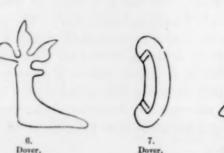
1. It is in 1330 that we first find a manufacturer's symbol. It is a ram's face:

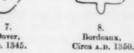
and this figure seems to suggest that wool might be one of the fibres used in the preparation of the paper. It is found on many of the leaves of a book containing the accounts of John Guitard, comptroller of Peter de Gualiciano, Constable of Bordeaux, from the 13th of October 1329 to the feast of St. Michael, 1330.

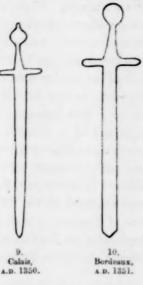
2. The next specimen is from the paper on which is written the account of one of our own countrymen, Henry Burghersh Bishop of Lincoln, of the expenses of an embassy in which he was employed in the year 1337. The figure has some resemblance to a pear.

3 and 4. Both these are on the same sheet, containing the account of John de Woume, who appears to have been in the suite of the bishop, and from his account to have gone to Holland on the King's affairs. One of these is a rather elegant

device: a circle inclosing the letter S lying longitudinally, surmounted by a fleur de lis. The other a circle, containing what appears to be the letter h, and a straight line as if suspended by a thread.

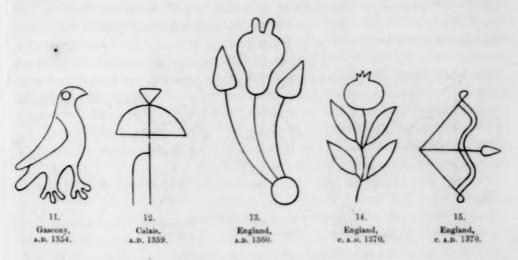






- 5, 6, and 7. These all occur in a book consisting of a very few leaves, which contains accounts of works at Dover executed in 1345, the 19th year of King Edward III. It is very difficult to determine what they represent, especially those numbered 6 and 7.
- 8. In this there is no difficulty. It is plainly a bell. It is taken from a book of Bordeaux accounts much injured by damp. It is without date, but belongs to about the year 1350. A bell occurs on a Paston Letter of 1443.
- A sword. This is from a small book of Calais accounts of about the year 1350.

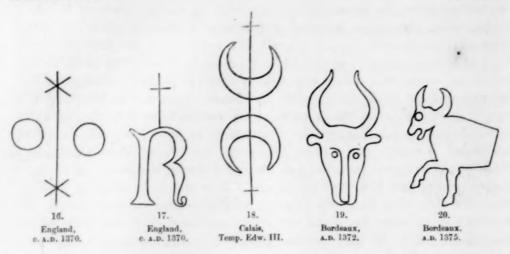
10. A sword of a different form, and may be intended to represent the Curtana. It is found in a book of accounts from Bordeaux, from November 7, 1351, to July 16, 1352.



- 11. Some species of bird, probably a falcon. This is found in a quarto book containing the accounts of Bernard Brocas, comptroller in Gascony, which was delivered into the Exchequer on May the 6th, 28 Edward III., A.D. 1354.
- 12. An arbalist. This is found on a Calais account of 1359; and on an account of Bernard Brocas, comptroller, William de Farley being then constable, of Bordeaux, 1365.
- 13. A plant, perhaps the water-lily. From the paper on which is written the account of W. Piers, one of the King's mariners, of the expenses of a voyage made by him to Normandy and other foreign parts, in A.D. 1360. It may also be found in a Bordeaux account of 1348.
- 14. A sprig with leaves and a fruit or flower, possibly a pomegranate. In the household-book of some English person of distinction who lived near the close of the reign of King Edward III.
 - 15. A drawn bow with the arrow. In the same book.
- 16. In the same book as the last is paper with this mark, a perpendicular line with stars at each extremity between two circles.
- 17. The letter R ensigned by a cross. This is in the same book, and is also found in a large volume of accounts of Mr. Richard Rotour, constable of Bordeaux, in 1379.

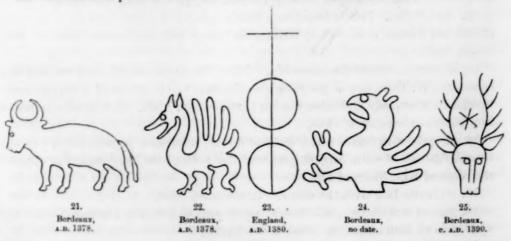
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18. Two crescents through which a perpendicular line passes, terminating at each end in a cross. In a Calais account without date, but probably of the reign of Edward III.



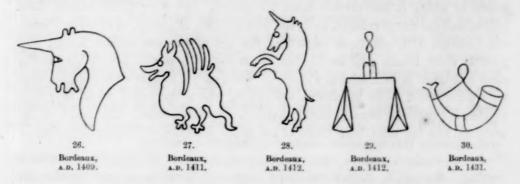
19. A bull's face. In two Bordeaux accounts, 1372 and 1375, when Robert de Wykford was constable.

20. A demi-bull passant. In a custom-book of Bordeaux of 1375.



 A bull passant. In a comptroller's account of the constablery of Bordeaux, 1378.

- 22. A wivern. In the same book.
- 23. Two circles in pale with a line passing through the centre of both and ensigned with a cross. From an account of the issues of divers courts held by the Bailiff of Kay Street in the manor of Middleton in Kent, in 1380. It also occurs in a book of Bordeaux accounts of 1355.
- 24. A demi-griffin. From a book of customs at Bordeaux without date. In the same book occurs the mark last described.
- 25. The face of the stag of St. Hubert. From a book of the customs of wine at Bordeaux, about 1390.



- 26. The head of a unicorn in profile. From a comptroller's account of the customs at Bordeaux, 1409.
 - 27. A wivern. In a book of Bordeaux accounts, 1411.
 - 28. A unicorn saliant. From a customs account of wine at Bordeaux, 1412.
- 29. From the comptroller's account for the same year: a pair of balances. This nearly resembles Fenn's Plate ix. No 16.
 - 30. A bugle-horn. From a Bordeaux custom-book of 1431.

I shall offer only two general remarks on this exhibition.

First, from the great abundance of accounts written on paper coming into England from our Aquitanian possessions, and the small number of documents originating in England in the same early period written on any other material than parchment or vellum, it may be concluded that paper was a substance much more familiarly known in the South of France than in England: whence arises a strong probability that it is to our connection with those provinces, and especially with Bordeaux itself, that we owe the first introduction of this most valuable substance into England. Indeed, paper having the same mark being found in documents

prepared at nearly the same time at Bordeaux and in England, as may be seen in No. 17, seems to shew either that we received our paper from Bordeaux, or that Aquitaine and England were supplied from the same market. Whence we may also infer that we are to trace this most ingenious and admirable invention, through Spain and possibly its Moorish provinces, to the people, not yet ascertained, with whom it originated.

Secondly: in considering the specimens from which these drawings have been made, we are under no uncertainty respecting the date of the existence of the paper. It may have been a few years earlier, but it cannot have been later than the transaction of which it has carried down the record. We thus obtain certain fixed points, and are not perplexed, as in the case of MSS. of poetry, or of other literary compositions, with questions respecting the age of the composition itself: and possibly these marks now established as in use at a certain period may render some assistance in determining the age of manuscripts of greater importance than those from which these specimens are drawn, where the period when they were written is a material element in the inquiries respecting them. The mark of the manufacturer has often been found of use in the detection of literary forgeries.

XXIX. The Burning and Burial of the Dead. By WILLIAM MICHAEL WYLIE, Esq., B.A., F.S.A.

Read March 25, 1858.

" Constituêre pyras ; huc corpora quisque suorum More tulêre patrum."

Virg. Æn. xi. 185.

ARCHEOLOGY, at the present day, is no longer the ill-appreciated amusement of the few. Its study is widely spread, while its importance is generally admitted, even by those whose inclination does not lead them to pursue it as a study.

No branch of archæology appears to excite more general interest than sepulchral research in our own land, or in those foreign lands whose early inhabitants were, so to speak, kinsmen of our forefathers. This widely-diffused interest of our day happily differs altogether from the indiscriminate curiosity of a preceding age. And if science ventures to pass the sacred threshold of the tomb, it is solely because the early domestic history of our race is only to be found recorded in the tablets of the dead.

Cremation, whether from its ancient oriental origin, its general heathen developement, or its mystic associations, is a rite which most thinking men agree in regarding with attention. The fine old essay "Hydriotaphia," in which Browne gave utterance to his reflections on this theme, still enriches our early literature; while, but lately, the same subject has claimed the attention of Grimm and Kemble. It is indeed not a little remarkable that cremation, with its attendant matter, has called forth such beautiful compositions, at different eras, from men of so profound a learning and research. The essay on the "Verbrennen der Leichen," delivered by Dr. Grimm before the Berlin Academy, in 1850, independently of the beauty of the composition, is a noble example of what archæology may become when accompanied by deep research and historical literature.

I trust then it may not be thought presumptuous if, following such predecessors at a distance, I now request permission to venture a few remarks on the

cremation system generally prevalent among the Indo-European nations, with a special inquiry into the evidence of its existence among our own Anglo-Saxon race. The task is confessedly an arduous one, which I could have wished intrusted to abler hands than mine.

Cremation—at least Teutonic cremation—is generally wanting in the interest and information which attends the succeeding rite of burial. Here, the arms of the dead—the ornaments of dress—the objects of domestic life—all come forth from the conservative earth after ages have rolled by. They tell us of the manners and customs of early times, and elucidate many an obscure page of rude, archaic history. Such illustrations give zest to the pages of Sidonius, Gregory of Tours, and Fredegaire. They help us to realize Meroveus and Clovis, and follow with interest the doings of the fierce race which culminated in Charlemagne. So too with our own first literature. Fate indeed has denied us the early annalists she granted to the Franks, yet we can produce the charming myth of Beowulf, dear to every lover of early romance: no one however will deny that some acquaintance with Teutonic monumental antiquities is requisite to a due appreciation and full enjoyment of that singularly beautiful poem. But with cremation all is lost. The pomp and circumstance of time dissolve with the body of the dead amidst the flery glow of the funeral pyre, and little remains to tell of the past. Some occasional coin, some little ornament, the last tribute perchance of woman's affection, may possibly be found among the ashes collected from the flames into the sepulchral urn-but this is all. Hence, sometimes considerable difficulty ensues in a correct attribution of remains of this period, where our sole evidence possibly consists in a few fragments of a cinerary urn.

At what period cremation may have entirely ceased is an obscure question on which very differing opinions are entertained. The gradual progress of Christianity, imperceptibly influencing little by little even its bitterest opponents through the under-current of social life, doubtless brought about the movement. As with all other great national changes, a very long transition-period must have existed, and centuries perhaps intervened between the coming in of the new usage and the complete extinction of the old Cremation and the antagonistic rite must have carried on a slow contention, and the plains of the dead have long received into a joint occupancy the remains both of those who had and those who had not "passed through the fire."

^a Campus autem ipse dudum refertus tam bustualibus facillis, quam cadaveribus.—Sidon. Apoll. epist. xii 1.111.

"Burning of the dead and urn-burial," observes Sir Thomas Browne, "lasted longer, at least in this country, than is commonly supposed." His Brampton urns, possibly Romano-British, may bear any date subsequent to Posthumus and Tetricus, whose coins appeared in them. Coins of Constantine have been met with in Gallo-Roman cinerary urns at Metz, and elsewhere, in France, which gives a yet later date. The Abbé Cochet, and M. de Caumout, the experienced editor of the "Bulletin Monumental," declare no instance of cremation has occurred later than Constantine —that is, that no coins later than those of Constantine have occurred in Gallo-Roman cinerary urns.

Sidonius Apollinaris, in one of his epistles,^b speaks of the fall of a funeral pile, and the disgusting appearance of the half-burned corpse. This is certainly written in a similitude, but his language is vivid—like that of a person who had witnessed cremation—and if so, the rite must have existed in France even in the fifth century. There are other passages also in his works ^e which would lead us to suspect the existence of cremation in his times, but, if such really were the case, it must be attributed to the Goths. Cremation among the Gallo-Romans must have been long extinct. Grimm ^d indeed suggests that such allusions of Sidonius possibly go to prove the lingering heathen practices of the Goths, and that the Arianism they nominally professed may have even sanctioned cremation rites. It is so far certain that, in another epistle, e Sidonius details the defeat of the Goths by Eccidius, and how they burned their dead in the houses fired in their retreat. But any army might so seek to disembarrass themselves, in a disastrous flight, of the slain it was not possible to inter.

From what we know of the spread of Christianity during the fourth century among the Gallo-Romans and our own Romano-British population, we may rest satisfied that both nations were, at least professedly, Christian, and must consequently have forsaken the old rites of cremation. That heathenism still lingered on in a few retired spots, here and there, in both countries we also know, but

Carm. xvi. l. 67.

"Infastiditum fers ipse ad busta cadaver."

Carm. xvi. l. 123.

^a La Normandie Souterraine, pp. 34, 167.

^b Sordidior atque deformior est cadavere rogali quod, facibus admotis, semi-combustum, moxque sidente strue torrium devolutum, reddere pyræ jam fastidiosus pollinetor exhorret.—Epist. xiii. lib. 3.

[&]quot;—infusaque raptim Excussit tumulis solidatas vita favillas."

^d Verbrennen der Leichen, p. 27. Berlin, 1850.

[·] Epist. iii. l. 111.

Roman heathenism also had ceased long before to burn its dead. This is a fact ever to be borne in mind by the archæologist in investigating examples of Teutonic cremation. No doubt the scarcity and expense of fuel in cities, and a few very populous districts, gradually rendered the burning of the dead too onerous an expense in such localities, but this objection would not apply elsewhere. Other causes must be sought for the extinction of cremation. At the present day the poorer classes of Hindoos at Calcutta are debarred from burning their dead, more patrum, by the high price of wood: if wood were plentiful, the burning would go on as before. The Sepoys lately sent to China, on landing, burned the bodies of their comrades who had died on the voyage from India.

So far as our present amount of information extends in this branch of archæology, there would appear but very little to guide us in determining the belief of those whose remains we so frequently encounter in Teutonic graves. From the earliest date of inhumation, down to the historic period termed Carlovingian, we find the same character of interment. Such difference as may be perceptible in the accompanying reliques are most probably attributable to the varying state of art during so long a period. If any clue may be supposed to exist, perhaps the orientation of graves—of course considered in connection with other circumstances-may seem to be the most reasonable. We know the early teaching of the Church on this point. As we may then suppose her ministers would obey and enforce her teaching, there certainly appears a degree of presumptive evidence in favour of the Christian belief of those whose bodies may be found lying with feet pointing to the east. Yet the Alemannic graves of Oberflacht afford a fair instance of the little reliance that can be placed on mere orientation. These graves are in the true orthodox position of east and west, but contain all the accessories that can indicate the most inveterate heathenism-and for undoubted heathen graves they pass in Germany. If Christian ritual was ever read at such interments, it could only have been in the light of a spell, by one of those early hedge-priests who may have driven both trades-" per agrestia loca "-as we gather from the epistles of St. Boniface."

While however Christians prayed turning to the east, and maintained the same orientation in death, it must be remembered the practice of heathen worship was entirely different.

a Durandi Rationale Div. Off. l. vii. c. 35, sec. 39. Debet autem quis sic sepelire, ut capita ad occidentem posito, pedes dirigat ad orientem in quo quasi ipsa positione orat; et innuit quod promptus est ut de occasu festinet ad ortum: de mundo ad seculum.

^b Boniface, epist. lxxi.

In the North was the holy place of Teutonic heathendom, and to the north, accordingly, the Teuton turned while engaged in sacrifice and prayer. In this fact Grimm seeks the explanation of a passage in the old poem of Reinhart Fuchs, where the fox is described praying like a Christian-that is, facing eastward; but the wolf, like a heathen, facing north-"wo der fuchs christlich, der wolf heidnish gebet." Christians hence came to consider the north as the region of ill-omen, and various superstitious usages of the early period attest the prevalence of the idea. If therefore our former proposition be accepted, it is equally reasonable to consider as heathen such remains as we find lying with feet to the North. An incident worthy of attention, as bearing on this subject of orientation, is mentioned by Brian Faussett in the "Inventorium Sepulcrale:" "Almost all the graves opened at Ash, Chartham Downs, Kingston, and Bishopsbourne pointed with their feet to the east. It is also to be observed, that all those few that have materially deviated from this direction were always, and without a single exception, found at the extreme verge or utmost limits of the burying-ground."4 We may therefore possibly be correct in assuming the mass of interments, lying east and west, to have been Christian; and the few outsiders, in a north and south position, to have been heathen. Interments are occasionally found with still varying orientation; but this is rare, and altogether exceptional. Teutonic graves, both here and abroad, will be found to be made due east and west, or north and south, as a rule.

Some consideration of the funeral usages of India itself may, perhaps, be thought to fitly preface this brief inquiry into those of the nations of Europe.

The European languages, ancient or modern, reveal their Eastern origin. If this be conceded, it will probably be thought a fair inference that the all-pervading custom of cremation was also derived from the same source. Such an inference, indeed, rests on the evidence furnished by the history of India, from the earliest period to our own. Other modes of disposing of the frail human form have existed, and still do exist, in the East. We know that certain Indian races bury their dead; while others again expose them on the river's shore, to be carried away by the rising stream or devoured by beasts of prey. But as the funeral pile ever was and still remains to the Indian heathen, throughout all the vicissitudes of time, the one great national mode of resolving matter into its component elements, so we shall find its use generally maintained by the great

^a D. Mythologie, p. 30, ed. 1854.

e Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer, p. 808.

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Durandi Rationale Div. Off. l, iv. c. 24, sec. 21.

^d Inventorium Sepulcrale, p. 39.

Indo-European family of nations during the period of heathenism. Of the voluntary sacrifice of the Indian widow on her husband's funeral pile, and the contests among the women for this honour of self-immolation, Cicero, Propertius, Plutarch, Damascenus, Diodorus, and other ancient writers all make mention.

Ardent victrices et flammæ pectora præbent, Imponuntque suis ora perusta viris.^a

The prevalence of urn-burial among the great Hellenic and Romanic branches is too well known to all present to require further mention here. Our present inquiry will be more particularly directed to the Teutonic branch. Nor need we dwell on the sepulchral usages of the Kelts. In Gaul, in Britain, and indeed wherever the remains of this widely-spread race may be found, urn-burial seems to have been the prevailing rite. Exceptional instances of inhumation have occurred with Keltic remains, as I conceive may have been the case with all the people who adhered to urn-burial.

The recent researches of Mr. Akerman, in a Keltic cemetery at Brighthampton, in Oxfordshire, disclosed a great number of examples of cremation, unmixed with inhumation.

- a Propertius, iv. 12.
- Desar, de Bell. Gall. vi. 19. Pomp. Mela, iii. 2, 3.
- Archæologia, vol. XXXVII.
- d Herodotus, iv. 61.
- * Huc's Journey in Tartary, &c.

- f Herodotus, iv. 62.
- g Ib. iv. 68.

The Thracians, according to Herodotus, practised both modes of sepulture. Pomponius Mela speaks of cremation only, accompanied by full honours at the pile—"arma, opesque ad rogos deferunt." Both historians mention the immolation of the widow—probably on the funeral pyre. Herodotus does not appear to have been aware of the general practice of the widow-sacrifice in India. In far later times Procopius relates precisely the same customs among the Gothic tribe of the Heruli. We find not only that the Heruli practised cremation in the sixth century, but further, that it was the custom of this fierce people to slay all their sick and aged on the pile, and then burn them. Whether death in the usual course of nature would have incapacitated them for the honour of cremation does not appear; but a legendary allusion, in the life of St. Arnulphus, to similar usages among the Thuringians more than a century later, as we shall presently see, would go far to induce such a suspicion.

That cremation was the prevailing funeral rite of the early Germans we have the certain witness of Tacitus. His words cannot be too often repeated, for they are our text-book. "Funerum nulla ambitio. Id solum observatur, ut corpora clarorum virorum certis lignis crementur. Struem rogi nec vestibus, nec odoribus cumulant. Sua cuique arma; quorundam igni et equus adjicitur. Sepulcrum cespes erigit."

That cremation existed among the later races of Southern and Central Germany we find satisfactorily established by the numerous examinations of their sepulchral tumuli which have been made during the last few years. At the same time it is sufficiently evident that inhumation had become the more accustomed rite. By the time most of the German tribes had become established powers in this part of the country, and obtained a place in the pages of certain history, the influence of Christianity, and the example of Roman civilization, must have combined to bring the old custom of burning the dead into desuetude. Hence we find no allusion to it in the statutes of the most early-recorded jurisprudence of these southern German states, which, of itself alone, would indicate the complete extinction of cremation as a national rite. Yet the reminiscence of the past will often long endure in the proverbial idiom of a language, and the German saying—instanced by Grimm—of "reiser zum scheiterhaufen tragen," literally, "to bring sticks to the funeral pile," used in the sense of "rendering any slight aid, or contribution," certainly points to a period when such a phrase must have had a

a Herodotus, v. 5, 8. b ii. 2, 4. c Bell. Goth. ii. 14. d De Mor. Germ. 27.

e Wilhelmi's Reports of the Sinsheim Society, passim. W. Grimm, Uber Deutsche Runen.

primary and positive meaning.* Heathenism, and the purifying flame, must have found a home in the vast forests and mountain-valleys of Germany long after the inhabitants of the towns had adopted a Christian belief. A passage indeed in the life of St. Arnulphus shows this to have been the case among the Thuringians, even so late as the middle of the seventh century. St. Arnulph is said by his prayers to have restored health to a sick man, and saved him from a cruel death. His friends were on the point of killing and conveying him to the funeral pile—"ut languentis, capite amputato, cadaver more gentilium ignibus traderetur."

This legendary incident would induce a suspicion of the existence in Thuringia also of the Herulian custom of immolating the infirm and aged on the pyre. If we could think such bloody rites were very generally practised as a necessary qualification for cremation, we can well understand the anxiety of the Christian Church for its suppression on the mere score of humanity. Rogge indeed asserts that earth-burial was the mode of sepulture granted to such as died a natural death, while cremation was reserved solely for those slain in battle, or otherwise. This would be valuable information if based upon any certain evidence; but unfortunately this important element is altogether wanting.

Of Northern Germany, Mr. Kemble, speaking of mortuary urns, tells us, "Urns of precisely similar form, and with exactly the same peculiarities, have been discovered in Jutland, and parts of Friesland, on the borders of the Elbe, in Westphalia, in Thuringia, in parts of Saxony, in the Dutchies of Bremen and Verden, the County of Hoya, and other districts on the Weser; in short, in many parts of Germany east of the Rhine, west of the Upper Elbe and Saale, and north of the Maine. They have therefore been found in countries which were occupied by the forefathers of the Anglo-Saxons. The latest of these discoveries is that made in the course of last year at Stade-on-the-Elbe, in the kingdom of Hanover."

Of the attachment of the old Saxons to their national rite, we have direct historical evidence. St. Boniface, instancing their purity of morals, tells us that any Saxon female convicted of unchastity was forced to destroy herself, while

^a Another reminiscence exists in an old treatise on cremation—" im brand zen haidengrebern"—which bears the date of 1475, when the traditions of the old rites may not have been quite forgotten. It is cited in Mone's Urgeschichte des Badischen Landes.

b Mabillon's Acta Benedict.

e Über das Gerichtswesen der Germanen, p. 38.

d Burial and Cremation. Archeol. Journal, vol. xii.

her paramour was hanged over the spot where her remains were burnt. At a still later period we find the well-known Capitularies of Charlemagne denouncing the practice of burning, and the old heathen sepulture in general. Mr. Kemble's researches were carried on in Lüneburg and Verden,-" in the country which was, par excellence, inhabited by continental Saxons,"-those very people whose obstinate adherence to the funeral rites of their ancestors Charlemagne found even the penalty of death insufficient to repress. Now, what does Mr. Kemble tell us of this part of Germany? "In Lüneburg and Verden, cremation was universal and exclusive, and, although I believe that Count Münster, Baron von Estorff, and myself, must have opened at least three thousand interments, I can only call to mind two of skeletons, recorded by Estorff. Münster and myself never saw a trace of anything of the kind; nor could I, by the most diligent inquiries, prosecuted for seven months over a great expanse of country, learn that anything similar had been found. Count Münster never hints even having met with unburnt bodies, although his earnest and most accurate researches extend over a period of twenty-five years!" Here an important historical document comes opportunely to elucidate the funeral usages of northern Germany. By a deed of contract, bearing date 1249, between the newly-converted Prussians, and the Knights of the Teutonic Order, the former promise, "quod ipsi et heredes eorum in mortuis comburendis, vel subterrandis, cum equis, sive hominibus, vel cum armis, seu vestibus, vel quibuscunque aliis preciosis rebus, vel etiam in aliis quibuscunque, ritus gentilium de cetero non servabunt, sed mortuos suos juxta morem Christianorum in cemiteriis sepelient et non extra." Here again we have mention of the practices of both cremation and inhumation at the same period among a Teutonic heathen people, and distinct allusion made to the slaughter of slaves and horses at such occasions. This too, be it remembered, was in the middle of the thirteenth century.

The same want of direct historical evidence that we have to regret concerning the rites of the Southern Germans, the Burgundians, and the Lombards, exists

^a Cogunt eam propria manu per laqueum suspensam vitam finire, et super bustum illius incensæ et concrematæ corruptorem ejus suspendunt. Boniface, epist. lxxii.

b Cap. vii. Si quis corpus defuncti hominis secundum ritum paganorum flamma consumi fecerit, et ossa ejus ad cinerem redierit capite punietur.

Cap. xxii. Jubemus ut corpora Christianorum Saxanorum ad cœmiteria ecclesiæ deferantur, et non ad tumulos paganorum.

^c Burial and Cremation.

d Dreger's Cod. Diplom. Pomeraniæ, No. 191, p. 286-294.

also in the case of those of the Franks. Gregory of Tours, and the other early Frank annalists, must have been accurately acquainted with these matters, yet we gain no information whatever from their writings. To be sure they were Christian clergy, to whom the heathen and their polluted rites would be devilish abominations.* It cannot therefore be supposed they would be likely to record the particulars of a nuisance they would fain have had men to forget. Distance as yet had lent no romance to the funeral pile. Yet one little mortuary memento of Frank cremation exists in the fragments of Hunibald. "Salegastus moritur, et combustus urnæ imponitur"-and, if this may be trusted, it will suffice for our purpose. French archæologists of the modern school, among whom our own zealous associate the Abbé Cochet stands pre-eminent, have of late years devoted their attention to the sepulchral remains of their own land. Yet Frankish ossuaries must indeed be rare in France, as I suspect to be the case, or else they have been confounded by discoverers with those of Gauls, or Gallo-Romans which, judging from other facts, is far from improbable—for I know but few examples of their occurrence.

In the Butte de Gargans, a large Merovingian cemetery at Houdan, near Rambouillet, M. Moutié found two interments containing vessels with burnt bones, and heaps of ashes, denoting the burning of the body either in or over the graves. A third example occurred at Envermeu. It is the only instance of cremation M. Cochet has found there among the many hundred interments he has so carefully examined. These bones were contained in a vessel of reddish Merovingian pottery.d We may therefore expect still more satisfactory results from continued research. I should, however, be more disposed to expect Frankish cremation-interments to be found in Belgium and along the Rhine, as being the seats of the Franks before they conquered Gaul. By the time they were fairly established there, they also must have undergone the same change of opinion with regard to funeral rites which we have noticed as having taken place in Southern Germany, and thus earth-burial would probably have mainly superseded cremation, even among that portion of the nation which still adhered to heathenism. On this point it must be observed that when, in the middle of the seventh century, we find St. Wandrille and his disciples of Fontenelle setting forth to evangelise the wild valleys of Neustria; when we find St. Romain attacking the temples of Jupiter, Mercury, Apollo, and Venus, in the very city of

^a Einhard. Vit. Car. M. c. vii. cultui dæmonum dediti, religioni contrarii.

b In Trithermii Oper. Fran. 1601.

^o La Normandie Souterraine, p. 320.

Rouen, we may rest assured of the fallacy of assuming the existence of a Christian faith from the mere extinction of cremation. Thus Iceland was not christianised till about the year 1000; yet mention of earth-burial occurs there long prior to this date. The transition had commenced. In Egil's Saga, mention is made of a tumulus opened to receive a corpse. Egil himself died a heathen, about 980, and was buried with arms and dress. His remains were found in after times. So Thorolf was buried, with arms and dress, in 926; and Skalagrim in 934, with his steed and arms, in his ship.

It is clear enough that urn-burial is purely a rite of heathenism. But I cannot understand by what reasoning we are justified in assuming the converse—that all instances of inhumation during the long transition-period are positive indicia of Christianity.

The ancient Salic laws were originally framed long before Clovis and his subjects had decided on the policy of embracing Christianity, and sundry passages accordingly are redolent of heathenism. One of these bears on our present subject, and certainly sanctions a belief in the general cremation custom of the day. It will be found under the head De Chreodiba, tit. lxxiv., in the Herold edition of the old German laws, and is directed against those who, having committed homicide in the forests or elsewhere, may attempt concealment by destroying the corpse in the flames.^b

Grimm, who in his researches on this subject has displayed the treasures of his vast philological knowledge, attaches considerable importance to the thurnichallis of the old Salic laws, or rather of their ancient gloss. This thurnichallis, or thornechales, seems to have been the thorn-bushes planted on or around the tumuli, as was probably always the custom of Germanic heathenism, thorn-trees being considered sacred to the sepulchres of the dead, and held in peculiar veneration. Grimm instances a remarkable example of the duration of this traditionary feeling at Schonen, in Sweden. Here the tumuli of the cremation period are easily distinguishable, by the very ancient thorns still growing upon them, and which the peasantry regard as sacred, and refuse to cut down. This bit of comparative evidence is further strengthened by the fact, that these Swedish tumuli bear indiscriminately the very significant names of Balhögen—hills of burning, and Tornhögen—thorn-hills; which stand in remarkable relation with this thornechales of the old Franks. Altogether Dr. Grimm, after a close investigation,

a La Normandie Souterraine, p. 409.

b Si quis hominem ingenuum, seu in sylva seu in quolibet loco, occiderit, et ad celandum igne combusserit, &c. Si quis antrussionem, vel fœminam taliter interfecerit, aut celaverit, aut igne cremaverit, &c.

comes to the conclusion that "the Franks, like the rest of the Germans, burned their dead on faggots of thorns, and then planted thorn-trees over the grave." *

The pages of Saxo Grammaticus and the Sagas declare the constant practice of cremation in Scandinavia, down to a very late period. In the Heimskringla (Preface to the Sagas of the Kings), the respective periods of Bruna-öld—or age of burning, and Haugs-öld—or age of burial, are clearly defined; and the former, we are told, endured in Norway and Sweden much later than in Denmark. Not only, too, were the last rites paid by fire, but the bodies of warriors of renown were burned in their ships; and sometimes the body and the vessel were committed to the winds and waves. Thus we read in Beowulf, the body of Scyld was placed in his galley, and left to drift over the deep. "Upon his bosom lay a multitude of treasures, which were to depart afar with him into the possession of the flood. Moreover, they set up for him a golden ensign high over head; they let the deep sea bed him; they gave him to the ocean."

A curious fragment of Nicolaus Damascenus^c renders us aware of the analagous customs of a tribe, apparently of Pontus, at a very early period. Nor did the Scandinavians confine these rites to their own land. As late as the year 879, we find the Norman pirates, foiled in a marauding attack on the Franks, remaining to burn their dead before retiring to their ships.^d

It is most important to bear in mind the vicinity and close intercourse of the Scandinavians with the people to whom the origin of our nation is to be ascribed. Hence, perhaps, the close resemblance in their funeral rites. Scandinavian prose and Anglo-Saxon verse alike tell us of the funeral pyre and sepulchral tumulus; or of the ashes of heroes committed in their ships to the elements, figuring the passage over the dark ocean that encircles a northern Hades.^e It appears then to me a matter of surprise, not that we find occasional instances of Saxon cremation, but that we find so few.

The narrative of Wolfstan, inserted in the Orosius of King Alfred, is a detailed account of the funeral rites of the Esthonians. Here, again, we have the burning of the dead with arms and dress.

a Verbrennen der Leichen, p. 36.

b In Ynglingasaga, cap. xxvii.; also Saxo.

^e Fragment, 117. Κίοι τοὺς ἀποθανόντας κατακαύσαντις, καὶ ὀστολογήσαντις, ἐν ὅλμφ τὰ ὁστᾶ καταπτίσσουσιν, εἰτα ἰνθίντις εἰς πλοῖον, καὶ κόσκινον λαβόντις ἀναπλίουσιν εἰς πίλαγος, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀνεμον εξολιάζουσιν, ἄχρις ἀν πάντα ἰκφυσηθῷ καὶ ἀφανῆ γίνηται.

d Nordmanni cadavera suorum flammis esurentes noctu diffugiunt, et ad classem dirigunt gressum.— Chronicle of Regino, in Pertz's Monumenta, vol. i. p. 591.

^e Deutsche Myth. p. 790.

Another writer, some centuries later, gives a similar account, showing that in 1207 the Esthonians were still in a state of heathenism, and maintained the old rites.* He further mentions a very remarkable incident, which is alone sufficient to show how inveterate was the attachment of this people to their old customs. After a brief nominal conversion to Christianity, they relapsed in 1225. Whereon they took back the wives they had been obliged to give up, exhumed their dead who had been interred in christian cemeteries, and proceeded to burn them, "more paganorum pristino." Thus, also, the neighbouring people of Courland burned their dead at the same period.

So, too, the Lithuanians^d and Livonians^e burnt their dead. Of the former people, Guagnini, who long lived in the country, tells us that the ancient parentalia, when mead and ale were served at the tumuli of relatives, were still observed by the peasantry of some districts. This was about the commencement of the seventeenth century, and corresponds very closely with the rites practised at the festival of Radounitsa, still said to be annually celebrated in some parts of Russia.

St. Boniface relates how the Wendish women were wont to kill themselves on their husband's decease, and so share the funeral pile. Thiesmar, of Merseberg, gives a similar account of the Poles, the only variation being that the death of the women was compulsory. In Bohemia numerous ossuaries in the tumuli examined by archæological research, certify the prevalence of cremation among this Slavonic people.

Various writers state the heathen Russians to have burned their dead up to a late period, and this renders the account given by Herodotus of earth-burial

- ^a Sed Estones propter tantam suorum cladem ad persequendum Letthos venire non præsumebant; sed tristia funera, a Letthis sibi invecta, multis diebus colligentes, et igne cremantes essequias cum lamentationibus, et potationibus, multis, more suo celebrabant.—Gruber, Origines Livoniæ, p. 58.
- b Et receperunt uxores suas tempore Christianitatis suæ demissas, et corpora mortuorum suorum in cœmeteriis sepulta de sepulchris effoderunt et more paganorum pristino cremaverunt.—Id. p. 155.
 - ^c Mortuos suos cremantes fecerunt planctum suum super eos.—Id. p. 68.
- d Corpora mortuorum cum pretiosissima supellectile, qua vivi maxime utebantur, cum equis, armis, et duobus veneratoriis canibus, falconeque cremabant.—Guagnini de Orig. Lithuanorum, in Pistorii script. rer. Polon.
- Glanvil writes of the Livonians in 1350, "Mortuorum cadavera tumulo non tradebant, sed populus, facto rogo maximo, usque ad cineres comburebat."
 - f Epist, lxii.
- ⁸ Böhmens heidnische Opfenplätze, Gräber, und Alterthümer; by Dr. M. Kalina von Jäthenstein. Prag. 1836. Grundzüge der Böhmischen Alterthumskunde; by J. E. Wocel. Prag. 1845. Wilhelmi's Sinsheim Society's Reports, 1848.

among the Scythians the more extraordinary. Ibn Foszlan, an Arabian traveller early in the tenth century, has fortunately recorded some customs of the Russian tribes on the Volga which came under his personal observation. These bear so particularly on our subject, and, being at so late a period, are so interesting, that I may perhaps be excused if I venture on a few details. Ibn Foszlan tells us the dead were laid in a roofed-over grave during some ten days, while the funeral preparations were made. In the case of the poorer class, the dead, at the expiration of this period, were placed in small canoes, and burned. But if the deceased were a man of rank, one of his slaves, generally a woman, seems to have been induced to offer herself as a companion in death. When all was ready, the vessel of the deceased was drawn ashore, and a tent set up on the deck above a couch, spread with rich stuffs and carpets, on which the body of the deceased was laid, clad in costly dress, and propped up by cushions. By it were placed the arms, and every variety of meats and drinks. A dog was then slaughtered and thrown into the vessel, also two horses, two oxen, and two hens.

The girl, after sacrificing another hen, was now plied with intoxicating drinks, and conducted to the tent, while a great noise was set up by beating on shields, to drown the cries of the victim; "lest," says the writer, "other girls should take alarm, and become less inclined to die with their masters." On entering the tent, the poor wretch was seized by an old hag, attendant on these rites, and called the "death-angel." The rest of the tale is very horrible, and only finds a parallel in the late atrocities in India. Six men now entered. The victim was bound down on the couch by the corpse, and, after a series of violation, was stabbed by the hag, and then strangled by the men. The nearest relatives of the deceased then set fire to the pile of wood built up round the vessel, and, when all was consumed, a tumulus was thrown up above the spot. There is an analogy in these details with those of Indian widow-burning.

Leo Diaconus, a Byzantine historian, mentions, A.D. 972, another Slavenie tribe on the Danube, which, after a skirmish, burned their dead, and sacrificed their prisoners, together with sheep and hens. The sacrifice of fowls at heathen graves seems not to have been unusual. Traces of the custom have been met with at Selzen^c on the Rhine and in our own country.^d

^a Published in a German translation by Frühn, at St. Petersburg, in 1823.

h "The Brahmins, together with an old hag that held her under the arm, thrust her on, and made her sit down upon the wood; and, lest she should run away, they tied her legs and hands, and so they burned her alive."—Brennier.

^e Lindenschmit's Todtenlager, bei Selzen.

d Collectanea Antiqua, vol. ii. p. 219.

Much more evidence, and more widely comprehensive, might easily be adduced on the subject of cremation. This brief retrospect however may perhaps suffice for our present purpose. Among the nations of the Indo-European race we have seen, either from direct historical testimony, or from the reflected evidence of comparison, that the Heruli, Franks, Thuringians, Old Saxons, and other German nations, as also the Scandinavians and the Sclaves, were all in the constant habit of burning their dead. Many feelings doubtless would combine to keep alive this preference for the pyre among a heathen people. I cannot indeed but think we may discern the existence of the old oriental traditions in the fact that the religious system of Odin, and the ordinances of his successors, enjoined the rite of cremation as a passport to the joys of a Scandinavian paradise, and a mark of honour to the dead. Then would come the horror of the grave—the shuddering repugnance

"To lie in cold obstruction, and to rot,"

which a hopeless heathen would not unnaturally entertain. Once reduced to ashes, and committed to the sepulchral urn, the body is no longer subject to corruption, or the scorn of foemen. We know, indeed, that the Lombards were wont to exhibit the skulls of the vanquished as drinking-cups at their carousals; and, as other tribes equalled them in savage ferocity, the custom was probably not peculiar to them alone. But be all this as it may, we can have no stronger evidence of the tenacity with which the old rite was maintained than the fact, that Charlemagne's penal severity could not obliterate it among the Saxons; nor Christian teaching among the Esthonian renegades. We have just seen that these latter, on their relapse to heathenism, disinterred their dead-deceased in Christian communion—and bestowed on them the last baptism of fire. There is something very striking in all this, and we are led to suspect a deeper principle was involved than one of mere hereditary habit. Is it then possible to conceive that those particular branches of the Teuton family that united to form our Anglo-Saxon race should have been the sole exceptions to the general rule? Or that if they adhered to the rule in their own original homes, as we know they did adhere, they would at once abjure it on the short voyage across the strip of blue water that separated them from the land of their adoption?

"Cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt."

"And though "—says Sir Thomas Browne, who had a shrewd suspicion of the truth—" and though we are bare in historical particulars of such obsequies in this island, or that the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles burnt their dead, yet came they from parts where 'twas of ancient practice; the Germans using it, from whom

they were descended. And even in Jutland and Sleswick, in Anglia Cimbrica, urns with bones were found not many years before us."*

Let us turn then to our own land, and ascertain, if possible, what evidence our early Saxon tombs can furnish of belonging to the general cremation period. In these brief notes it will not be possible to do more than notice such proofs as seem the most leading and positive—that is to say, discoveries of burnt human bones in urns of decidedly Saxon type, and pottery sometimes associated with objects of direct Saxon origin.

We will commence our examination with the Saxon cemetery found during the repairs of the turnpike road at Cestersover, in Warwickshire, a few years ago. Here a great number of skeletons were found with the usual indicia of Saxon arms, fibulæ, &c., and an urn. "This," Mr. Roach Smith tells us, "was well burnt, had been turned by a lathe, was much ornamented, and contained a mass of ashes. Close to the urn lay an iron sword, and on the mouth of the urn lay a spear-head of iron, distinguished from the rest by having a narrow rim of brass round the socket." The most sceptical will probably, therefore, accept this instance of cremation as Saxon. The rare circumstance of finding the arms by the urn is of peculiar value, for the Saxon dead are most certainly found, as a rule, interred with their arms; and, since arms are so rarely found with examples of urn-burial, some have been led to doubt the Saxon character of such remains. There is, however, little reason to doubt the fact of the deposition of the arms of the dead on the funeral pile, the fervent heat of which would soon reduce them to an undistinguishable mass, probably interred with the embers on the spot. Not to refer again to ancient writers, we can cite the authority of a comparatively recent author on this occasion. The Livonian Reimchronik quotes such a circumstance after a battle gained by the Livonians about the middle of the thirteenth century, towards the close of which this chronicle was written.

in disen dingen wurden brâcht ir liute, die dâ lâgen tôt. sân ir wîsten in gebôt, daz sie die tôten branten Und von hinnen santen mit ir wâpen ungespart; sie solden dort ouch hervart und reise rîten. des geloubtens bî den zîten;

^a Hydriotaphia, chap. ii.

b Collectanea Antiqua, vol. i. p. 41. Pagan Saxondom, p. 35.

der rede volgeten sie mite,
wan ez was der liute site.
âf hôher, zehant sie trâten
ir tôten, die sie hâten,
die brantens mit îr ziuge
(vür wâr ich nicht enliuge):
Spere, schilde, brünje, pfert,
Helme, keyen, und swert,
Branteman durch ir willen,
Dâ mit solden sie stillen
Den tiuvel in jener werlde dort. a
Sôgrôz tôrheit wart nei gehôrt.
Lines 3,868—3,888.

This is tolerable authority that it was the heathen custom to burn arms, &c., with the dead down to a late period, and the authority is the more valuable because it is merely a detail of a common occurrence of the day. We gather too from these words that such an act was not merely performed in honour of the dead, but that it involved an observance connected with their system of deprecatory religious worship.

Great numbers of ossuaries—in fact entire cremation cemeteries unmixed with interments—have been found at Newark, Nottinghamshire; and at Kingston, near Derby.^b A considerable resemblance will be observed between the urns from these two places and the one found at Cestersover, both in form, ornament, and material. All contained calcined human bones. In one of the Kingston urns the remains of a bronze fibula and some glass beads were found; and bronze tweezers, iron shears, and part of a bone comb in one of those at Newark. We know not however how much of the reliques were lost; for of these urns numbers were broken in digging, and at Kingston alone not fewer than two hundred are calculated to have been thrown away by the workmen, before any attempt was made to preserve them—and yet this was close to so important a town as Derby! Under such disadvantages does archæology labour.

A Saxon cemetery at Holme Pierrepoint, in Nottinghamshire,^e furnished, among other reliques, an urn which closely corresponds with one of the three, containing human calcined bones, found in another cemetery at Marston Hill,^d

a Livländische Reimchronik, herausgeben von F. Pfeiffer. Stuttgart, 1844.

b Collectanea Ant. vol. ii. p. 228. Journal of Arch. Association, vol. iii.

^c Journal of Arch. Assoc. vol. iii. Collect. Ant. vol. ii.

^d Archæologia, vol. XXXIII.

Northamptonshire, carefully examined by Sir H. Dryden. Before proceeding further south however, we must not fail to notice the very satisfactory instances of Saxon cremation recorded as having been found in the East Riding of Yorkshire. Of these several are said to have been discovered on the occasion of the first opening of the celebrated Driffield tumulus, afterwards examined by Dr. Thurnam. Portions of these sepulchral urns are preserved in the York Museum, and present, as I may state on Dr. Thurnam's authority, "the bosses and incused patterns of the veritable Anglo-Saxon type."

In 1802 several urns, also Saxon, were found at Broughton, near Malton, in Yorkshire, and are now preserved in the York Museum. These urns all contained calcined human remains, and Dr. Thurnam is inclined to think many more

would be found in the same spot on a further examination.

In Lincolnshire again "a number of cinerary earthen vases" were very recently found at South Willingham. Drawings of three of these urns were sent by the Rev. E. Trollope to the Archæological Institute, and they are described in the Journal of that Society as Saxon, and resembling "in their forms and character those figured in Mr. Neville's Saxon Obsequies." These urns were somewhat exceptionally formed of a yellow, and a dark-grey, clay.

At the Saxon cemetery of Fairford, Gloucestershire, several instances of cremation came under my own immediate observation, and I have reason to think others have occurred there. In the adjoining county of Oxfordshire, at Brighthampton, another discovery of Saxon remains has quite recently been made by Mr. Akerman. Here inhumation, as at Fairford, was the usual mode of sepulture, but still, in the small piece of ground opened, not less than three examples of cremation occurred. In one urn, besides burnt human bones, was the so frequent comb, and the fused remains of some object in lead. This vessel is of the usual black Saxon pottery, formed of a rather coarse ill-prepared earth, coloured with graphite or plumbago, and strongly resembles the one from Eye, in Suffolk, figured in "Pagan Saxondom," Pl. xxii., and which contained a comb, with a knife, a pair of shears, and iron tweezers. Mr. Kemble was so struck with the analogy this Suffolk urn bears to those of North Germany, that, in consequence, he wrote his valuable paper "On Mortuary Urns found at Stade-on-the-Elbe," which enriches our Archæologia.º Other cases of cremation have also been noticed in the very large Saxon cemetery at Stowe Heath, in the same county of

Archeological Inst. Journal, vol. xiv.

b Archeologia, vol. XXXVII.

^c Vol. XXXVL p. 270.

Suffolk, among numerous inhumations with arms, ornaments, &c. The ground at Stowe Heath is a very complete example of a long existing cemetery; for we find in it the gradual changes of funeral rites from cremation to that of burial in the simple earth, and then again to stone coffins at a later period. The urns at Walsingham in Norfolk called forth Sir T. Browne's beautiful essay "Hydriotaphia" in the seventeenth century. We owe Mr. Neville's "Saxon Obsequies" to the cemetery of Wilbraham in Cambridgeshire. Here cremation had been freely practised, as shown by the presence of some 120 mortuary urns against 188 cases of earth-burial. These urns present great variety of form and ornamentation, and the most striking analogy exists between them and the mortuary vessels from other counties of England, as those also found at Stade-onthe-Elbe in Hanover. Other examples of Saxon cremation have been discovered at Sandy in Bedfordshire. The account furnished to us, and recorded in our "Proceedings," is unfortunately too brief and indefinite, but one of the urns there engraved is of an unmistakeably Saxon character. In the Isle of Wight also Mr. Hillier's researches at Brightstone and Bowcombe Down revealed examples of early Saxon cremation. One of the urns given in the coloured engraving harmonises with the usual black Saxon type; the other closely resembles some of the urns found in Hanover.

Thus we have before us examples of Saxon cremation in thirteen English counties. More could probably be adduced, but I have only taken such as immediately presented themselves. These, for the most part, are the results of accidental discovery, and valuable rather from widely-diffused resemblance than generally from individual copiousness. All these urns will be found totally distinct from Roman or Romano-British manufacture, on the one hand, as from Keltic on the other. A general resemblance will be found among them when attentively considered. This remark also holds good on comparison with the North German examples Mr. Kemble has set before us from Stade-on-the-Elbe, and the banks of the Weser, which in fact, are the prototypes of many of our English forms.

In the foregoing enumeration, however, Kent, the scene, par excellence, of our very greatest Saxon research, has been omitted—and purposely. Its importance demands a separate notice. True it is, the interesting and instructive Journal of Brian Faussett solely records interments of the inhumation period in the Jute

^a Collect. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 165. West Suffolk Inst. Journal.

b Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London, vol. ii. p. 109.

^c Archæologia, vol. XXXVI. plates xxii. xxiii.

cemeteries of Kent. He does not even appear to have met with a single example of urn-burial in situ. Those, whoever, who have read the "Inventorium Sepulchrale," will not fail to remember that every cemetery which came under his active examination afforded abundant proofs of a prior sepulchral occupation by a people given to cremation.

The sketches given by Faussett of the pottery found so abundantly at Crundale sufficiently demonstrate its Roman character. Nor will any one doubt that the vessels he portrays from Gilton, Kingston, &c., are Saxon. But Faussett constantly alludes to finding a number of fragments of cinerary urns, of some former era, broken by those who dug these later graves. These vessels unfortunately he never seems to have attempted to restore, and consequently we have no sketches to assist us in drawing our conclusions. We learn however that these "bone-urns" were of that common black pottery, with an ornamentation impressed by the finger, which is so distinguishing a characteristic of early Saxon graves. Certainly there is nothing in the description given which can induce a suspicion of a Romano-British, or of a Keltic origin. But in Dr. Mortimer's account of his researches on Chartham Downs-given in the "Inventorium," and also in Douglas's "Nenia"—I think we may obtain further evidence of the probable early Saxon character of these primary cremation interments. There can be little doubt that the first barrow opened by Dr. Mortimer was an example of a Saxon grave—whether the bones had been burnt, as he supposes, or not, according to Faussett. Yet in this conflicting evidence we have to choose between the official report of the Secretary of the Royal Society, and the memory of a child of ten years old, as Faussett then was. Anyhow, the Saxon character of this range of tumuli on Chartham Downs is indisputable.

In the next tumulus opened, or, to quote Dr. Mortimer, "In the barrow B was found an urn of red earth, three and a half inches wide at the top, six inches in the belly, and three inches and three quarters at the bottom; and in a large black urn there were some burnt bones. In the urns were askes mixed with chalk. No arms were found here.

"In the barrow C were found two urns of black earth; one of them had a round lid on, flat on one side, and a little rounding on the other. These urns were broken, and their contents spilt.

"In the barrow D, which was much larger than either of the former, there was found only a black urn, and so rotten that it could not be taken up whole."

These three barrows, in an incontestably Saxon group, and manifestly not disturbed since their formation, appear very satisfactory evidence of Saxon burial

by cremation. In barrow B, the urn and its contents were found entire. In C, the urns seem merely to have been crushed by the weight of the super-incumbent earth. A lid is described on one of these urns, as was noticed with those of Newark, and occasionally with the German ones. In barrow D, the black sepulchral urn fell to pieces on being touched-a circumstance of common enough occurrence with the early porous ill-baked Saxon pottery. If, therefore, the urns in these three barrows, described by Dr. Mortimer, be considered Saxon, we are tolerably safe in attributing a like origin to the fragments of the others, which Faussett found so carefully deposited in the ends of the graves he re-opened. They probably belong to the primary cremation period of the first heathen Saxon invaders or settlers—for it is now pretty generally admitted that the Saxons had settlements in England prior to their final descents en masse. How long their old rites were maintained in their new homes we have no means of ascertaining. It was long before Christianity became their creed. Yet when they found themselves in contact with a people, for the most part Christian, to whom cremation was altogether abhorrent,—and when, perhaps, with increasing civilization, cremation became inconvenient to themselves,-they, not improbably, came by degrees to adopt the other rite, as we have before seen was the case with the Franks and other Germans. The cause of the change, either in England, or France, or Southern Germany, could hardly have been the lack of fuel, for forests abounded in all these countries. But as soon as a division of property ensued, and population increased, the positive necessity of free access to wood for general cremation purposes would at once be found to clash with the rights of individuals, and the forest privileges of the chieftain; hence private inconvenience and the maxims of Christianity would be found working powerfully together for the abolition of the old rite. The Charters of the Codex Diplomaticus however record these old heathen graves, and subsequent interments, probably Christian, among thema-just as I suppose the case to have been with the Kentish graves in question.

"The earliest Christians," says Kemble, "buried, beyond a doubt, where the earliest pagans had deposited the burnt remains of their dead. They still desired to rest among those whom they loved, or from whom they had sprung."

A valuable instance of this occurs in a charter of the year 976. (Cod. Dipl. 595.) "Sonon for on δα mearce ὁ Beonotleage gemære: swá on δοπο hæδenan byrgels: Sonan west on δα mearce δε΄ Ælfstán lið on hæδenan byrgels." Ælfstan clearly was some Saxon of note, and most probably a Christian, whose remains were thus interred after the ancient custom, not in the "cemeteria ecclesiæ," but "ad tumulos paganorum."

From Mr. Vallance's account of Saxon remains found at Sittingbourne, a portion of that cemetery must have been given up to urn-burial, and belongs, according to Mr. Kemble's judgment, to the early Saxon period. But a better ascertained example of Saxon cremation presents itself in a discovery in a barrow at Coombe in Kent, about the year 1848. Here a copper vessel was found containing burnt human bones. By it were two swords, a spear-head in iron, some glass and amber beads, and part of an ornament set with garnets or coloured glass. "The swords appeared to be wrapped in cloth, and a veil of cloth appears to have been laid on the bowl, portions of which are still adhering to the edges."c So too a cloth was found spread over a bowl in the Alemannic graves at Oberflacht. The handsome hilt of one of these swords has been engraved in both the works, "Pagan Saxondom," and "Collectanea Antiqua." It may appear somewhat abnormal in Saxon graves to find metal vessels converted into cinerary urns. Perhaps it was in accordance with the wishes of the deceased; and certainly two parallel cases may be cited in Bavaria, at Türkheim and Etringen, in the neighbourhood of Augsburg. It cannot therefore be truly said that Kent presents no examples in support of the theory of Saxon cremation. We have however very much yet to learn on this subject, not only in Kent, but generally throughout England, and it is to be hoped it may meet with the careful consideration its importance deserves. Cremation is but very rarely accompanied by arms or ornaments; and old crocks with burnt bones have so little to interest the peasant who usually makes the discovery that few examples are rescued from oblivion. The Abbé Cochet even tells us that in some parts of Normandy a notion of ill-luck is associated with the finding of these mortuary urns, and that the peasantry have been known to break them up, believing them the work of sorcery. Kemble too alludes to the remains of some such feeling in Hanover. On the other hand, again, inexperience has doubtless often attributed examples of Saxon cremation to the Keltic or Romano-British periods.

If however no positive examples of the practice of this rite had been met with in England, or if no more should ever again occur, I firmly believe an attentive

B Collectanea Antiq. i. p. 98.

b Kemble's Burial and Cremation, in Archmological Journal, vol. xii.

^e Proceedings of the Bury and West Suffolk Archaeological Institute, vol. i. p. 27.

d Plate xxiv. p. 47.

e Vol. ii. p. 164.

Wilhelmi's Sinsheim Reports, 1846.

E La Normandie Souterraine, p. 142.

examination of our own local nomenclature, especially considered in connection with the universal usage of the old German father-land, would suffice to establish a right belief on this point.

'If these views on the early cremation practice of Saxons in this country had merely been my own, I should not have presumed to speak so unhesitatingly. But I have only attempted to carry out the early opinions of Douglas, since so well developed in the works of Mr. Roach Smith and Mr. Akerman, to whose labours we owe much of our present information on Saxon archæology. Most present will be already aware of the interest taken also by our friend the late Mr. Kemble in this subject. It is indeed peculiarly his own, and I cannot conclude these imperfect notes more fitly than in his own words. "If," he says," "we continue our comparison, and examine the articles found with these urns, we shall find an equally striking agreement between the German and the English interments.

"If we are inclined in England to attribute them to the Anglo-Saxons, much

" "The names to which I now have to refer you are these :-

1st. Those compounded with A'd, the funeral pile, strues rogi, the actual burning-place of the dead:

A'desham, now Adisham, in Kent. Cod. Dip. 983.

Ædes wyrd, in Worcestershire. Ib. 1,062.

2nd. Those compounded with Bel, which is nearly equivalent in meaning to A'd:

Bæles beorgh, in Gloucestershire. Cod. Dip. 90.

Bæle. Cod. Dip. 765.

3rd. Those compounded with Bryne, the combustion, burning; or brand, which is nearly equivalent to it:

Brandes beorgh. Cod. Dip. 1,335.

Brynes cumb. Ib. 457.

Brynes ham. Ib. 675.

Brynes hyl. Ib. 1,094.

Brynes sól. Ib. 1149.

Brynes stede. Ib. 204.

Brynenja tún. Ib. 1152.

4th. Those compounded with Fin, which, like A'd, denotes the pile itself, strues rogi:

Finbeorgh. Cod. Dip. 468.

Finestún. Ib. 520."

From Kemble's "Notices of Heathen Interments in the Codex Diplomaticus" in Arch. Journal, vol. xiv. p. 135.

See also on this subject of nomenclature, Grimm, "Über das Verbrennen der Leichen," p. 41.

b Nenia Britannica.

^c Collectanea Antiqua, vols. i. ii.

^d Archeological Index. Pagan Saxondom.

more must we attribute them in Germany to the race from which the Anglo-Saxons came. Roman they cannot be in Germany, for they are found where Romans never came. Slavonic they probably are not, for they are found in countries were the Slaves never had lasting settlements, and bear no resemblance whatever to what is commonly found in lands where the Slaves were settled from the commencement of our historical period. Keltic they are not, for there is no record of Kelts in North Germany at all; and what little we do know of Keltic art has nothing in common with these forms. But if they are none of these they are German; and if they are German, so are the similar ones in England: in other words we have here a second group, namely, that of 'The Burnt Germans of the Age of Iron.' And two classes of interments are shown to belong to the Anglo-Saxons; one in which cremation was, one in which it was not practised."

[&]quot; Kemble, Burial and Cremation.

XXX. Notices of the Tower of London temp. Elizabeth, and the Horse Armoury temp. Charles I. In a Letter addressed by WM. Durrant Cooper, Esq., F.S.A. to Robert Lemon, Esq., F.S.A.

Read February 18, 1858.

MY DEAR SIR,

Guilford Street, Russell Square, London,
 15th February, 1858.

The facilities which you have afforded by the publication of your Kalendar for the public use of the valuable documents preserved in the State-Paper Office, relating to the first half of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and your kindness in permitting me to make extracts from your own book of MSS, on ancient armour, consisting of the scattered Exchequer documents, enable me to send to our Society some notices of the Tower of London and of the armouries there and at Greenwich, which are very interesting in themselves, and are chiefly of a date forty years earlier than the lists communicated by William Bray, Esq. F.S.A. to our Society, and reprinted by Meyrick from the Archæologia.

It was only after Elizabeth's public entry into London from Hatfield and the Charter House, on her accession in Nov. 1558, and her return from Westminster to the Tower on 12th January following, preparatory to her procession to Westminster on the 14th, the day before her coronation, that the Tower of London was used as a royal residence in her reign. It was, however, during all her reign the chief arsenal, the principal depôt for the ordnance and armoury, the depository for the jewels and treasures, the site of the Mint, the place where the public records were preserved, and the most important state prison.

Then, as now, it was one of the sights for strangers and foreigners. Hither it was that M. de Foix, the French Ambassador, (who was sent to this country in 1571 and placed under the attendance of Lord Buckhurst,) was taken to visit the stores; here, on 2nd Sept. 1571, he was entertained with a banquet; and hence he departed with a discharge of ordnance. Paul Hentzner was also a visitor in 1598, and has left an account of what he saw here.

I will proceed to notice in order the state of the several departments in the days of Elizabeth.

^a Vol. XI. p. 97. Mr. Bray's lists are only extracts from the document, the original of which has since been found in the Audit Office. It is printed at length in the Archaeological Journal, vol. iv. p. 341.

The Ordnance-

On 13th Sept. 1559, an account was taken of "the store of all sorts and kinds of ordnance in the Tower, and a memorial of what was required for the next year," which was—

T	he S	tore.		The Provisions to be new bought.								
" Brasse Ordnan	ice.	for ti	he I	Field-	_							
Canons mounte	-					7	To be new	made				13
Demi canons			9			13	39	99				4
Culverings						14	13	,,				nil.
Demy culvery	03					13	29	59				7
Sacres .						38						
Mynions .						7						
Fawcons .						30						
Fawconetts			4			5	**	**	•			nil.
Connemorters						2						
Baces .						4						
A piece shootin	g 7	bullet	8			1/						
					-	134 pieces	i.	Total r	equired			24

[&]quot; Brasse Ordnance, mounted for the Elizabeth-Jonas and other ships-

The casting and making of the 24 new pieces of brass would cost 4831. 10s.

Cast Iron Ordnance-

Demi-canons, 2; culverings, 2; demi-culverings, 12; sacres, 8, to be new made, 10; morter piece, 1; fawcons, nil, to be new made, 12.

The estimated cost for the 22 new pieces was 128l.

The cast iron cost only 10s. the cwt., whilst the brass cost 70s. the cwt., and it was on this account that one-half of the new ordnance was proposed to be of cast iron.

"Bombardes, 3; porte peces, 66; slings, 6; demi-slings, 36;" no new required.

" Forged Ordnance of Iron-

[&]quot;Demi-canons, 8; canons pereares, 6; culverings, 3; demi-culverings, 5; faw-cons, 2; to be new made, nil."

[&]quot;Quarter slings, 6; fowlers, 43; baces, 137; harquebutts a croche, 80; harleshotte pieces, 80; harleshot pieces upon mytches, 5;" no new required.

[&]quot; Harquebutts, Currions, Daggs, and Matches-

[&]quot;Double harquebutts, 80; guilt harquebuts, 397; to be new bought within the realm, 400; the peeces made win the realm are double as good as any other; currions, 400; daggs, 3,500, to be provided in Flanders, 300; matches, 19,237."

The new supply was very readily obtained, and we find that on 25th Nov. 1559, there was delivered into the Tower, from Anthony Bukman and Edward Castelyn, of London, merchants, the following brass ordnance:—

"4 demi-culveringes; 8 sacres; 4 mynnions; 4 fawcons; and 8 fawconettes, with 800 lbs. of serpentine powder at 8d. the lb., and 475 lbs. of corne powder at 10d. the lb."

In the return of 13th Sept. there is also set forth the store of cannon shot, of cross-barred shot, shot of stone, serpentine and corne powder, saltpetre, brimstone, and coal powder to make powder; copper, what was wanted, to be provided from Flanders, bell-metal, and tin.

Artillery, viz .-

Bows, 11,525, to be bought in Flanders, 1,000.

Bowstrings, 116 gross, to be bought at 6s. the gross.

Arrows, 11,893 sheafs to be bought, 4,000 sheaves at 2s. the sheaf.

Black bills, 7,900, to be bought at 16d. the piece.

Morrispikes, 14,647, to be bought, 1000 at 2s. the piece.

Cullen cliffs, nil, to be bought in Flanders, 6,000.

Demi-lance staves, 600, to be made, 2,000 at 18d. the head and making.

Northern staves, 825, to be made, 3,000 at 12d. the piece.

Topdarts, 180 dozen, none to be made.

Also felling-axes, hedging-bills, miners' tools, scythes, and many more working tools.

The charges of artificers and labourers, together with land carriage, cooperage, and other charges, amounted to 300l.

And the whole estimated cost of things required amounted to no less than 10,870l. 4s. 5d.

From the book in MS. containing an account of ancient armour, belonging to you, and so kindly lent to me, I am enabled to give a fuller account of the prices of armour and artillery in the same year, 1559, as regulated for purchase from the Tower stores.

"The armor of a demy-lance, 53s. 4d.; a corslet, 30s.; the currier complete, 16s. 8d.; harquebutt complete, 8s.; dagg complete, 16s. 8d.; corne powder pr lb. 10d.; match pr pound, 3d.; a bowe of yewgh, 2s. 8d.; bowe-strings a doz. 6d.; liverie arrows the sheyf, 22d.; morrion pike, 2s.; a demy-lance staffe, 3s. 4d.; a northren staffe, 2s. 6d.; a black bill, 16d.; a hallbard, 6s. 8d.; a morrion the peer, 6s. 8d.; almayne rivett, 10s.; sculls the peer, 12d."

^a For description of these arms, see Archeologia, vol. XXII. p. 59.

It will be seen that the price of the arrows to the Government was 2s. a sheaf, but as the regulated price to persons raising troops was 1s. 10d. only, and the full charge of 2s. was made, Sir H. Neville on 6th June, 1560, complained to the Council of the charge.

The want of space within the Tower for the ordnance was soon felt, and to give more room a grant was made to Sir Edward Warner, the Lieutenant of the Tower, of the mastership of the adjoining hospital of St. Katherine, vacant by the resignation of Dr. Mallett.^a

The yearly charges of the Tower returned to the Council in 1560, after the order then lately taken in the time of Queen Mary, were as follow: b—

"First, the constable, who is now called the lieutenant, by the year.	£ 200		$\frac{d}{0}$
Item, one gent. porter at 16d. by the day, sum by the year	24	6	8
Item, one livery and watch livery for the said porter yearly	5	0	0
Item, 38 yeomen warders at 8d. by the day, sum by the year .	462	6	8
Item, liveries and watch liveries for the said 38 yeomen warders,			
every of them 5l	190	0	0
Item, for fuel for the ward house by the year	0	53	4
Sum'a	884	6	8"

The yearly charges of the Tower of London set forth in February, in the second year of Queen Elizabeth, were—

				e .	8.	d.
The lieutenant and gentleman porter's fees and	allowan	ces rema	ined			
the same, making a cost as before of .			. 22	29	6	8
But there were only 20 yeomen warders at 8d. b	y the da	у .	. 2	13	6	8
Item, for 20 liveries for the said warders at 51.]	er year		. 10	00	0	0
Item, to charge the lieutenant with 20 men, to	keep wat	ch and w	rard			
with the queen's 20 warders, for which	he shall	have of	the			
revenues of St. Katherine's by the year 2	001. and	paid to	him			
more out of the receipt 100l			. 10	00	0	0
For fuel for the ward house for the year .				3	6	8
Sum'a			6	70	0	0

[&]quot;So is there increase of two men to keep the watch and ward, and the queen shall save yearly of the former 2081. 6s. 8d."

a Sir Edward Warner had also the stewardship of the Manor of East Smithfield.

b Domestic, Eliz. vol. xi. No. 19.

The way in which the surplus was obtained from the revenues of Saint Katherine's is thus shown:—

The whole yearly value of all the lands and possessions b was 352l. 9s. 1d. out of which there was spent the sum of 140l. 5s. 8d. yearly, (viz.) for the priest to serve the cure 20l.; three sisters at 8l. a-year each; 10 poor women, each 45s. 6d. by the year; 40s. for pertinances to the said poor women; 8l. for clerk to serve the church; the bayliff's fee, the under steward, the high steward, the receiver general, the 10ths to the queen, for repairs, and for reparations and charges of the church; and to a learned councillor 40s. yearly.

So there remained 212l. 3s. 5d., whereof 12l. 3s. 5d. were left to the master to bear out and supply all wants of the former charge, and the clear balance was then 200l.

The arrangement did not last long, for on 7th Nov. 3rd Eliz. 1561, the mastership was given to Dr. Thomas Wylson, the queen's secretary; and by the certificate of Sir Owen Hopton, the Lieutenant, to the Council, it appears the number of warders was reduced to 30.

On 15th March, 1562, a part of the Ordnance Office, within the Tower, having given way from being overladen, the Marquess of Winchester purchased the neighbouring mansion-house and grounds, which had belonged to the dissolved monastery of the Minories without Aldgate, for a store-house, and on 22 Sept. 1563, conveyed it to the Queen; a communication with the Tower itself being formed through the iron gateway to St. Katherine's. And in 1564 a new platform was erected for the ordnance.

It will not fail to be noted that iron ordnance, which had been first cast in 1543, at Buxted, in Sussex, by Ralph Hogge, assisted by Peter Bawde, a Frenchman, and his covenanted servant John Johnson, and the memory of whose works, of which two specimens are still existing in the Tower, is preserved in

Master Hogge, and his man John, They did cast the first can-non.

had come rapidly into favour, contrasting very favourably with brass ordnance in point of expense; and that we were indebted to Flanders not only for our supply of bows, but also for what our own isle can now most abundantly furnish, copper,

a Domestic, Eliz, vol. xi. No. 21.

^b The yearly value, as returned 26th Hen. VIII. above all reprisals, was 315l. 14s. 11d. The return of 1560 is printed. See Ducarel's History of St. Katherine's, Bibl. Topog. No. V. pp. 96 and 119.

e Ducarel, p. 22.

and likewise daggs, whilst the harquebuts of England were twice as good as any other.

The next important store was the Armoury. Immediately after the Queen's accession, and on 25th March, 1559, a commission was issued to Sir William Seyntlo, Captain of the Guard, and Sir Peter Carew, for a survey of the Tower, and the officers and ministers of the same; and on 1st July following Sir Edward Warner, Lieutenant of the Tower, and Thomas Stanley, Comptroller of the Mint, reported that the Great Mill, erected by Mr. Brocke, was the fittest place to build a convenient armoury.

The following is the record of the armour on 13th October, 1559, forty years before the return printed by Meyrick, and before the great increase forced upon this country by the resistance to Spain.

"The store of Armure whin the Towre of London, the said day and yere, what a remembrance of suche Armure as is nedefull and necessarie for the better furniture of the said Armarie, videlicet:—

	Store			Provisions to be made.					
Demylances com	plet		1,800	To be	boughte an	d provide	d .	200	
Corslets complet			1,966	To be	provided			3,034	
Almayne rivets			200	22	,,			nil.	
Shirts of maile			71	91	,,			929	
Jacks .			1,020	To be	boughte			nil.	
Brigendens .			500	39	**			nil.	
Sleves of maile			480pr.	99	,,			20 pr.	
Murrions .			2,000	To be	provided		. 6%.	1,000	
Skulles .			2,643	To be	boughte			nil.	
Stele saddles .			340	To be	provided			260"	

In a note to a similar return, on 17th November, 1559, it is stated that 1,399 corslets had been received from Mr. Gresham since the first January past, and there were also,

Mr. William Winter was Vice-Admiral of the Fleet then fitted out, and sent in January following to Leith Roads, to act against the Scots and French; in his charge we find these additions then in use for the fleet under his command:—

" Corslets	comp	plete a	ind b	olacke	500	Almaigne	rivets		1,000
Jacks					1,000	Murrions			1,430
Skulles					240	Do.			1,000
Shirts of						Steele sad	dles	•	103 score."

The other armouries were at Portsmouth, Southsea Castle, Berwick, Newcastle, and Hull, and there were private armouries, for the Queen's personal guard, at Westminster, Hampton Court, Greenwich, &c.

On 16th February, 1559, is an account of the complement of armour thought meet and necessary continually to be reserved within the Tower of London for the preservation of the Queen's most royal person:—

"Demi-lances complete, 500; corslets complete, 5,500; brigendens, 500; jacks, 500; shirts of mail, 500; murrions, 4,000; steel saddles, 500; sleeves of mail, 1,000 pair."

And after giving what existed, there were wanted,

"Corslets, 4,900; shirts of mail, 450; murions, 3,000; steel saddles, 260; sleeves of mail, 540 pair."a

On 20th December the quantity had greatly diminished by deliveries made to the Lord Treasurer, to Adrian Poynings, and for the furnishing of Berwick preparatory to the advance of the English forces, under the command of Lord Grey of Wilton, "a man valorous in warre and in peace courteous; great both in birth and estate, but greater in courage; in counsaile a commander, a soldier in arms."

On 26th August, 1580, Sir Owen Hopton the Lieutenant, H. Killigrew, John Hawkins, and William Holstock, having then viewed the state of the Armoury, recommended the making of rooms in the Great White Tower, for placing and hanging up of all the armoury, and sent an estimate for reforming and putting it all in order. This was the armoury used prior to the New Armoury burnt down in 1841, of which James II. laid the foundation, and William III. celebrated the opening.

In Elizabeth's reign there is no list of the horse armoury at the Tower, though the existence in 1598 of armour for horses is mentioned by Hentzner; in the reign of Charles, however, full suits of horse armour were kept at Greenwich. Mr. Lemon's interesting MS. shows us exactly what existed at the latter place in 1631, and that the armour was chiefly composed of suits made for persons of note in Elizabeth's reign and subsequently. The MS. bears the title of, "The Remayne of his Majesty's Armour, and other munition or habilaments of war, in

a Domestic, Eliz. vol. xi. No. 5.

b "Lances holoserico rubro et viridi tecta, cum Henrici VIII. Anglise Regis armatura; arma multa et egregia; tam pro viris, quam pro equis in equestri pugna; lancea Caroli Branden Suffolciae, quae tres spithamas crassa erat." Hentzner, Itinerarium. Breslau, 1617, p. 130. An inventory of the armour in the Tower and at Woolwich, taken on the accession of James in 1603, is printed in Jordan's Hist. of Enstone, Oxon. p. 105.

the Armory of the Tower of London and Greenwich, in the charge of Sir Thomas Jaye, Knt. Master of His Majesty's Armory, taken, numbered, and told in the months of December, January, and February, 1630-1." It appears that a portion at least of what we now see in the Tower was at Greenwich.

The list is thus given:

In the Green Chamber at Greenwich were 12 suits;

1. "Upon one horse one harnesse compleate for the feild, parcell guilte and peell graven; the horse's furniture being a barbe, crinett, shaffron, and steele saddle; and for the man a double heade-peece and all peeces of advantage to the same, and a base of blacke velvett imbrodered, and a bridle with guilte bosses.

2. "Upon another horse one harnesse for the tilte, parcell guilte and graven; the horse's furniture being a saddle, barbe, crinett, and shafforne of steele silvered and guilte; and for the man 2 grangardes, 2 pasgardes, 2 mainefeeres, 2 peer of vambraces, 2 peer of cushes, 2 headpeeces, 2 close gauntletts, a cod-peece, a breeche of steele, with a base of black velvett, and bridle with bosses.

3. "Upon one other horse, one harnesse for the tilte and feild, parcell graven, and sett with white and guilte nayl; the horse's furniture being a saddle and barbe of steele plaine, a crinett, and shafforne scaled, with a base as before.

4. "Upon one other horse, one tilte and feild armor graven with the ragged staffe, made for the Erle of Leicester; the horse having a steele saddle and a foreparte of a barbe plaine, a crinett, and shafforne parcell guilt and graven, with a hinder parte of a horse made of plates of steele, and a bridle.

5. "Vpon one other horse one white feild armor compleate, made for the ERLE of Shrewesbury; the horse having a steele saddle Turkey fashion, the fore part and a hinder pree of a barbe of steele plaine, a crinett, and a shaffron peell guilte.

6. "Upon one other horse, one white tilte armor, made for the LORD of KILDARE; the horse having a rattle, barbe, crinett, and shafforne of steele plaine, and a bridle with guilte bosses.

7. "Upon one other horse one demi-launce compleate; the horse having a steele saddle, a barbe of steele, blew drawne with antique worke, a crinett of the same worke, and a shafforne parcell guilte and graven.

8. "Upon a horse one demi-launce compleate; the horse having a plaine steele saddle, a crinett, and shafforne parcell guilte.

9. "Upon one other horse one demi-launce compleate, the horse having a crinett, and shafforne parcell guilte.

[&]quot; Crinière, a cranet, armour for the neck or mane of a horse." Cotgrave.

10. "Upon one other horse one demi-launce compleate, lacking a heade-peece; the horse having a plaine steele saddle, crinett, and shafforne.

11. "Upon one other horse one feild armor, of an old fashion, with a base of steele; the horse's furniture being a barbe, crinett, and shaffron; all being silvered and guilte.

12. "And upon one other horse one old fashioned armor, called a trundlett, parcell guilte and graven."

In the Great Chamber, late Mr. Pickering's, were 9 suits.

1. "One armor compleate, given by SIR JOHN SMITH to KING JAMES, viz. backe, brest, almaigne coller, burgonett, muryon, sleeves of maile, steele for a saddle, a shafforne, a guilte target, 1 paire of long cushes, one paire of shorte cushes, 1 paire of guilte sturrops, and 1 case of pistolls, and a truncke, the pistolls unserviceable.

2. "One feild armor compleate, guilte and chaced, given by Sir Frauncis Veare unto Prince Henry, in a chest lyned within and without with redd cloth.

3. "One guilte, graven, and damasked armor of the Kinge's for the feild compleate, the whole armor laid with bosses of gould, 6 bosses only remaynyng on the coller, and all the rest either lost or taken from the coller and armor, in a chest.

4. "One small feild armor guilte, graven, and enamelled, wanting the 2 gauntletts, given by Prince John Voyle to Prince Henry.

5. "One white tilte and feild armor of KING JAMES compleate, in a truncke, except the mainefeere and both gauntletts.

6. "One tilte white armor, made for the EARLE of DESMOND, wanting gauntletts.

7. "One tilte armor, parcell guilte and graven, given to PRINCE HENRY by the KING of FRAUNCE, compleate, in a trunck, excepting gauntletts and mainfeere.

8. "One guilte and graven tilte and feild armor compleate, excepting feild

^a Author of Instructions Militarie. 1595.

^b Renowned for his military services in the Low Countries; 15th June, 1606, he was appointed Constable of Portsmouth Castle and Lieutenant of Southbear Forest, Hants, for life; he was also Captain of the Brill, and died on 28th Aug. 1609.—Mrs. Green's Cal. 538, &c. His tomb, with a slab bearing his armour, is in Westminster Abbey.

^c Charles de Lorraine, Prince of Joinville, brother to the Duke of Guise, came into England May 8, 1607 (Camden's Annals), and was present when the house of Theobalds was surrendered by the Earl of Salisbury to King James I. with a poetical entertainment written by Ben Jonson on the 22nd of the same month. (Nichols's Progresses, &c. of James I. ii. 128.) He stayed here some time, and on his return made his present to Prince Henry mentioned in the text, which the Prince acknowledged by a letter of thanks, dated on the 11th February following: "I perceive, my Cousin, (he writes,) that during your stay in England you discovered my humour; since you have sent me a present of the two things which I most delight in, arms and horses."—(Birch's Life of Prince Henry, p. 100.)

d Louis XIII., for a marriage with whose sister to Prince Henry negociations took place.

heade-peece, one poldron, one vambrace, 1 gauntlett, 1 vamplett, given by Sir Henry Lee^a to Prince Henry.

- 9. "One parcell of guilte armor for the tilte of the Kinges, in a cheste of deal. In the Harness Chamber.
- 1. "One guilte and graven old armor for the feild, compleate, wanting one gauntlett.
- "Diverse parcells of the EARLE of PEMBROKE's armor, viz., one tilte headepeece, one granguard, one passguard, one mainfeere, one turning gauntlett, and one shafforne.
 - 3. "One footeman's armor compleate, made for King Henry the 8th."

This is the armour mentioned by Hentzner as having been in the Tower in 1598.b

- 4. "Tilte armor rough, unfinished, for his Majesty when he was Prince.
- 5. "White tilte armor compleate for the King when he was Prince.
- 6. "Litle armor made for PRINCE HENRY.
- 7. "Tilte armor said to be Mr. ALEXANDER'S."

This armoury did not suffer so much in the Civil Wars as has been supposed, for in the inventory taken in October, 1660, when the horse armour had been removed to the Tower, we find that Henry the Eighth's foot armour was existing, and rightly described, as were also the suits made for the Earl of Leicester, Prince Henry, Charles I and James; but the remaining pieces of horse armour, instead of being simply described as in your MS., and having such names as the Earls of Shrewsbury, Pembroke, and Desmond, and Lord Kildare, had mounted to a much higher traditional antiquity, and had come to the fabulous honour of having been made for Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, (Hentzner only saw his lance of three spans thick,) King Henry VII., Henry VI., d Edward IV. and Edward III., and one suit of white was antedated to the time of William the Conqueror. I am afraid that we may trace down to our own times this same

^a Sir Henry Lee was master of the armouries to Queen Elizabeth and James. The particulars of his life are to be found in the Parochial History of Enstone, Oxon, by the Rev. John Jordan, p. 101. Writing from Ascot, 27th Sept. 1608, John Chamberlain tells Dudley Carleton that Queen Anne had dined with Sir Henry Lee, "at his *Little Rest*," who had that summer presented the Prince "with an armour that stood him in 2001."—Progresses of King James I. ii. 210.

b Hentzner, p. 130; Archæologia, XI. p. 97; and Meyrick, iii. p. 129.

Of The Alexanders, alias Zinzan, Henry and Sir Sigismund, were equerries to James the First, and usually engaged in the yearly tilts and other chivalric exercises.

d This on examination turned out to be made for Henry VIII. and is fully described by Meyrick in the Archwologia, vol. XXII. p. 106, where parts are engraved.

mythical chronology of the horse armoury. May I hope that your list will serve to identify some at least of the armour, and to fix more accurately the dates?

I must return however to some details of other departments in the Tower under Elizabeth.

In the twenty-second volume of the Archæologia is given a memoir upon the King's Jewel House, with an account of the ancient rights of its master and treasurer. The vaults under the Jewel House were used for the reception of the gold and silver captured from the enemy, and accordingly we find that in 1569 the Spanish moneys and silver bullion were brought from Dartmouth and laid up in a vault under this house; and when in Nov. 1580 the large treasure was brought home by Sir Francis Drake, it was moved to Sion House, and then, on 24th December, deposited in these vaults, the silver bullion in ingots weighing 22,899 lbs. 5 oz. and the coarse silver 512 lbs. 6 oz., and the gold bullion 101 lbs. 10 oz.

The Records were deposited in the Great Tower, and Edward Lord Stafford took great pains to arrange them; but in 1564 Edward Bowyer, who claimed to be keeper, took the key away from Lord Stafford's servant, and demanded the sole charge. Bowyer was evidently a zealous custodian, and, being patronised by the Marquis of Winchester, proposed, on 11th April, 1567, to bring hither the records of the Chancery and of the Parliament, and on 19th July in the same year the Marquis sent to the Council an estimate of the costs for repairs in the Great Tower for the preservation of those records, which have fortunately come down to our day, and contain the most perfect State records of any country.

The STATE PRISON was at the commencement of the reign the most interesting portion of the Tower. The particulars of the State prisoners are so amply given by Bayley that I will only add a few facts. The bishops who had been deprived by Queen Elizabeth for refusing to take the oaths to her were not disposed to remain very quiescent, and on 20th May, 1560, the Bishops of Lincoln and Worcester, and Feckenham the Abbot of Westminster, were received into the custody of the Lieutenant of the Tower; on 3rd June came the Bishop of Ely; on the 10th of the same month Heath, the ex-Chancellor and Archbishop of York; and on the 18th June three more, viz. the Bishops of Exeter and Bath, and Dr. John Boxall, late Dean of Windsor and Secretary to Queen Mary. Though they

a Page 114.

^b In the State Paper Office is a paper (Domestic, Charles, 1625? vol. xiv. no. 50) giving the names of the Lieutenants of the Tower of London in the several reigns of these kings and queens following, which supplies a defect in Stowe, and differs in some respects from Bayley:—

were not treated with any great hardship, being admitted to dine together at two tables of four each, they are stated by Strype and Burnett to have been committed after a little time to easier restraints, and some restored to their perfect liberty; but it is certain that they were in the Tower for more than two years, since they were still prisoners on 5th Sept. 1562, when a further return was made to the council.

I will not detain you by anything more than a reference to the names of Lady Katherine Grey, Matthew Stewart Earl of Lennox, and afterwards of Lady Margaret his wife, of the Earl of Hertford, "whose small allowance of liberty put the Earl of Lennox, who was strictly confined, in extreme passion;" of the Whartons and the Waldegraves, who had been privy councillors to Queen Mary, but now, with the Stradlings and others, found a prison for persisting in hearing mass; of Henry Howard, of whom Sir Edward Warner reports to the Council, 26th May, 1561, "his faults be known to your lordships well enough;" of the Duke of Norfolk; of the Nortons and other leaders of the Northern rebellion of 1569; of the Earl of Desmond and his brother; of Dr. Story, Sir Walter Raleigh, the Earl of Essex, and others.

That the Tower was not a very wholesome place of confinement is pretty evident from the fact that the plague broke out, and on 21st August, 1563, orders were given for the removal of Lady Katherine Grey to Sir J. Grey's house, the Chekers, in Essex, whence she was brought back to the Tower in 1565 to die brokenhearted; and of the Earl of Hertford, who was on 21st August, 1563, taken to his mother's house in Middlesex, but he was brought back on 26th May following. Again, in July 1570, the Duke of Norfolk complained of the noisome air, and on 3rd of August he was removed to his own mansion at the Charterhouse for fear of the plague.

Yet there was one class of prisoners of whom no special notice has been taken,

King Henry VIII.—Sr Robert Cholmeley, Sr Edm. Walsingham, Sr Will. Sidney, Sr Antho. Knevett, (Walter) Stoner.

King Edward .- Sr John Gage, Sr John Markham, Sr Arthur Darcy, Sr Edw. Warner.

Queene Mary.—S' John Bridges, S' Tho. Bridges, S' (Hen.) Benefeild, S' (Rob.) Oxenbridges.

Queene Eliz.—Sr Edw. Warner, Sr Rich. Blount, Sr Francis Jobson, Sr Owen Hopton, Sr Michael Blount, Sr Drew Drury, Sr Rich. Barkley, Sr John Peyton.

King James.—Sr Georg. Harvey, Sr Will. Waad, Sr Gervis Helvys, Sr Georg. Moore, Sr Allen Apsley. King Charles.—Idem Sr Allen Apsley.

To which I may add from other sources (Thomas's Hist. Notes, 613), Sir W. Balfour, removed 1641, 20 Dec.; Col. Lunsford, removed 1641, 26 Dec.; Sir John Byron, removed Jan. 3, 1641-2; Sir John Convers.

a Return of all prisoners, 26th May, 1561.

^b Strype's Annals, i. pt. 1, p. 211.

and with them I will conclude. I refer to those who, by the practice of alchemy, proposed to add to or imitate the Queen's coin, or who otherwise sought to counterfeit it.

The chief of these was Cornelius de Lannoy, an alchemist, who gravely proposed to the Queen to put in operation the wonderful elixir, and to make any metal into gold and gems. He so far succeeded with her as to be allowed to carry on his works at Somerset House: of course he failed, and on being reported to have greatly abused the Queen's confidence, was committed to the Tower in 1566, where he still professed to be able to perfect his experiments, had it not been for the obstacles thrown in his way.

In July, 1570, two other alchemists, who had been inclined to practice on their own account, were also favoured with an asylum here: they were John Bulkeley, a student at Oxford, and William Bedo, a stationer, who proposed to cast a figure for the recovery of lost money, and professed to have many alchemical secrets for diminishing and lessening the coin of the realm by sweating, &c.

The hardest case, however, was that of one John Vaudon, committed on 1st June, 1560. "This man," reports Sir Edward Warner on 26th May, 1561, "was brought in with one Gwillam Ogier, the which Gwillam had made certain counterfeit Spanish money in Cowdry, my Lord Montague's house (in Sussex), and the said John Vaudon did help him to a piece of old pewter dish to make it of, and was privy unto it. The said Gwillam was committed to the King's Bench, and is broken prison long since and gone. This poor man is a very simple creature, of no capacity, so it were a great charity of the Queen's Majesty to grant him his pardon and set him at liberty, and the rather that the principal offender has escaped." So thought also the Council, and in the next list of prisoners the name of simple John Vaudon has disappeared.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

WM. DURRANT COOPER.

XXXI. Extract from a Record explanatory of Grants by Henry II. and Edward I. to certain Ostmen in Waterford of the privilege of "Lex Anglicorum in Hibernia." Communicated by Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart., F.S.A.

Read February 26, 1857.

The original record, from which the Extract that follows was taken, has been preserved in the Bermingham Tower, Dublin. It contains the Pleas of the Crown and Gaol Delivery at Waterford, before John Wogan, Justiciary of Ireland, on Thursday the morrow of St. Matthias the Apostle (February 25), in the fourth year of the reign of Edward II. (1311), and will be seen to be somewhat illustrative of the social condition of the inhabitants of that part of Ireland at the time of the invasion by Henry II. and also at the commencement of the fourteenth century.* The Ostmen mentioned in it were the descendants of the Norwegians, commonly spoken of as Danes, who had many years before formed permanent settlements on the coasts; as to whose history Worsaae's volume on the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland may be consulted with advantage. A few preliminary observations may serve to render the document more readily intelligible.

One Robert le Waleys, clerk, had killed one John, son of Yvor MacGillemory, and on his trial at Waterford he admitted having killed the deceased, but pleaded that it was no felony, because he was a mere Irishman and not of free blood, and that he would be ready, on the demand of the lord whose Irishman John was at the time of his death, to pay for him as justice required. To this, one John, son of John, son of Robert le Poer, who appeared for the Crown, replied that the deceased was entitled to the benefit of the law of the English in Ireland; and he alleged in support of such reply a charter of Henry II., and another of Edward I. which recited and confirmed the former. The latter only was produced, and by it that privilege was granted to Gillecrist, William, and John MacGillemory, and other Ostmen of the city and county (or of the citizens and commonalty) of Waterford who were descended from certain Ostmen of King Henry II. of the

^a It is due to Sir Bernard Burke, Ulster King of Arms, to state that by his kindness an opportunity has been afforded of collating the Extract here published with another gratuitously furnished by him from the original roll, which is among the records under his care in Dublin.

surname of MacGillemory. And the prosecutor prayed judgment against Robert le Waleys for the death of John, son of Yvor MacGillemory, who, he said, was of the family of the Gillecrist, William, and John MacGillemory named in the charter produced. The Justiciary, however, referred the matter to be inquired into by a jury, and from their answer we learn the occasion of the original charter. It appears that when Henry II. first went to Ireland, there was a certain (Ostman) chief, named Reginald (or Reynold) MacGillemory, who resided at Reynaud's Castle near the port of Waterford, where in the jurors' time there was an ancient deserted mote, and, having heard of the king's coming, and of his intention to land his army at Waterford, endeavoured, by means of three large iron chains thrown across the harbour, to frustrate the attempt. The King succeeded, and, having taken Reginald and his adherents prisoners, he hanged them as rebels: and he expelled all the other Ostmen whom he found dwelling in the city, except one faithful man named Gerald MacGillemory, who lived in a tower, which at the time of the inquiry was very old and ruinous, opposite the Friars Preachers' Church within the walls. To those expelled the King assigned certain places without the walls for their abodes, and they built there a town, which at the time of the inquiry was called the Town of the Ostmen of Waterford. Within the city the King placed divers men who had accompanied him, and granted them various privileges. In consequence of the great fidelity of the Ostman Gerald MacGillemory, he had security for life and limb, and he and his people were allowed to continue to reside in his tower within the walls. Sometime after Henry had gone back to England, probably on a Sunday or some holiday, when many of the citizens had come out of the city with their wives and others of their families to divert themselves in the fields, the Ostmen that dwelt outside the walls attacked them, and, having killed the men, carried off their wives. This led to a war between the citizens and the Ostmen of the Ostmen's town, which lasted a considerable time. Gerald MacGillemory, who was still living in his tower, faithfully defended the city, as well against the Ostmen who had been expelled, some of whom were his kinsmen, as against all others who were on their side, until the King's second arrival. Henry, having heard of his fidelity, upon his request granted to him, and to others of his kindred who were Ostmen of Waterford, that they should thenceforth have the benefit of the law of the English in Ireland. The jury found also (among other things) that the deceased was a descendant of the Gerald MacGillemory to whom the original grant had been

^a There was an Ostmen's town also by Dublin, now Oxmantown, and, according to Sir John Davys' Reports, fol. 23 verso, there were the like at Cork and Limerick.

made; and that he was killed by the accused Robert le Waleys, because he had been one of a jury who had charged the accused with being a robber, and harbouring robbers; and also that all the MacGillemorys were reputed to have come from Denom or Devoin (for the word is obscure) in Ireland, long before the conquest of it by the English. The result was, that the accused was sent back to prison to await judgment, but was afterwards let out on bail.

The charter of Edward I. has been quoted by Leland in his History of Ireland, as shewing that Henry II. had granted great privileges to the Ostmen who were the inhabitants of Waterford, as if the inhabitants generally were Ostmen. Evidently the writer was not aware of the privilege having been confined to a particular family, or of the citizens having been chiefly English. A copy of that charter is also given by Worsaae, which was furnished by Mr. Thomas Duffus Hardy from the Patent Rolls, where the word Custumanni is written by mistake for Oustmanni. The capitals C and O at that time were often so much alike that it was not easy to distinguish them. In that copy the contracted words are extended, and we have "de civitate et communitate Waterford," which certainly appears at first more consistent with the tenor of this record than "de civitate et comitatu Waterford" as the words are given by Leland, who should seem to have derived his copy from the original record at Dublin. On inspecting the Patent Roll from which Mr. Hardy furnished the copy, the words are found to be "de civitate t com'," which is equivocal. However there was a county of the city of Waterford, and it is not improbable that the grant by Edward I. may have extended to the descendants of Gerald MacGillemory who were resident in that county, as well as to those in the city of Waterford; for the descendants of the hostile Ostmen of his kindred, who were dwelling in the Ostmen's town in the reign of Henry II., may have been good subjects under Edward I.

Leland and Sir John Davys mention five families who in early times had the privilege of the law of the English in Ireland, and give their names, but MacGillemory is not one; so that this would appear to have been a sixth family that was so privileged, and was little known. There is a plea in the 3rd Edward II., the year before this record, in which the "quinque sanguines" so privileged are named: they are O'Neil de Ultonia, O'Conoghor de Connacia, O'Brien de Thotmonia, O'Molaghlin de Midia, and MacMurghogh de Lagenia.

a Vol. i. p. 82. b Appendix I.

^c The copy, furnished by Sir Bernard Burke of this portion of the original record in Dublin, shows that the words of the charter as there enrolled are *literatim* the same as on the Patent Rolls.

^d Vol. i. p. 82.

Oavys' Reports, fol. 38.

f Ibid.

Reynold's Castle is mentioned by Leland as a rallying place of the Ostmen in the time of Henry II. A low circular tower on the quay at Waterford, of which Worsaae has given a wood-cut, is still so called, and by some supposed to be as early as the reign of that King or even older. From this record, however, it appears that in the 4th Edward II. the original castle so called was reduced to antiqua mota deserta. If mota were there used for the Irish mothan, it meant a circular intrenchment of earth; but otherwise at that period it generally signified a mound on which there was or had been a tower or castle.

These remarks having been premised, the Extract from the record follows, with the contracted words at length, except in a few instances where they may be thought doubtful. The frequently recurring &c. is in the original, and is not unusual in similar records.

De Placitis de Corona et Deliberatione Gaole apud Waterford coram Johanne Wogan, Justiciario Hibernie, die Jovis in crastino Sancti Mathie Apostoli, anno regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi quarto.

WATERFORD.—Robertus le Waleys, rectatus de morte Johannis filii Yvor MacGillemory felonitèr per ipsum Robertum interfecti, &c. venit et bene cognovit quod predictum Johannem interfecit; dicit tamen quod per ejus interfectionem feloniam committere non potuit, quia dicit quod predictus Johannes fuit purus Hibernicus, et non de libero sanguine, &c.; et cum dominus predicti Johannis, cujus Hibernicus idem Johannes fuit die quo interfectus fuit, solucionem pro ipso Johanne, Hibernico suo sic interfecto, petere voluerit, ipse Robertus paratus erit ad respondendum de solucione predicta, prout justicia suadebit. Et super hoc venit quidam Johannes, filius Johannis, filii Roberti Le Poer, et dicit pro domino Rege, quod predictus Johannes filius Yvor MacGillemory, et antecessores sui de cognomine ipsius Johannis filii Yvor MacGillemory, a tempore quo Dominus Henricus Rex, filius Imperatricis, quondam Dominus Hibernie, tritavus Domini Regis nunc, fuit in Hibernia, antecessores de cognomine predicti Johannis filii Yvor MacGillemory, legem Anglicorum in Hibernia usque ad hunc diem habere, et secundum ipsam legem judicari et deduci debent et solent. Et unde dicit, quod predictus Dominus Henricus Rex, per cartam suam a tempore primi conquestus Hibernie libertatem predictam omnibus de cognomine de MacGillemoryes dedit et concessit; quam quidem cartam Dominus Edwardus, quondam Rex Anglie, pater Domini Regis nunc, per literas suas patentes ratificavit et confirmavit; et profert literas predicti Domini Edwardi Regis, patris Domini Regis nunc, de confirmatione predicta, que hoc testantur in hec verba: Edwardus, Dei gratia Rex Anglie, Dominus Hibernie, et Dux Aquitanie justiciario suo Hibernie et omnibus aliis ballivis et fidelibus suis in Hibernia, ad quos presentes litere pervenerint, salutem. Quia per inspeccionem carte Domini Henrici Regis filii Imperatricis, quondam Domini Hibernie, proavi nostri, nobis constat quod Oustmanni nostri Waterford legem Anglicorum in Hibernia habere et secundum ipsam legem judicari et deduci debent, Vobis mandamus quod Gillecrist MacGillemory, Willielmum et Johannem MacGillemory, et alios Oustmannos de civitate et com' Waterford qui de predictis Oustmannis predicti Domini Henrici, proavi nostri, originem duxerunt, legem Anglicorum in partibus illis juxta tenorem carte predicte habere, et eos secundum ipsam legem, quantum in vobis est, deduci faciatis, donec aliud de consilio nostro inde duxerimus ordinandum. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Acton Burnel quinto die Octobris anno regni nostri undecimo.—Unde predictus Johannes, filius Johannis, filii Roberti le Poer petit pro Domino Rege, quod procedatur ad judicium versus predictum Robertum le Waleys pro morte predicti Johannis filii Yvor MacGillemory, qui est de stirpe predicti Gillecrist MacGillemory, Willielmi, et Johannis MacGillemory, quos (sic) predictus Dominus Edwardus Rex, pater Domini Regis nunc, lege Anglicorum in partibus Hibernie uti, et per hujusmodi legem deduci concessit, prout in predictis literis patentibus plenius continetur. Et Justiciarius hic, &c. plenius volens certiorari pro quali predictus Johannes filius Yvor MacGillemory habebatur dum vixit, et utrum ipse et antecessores sui a tempore confeccionis cartarum predictarum poni consueverant in juratis et assisis, sicut et ceteri Anglici de partibus Hibernie, necne, processit ad inquirendum super premissis plenius veritatem per juratores subscriptos, viz.—

JOHANNEM LE BUTILLER,
JOHANNEM filium WARINI,
ADAM LE POER, juniorem,
HENRICUM DE WHITFELD,
REYMUNDUM LE TAILLEUR,
JOHANNEM DE BARRY,
THOMAM LE POER de BORYN,
BARTHOLOMEUM DE KERDIFF,

PHILIPPUM filium Johannis LE NORRAGH,
HENRICUM DE RUDDEBERD,
JOHANNEM BARUN de Porthallock,
WILLIELMUM SAVAGE,
MATHEUM BELESCOTE,
THOMAM DE NORHAMPTON,
Et GALFRIDUM filium DAVID.

Qui juratores dicunt super sacramentum suum, quod, a tempore quo predictus Dominus Henricus Rex, filius Imperatricis, primo venit in Hiberniam pro conquestu faciendo, fuit quidam magnas nomine Reginaldi MacGillemory, qui fuit dives homo et valde potens in comitatu isto, et fuit manens apud Reynaudes Castel prope portum de Waterford, ubi modo est antiqua mota deserta, et ipse Reginaldus, audiens de adventu predicti Domini Henrici Regis, filii Imperatricis, &c. in Hiberniam, pro conquestu faciendo, &c., et quod idem Dominus Henricus Rex ordinavit applicare cum exercitu et navigio suo in portu Waterford, et in dominio ipsius Reginaldi MacGillemory, idem Reginaldus condere fecit tres magnas cathenas ferreas, quamlibet earum de tanta longitudine quanta tunc fuit latitudo portus Waterford inter predictam motam que vocatur Renaudes Castel ex parte Waterford et terram de Dunbrothy ex opposito, que est in libertate Weysford, et predictas tres cathenas portare (sic) fecit ultra portum predictum, et quamlibet cathenarum illarum ex utraque parte portus tendere (sic) fecit et firmare (sic), intendens per ingenia illa impedire predictum Dominum Henricum Regem (et) magnum (sic pro navigium) et exercitum suum ne ibidem possent applicare. Et, cathenis illis non obstantibus, predictus Dominus Henricus Rex cum navigio et exercitu suo ibidem applicuit, et cito postea idem Dominus Henricus Rex cepit predictum Reginaldum MacGillemory, dominum partium illarum, qui cathenas illas construxit, et ipsum, et omnes adherentes sui in comitiva sua inventos, ducere (sic) fecit ad villam

Waterford; qui omnes cito postea, per judicium curie ipsius Domini Henrici Regis, pro corum rebellione tracti fuerunt et suspensi. Et omnes alii, quos idem Dominus Henricus Rex manentes invenit in predicta villa Waterford, per ipsum Dominum Henricum Regem expulsi fuerunt extra eandem villam, excepto uno solo fideli homine de cognomine des MacGillemoryes, qui vocabatur Geraldus MacGillemory, qui semper fideliter se gessit ad pacem ipsius Domini Regis, et qui fuit manens in quadam turre, que modo est valde antiqua et diruta, ex opposito ecclesie Fratrum Predicatorum infra muros ville Waterford. Et idem Dominus Henricus Rex assignavit certa loca extra muros ville predicte singulis eorum, quos sic expulsit a villa predicta, ad faciendum ibidem manciones suas. Et ipsi sic expulsi construxerunt quandam villam ibidem, que modo vocatur Villa Oustmannorum Waterford. Et infra muros ville predicte, ex qua ipsi sic expulsi fuerunt, feoffavit de tenementis ipsorum sic expulsorum diversos homines de comitiva sua, et diversas libertates eis concessit. Et pro magna fidelitate, quam predictus Dominus Henricus Rex invenit cum predicto Geraldo MacGillemory, qui fuit manens in predicta turre infra muros predicte ville Waterford, non expulsit ipsum Geraldum MacGillemory, set concessit ei vitam et membra, et quod ipse et sui manere possent infra villam predictam, sicut prius manserunt. Et postea, per lapsum temporis post reditum predicti Domini Henrici Regis in Angliam, contigit quod burgenses predicte ville de Waterford, et uxores, et alii de familia eorum, quodam die eomeno (sic, sed quære pro dominico) exierunt muros ville predicte causa ludendi in campis. Et omnes de predicta villa Oustmannorum, primo expulsi ut predictum est, inierunt consilium, ut burgenses ville predicte et suos interficerent, et consilium illud miserunt in actum, et interfecerunt die illo omnes burgenses ville predicte quos extra muros invenerunt, et eorum uxores ceperunt, et cum ipsis duxerunt. Ob quod orta fuit guerra inter ipsos de villa Oustmannorum Waterford, qui predictos burgenses sic interfecerunt, et illos qui residui fuerunt infra muros ville predicte, post occasionem predictam, et duravit guerra et dissensio illa per magnum tempus. Et predictus Geraldus MacGillemory, qui fuit manens in predicta turre infra muros ville predicte, fideliter et viriliter per se et suos custodivit villam predictam et eam defendidit, tam contra omnes Oustmannos primo expulsos, ut predictum est, et de quibus aliqui fuerunt parentes ipsius Geraldi MacGillemory, quam contra quoscunque alios qui fuerunt ex parte predictorum Oustmannorum, usque ad iteratum adventum predicti Domini Henrici Regis in Hiberniam. Et quando Dominus Henricus Rex in adventu suo apud Waterford audivit de magna fidelitate predicti Geraldi MacGillemory, et qualiter bene se gesserit in defensione ville predicte, tam contra Oustmannos qui fuerunt de parentela et cognomine ipsius Geraldi MacGillemory, quam contra omnes alios Oustmannos primo expulsos, &c. ut predictum est, idem Dominus Henricus Rex, ad instantiam et rogatum ipsius Geraldi MacGillemory, concessit tam ei quam aliis de parentela sua Oustmannis Waterford, quod ipsi a tempore illo legem Anglicorum in Hibernia haberent, et secundum ipsam legem judicati et deducti fuissent. Requisiti, si predictus Johannes filius Yvor MacGillemory, quem predictus Robertus le Waleys interfecit, sic de stirpe predicti Geraldi Mac-Gillemory (fuit) cui predictus Dominus Rex libertates predictas concessit; dicunt, quod sic. Requisiti, si predictus Johannes filius Yvor MacGillemory, seu aliquis antecessorum suorum post cartam et confirmacionem predictas, poni consueverunt in juratis et assisis sicut Anglici, &c.; dicunt, quod quidam Willielmus MacGillemory, consanguineus predicti Johannis, est liber tenens in isto comitatu; et tenet omnes terras suas de domino Rege in capite in eodem comitatu, faciendo [sectam] com' Waterford de com' in com'. Et tam predictus Johannes, quam predictus Willielmus, hactenus

poni consueverunt in juratis et assisis, sicut et ceteri Anglici comitatus, &c. Requisiti, si aliquis de stirpe et cognomine predictis hactenus interfectus fuit, et ille qui ipsum interfecit captus et in curia Domini Regis de morte illa arenatus ; dicunt, quod quidam Robertus filius Watyni le Poer, tempore Domini Edwardi nuper Regis Anglie, patris Domini Regis nunc, interfecit quendam Gillecrist Mac Gillemory, et de morte illa arenatus fuit in curia Domini Edwardi Regis, patris, &c., jam circiter viginti annos clapsos, et ipse Robertus in cadem curia dixit, quod clericus fuit, et quod non potuit nec debuit ibidem inde respondere. Et super hoc venit Episcopus Waterford qui tanc fuit, et petiit ipsum Robertum ei liberare (sic) tanquam clericum, &c. Et comperto per inquisitionem xii juratorum, &c. quod predictus Robertus filius Watini le Poer culpabilis fuit de morte predicta, idem Robertus liberatus fuit predicto Episcopo, tanquam clericus de morte predicta convictus, et custodiendus sub pena in hujusmodi casu provisa. Requisiti, qua de causa predictus Robertus le Waleis prefatum Johannem filium Yvor MacGillemory interfecit; dicunt, quod idem Johannes jurator fuit in quadam inquisitione, simul cum aliis juratoribus, &c. coram Vicecomite Waterford ad dicendum qui fuerunt latrones et receptores latronum in comitatu isto, et similiter ad dicendum veritatem coram eodem Vicecomite de aliis articulis placitorum coronæ Domini Regis; et quia predictus Robertus le Waleys in inquisitione illa indicatus fuit, ipsum predictum Johannem filium Yvor MacGillemory interfecit, ut predictum est. Requisiti, a qua terra le MacGillemoryes successores (sic pro antecessores) predicti Geraldi MacGillemory primo venerunt, et utrum fuerunt Hibernici in terra Hibernica, necne; dicunt, quod 'per relatum antiquorum hominum hactenus audiverunt, quod omnes les MacGillemoryes venerunt de Denom in Hibernia, diu ante conquestum quem predictus Dominus Henricus, filius Imperatricis, fecit in Hibernia, &c. Ideo predictus Robertus le Waleis recommittatur gaole pro judicio suo expectando, &c. Et data est dies ei de judicio suo audiendo coram, &c. a die Pasche in xv dies ubicunque, &c. Postea de gratia, &c. predictus Robertus le Waleis dimittitur per manucapcionem, et de ejus manucapcione patet in Rotulo de manucapcione de hoc termino, &c.

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ADDENDA OR CORRECTIONS, VOL. XXXVII.

"Notices of the last Great Plague," ante, p. 2, note c, and p. 8, note a.—There is little doubt that the Rev. John Allin, of Rye, was the person who graduated at Harvard University in 1643, and it is certain that he was son of John Allin of Wrentham, afterwards the first minister of the church of Dedham; for that minister in his will, dated 23 Aug. 1671, and proved on the 31st of the same month, gives to his beloved first-born son, John Allin, "now in England, whom I have educated in learning," &c. such part of his estate as would give him a double portion, according to the custom of New England.—Ex inf. the Hon. Judge (C. H.) Warren, of Boston.

"Some passages in the Life of a Herefordshire Lady during the Civil War," page 214.—Instead of "Sir Gilbert Gerrard," who had been some time Governor of Worcester for Charles I., but died in January 1644 (Noake, Notes and Queries for Worcestershire, p. 3), it should be "Sir Charles Gerrard," who, in the latter end of that year or early in 1645, was appointed by Prince Rupert Governor-General of South Wales. He accompanied the King after the battle of Naseby into that country, where the Royalists attempted to raise levies. In the course of the summer he was made Lord Gerrard of Brandon, in the country of Suffolk. See Sir Edward Walker, Historical Discourses, fol. 1705, p. 116.

P. 457. Posthumus should be Postumus.

